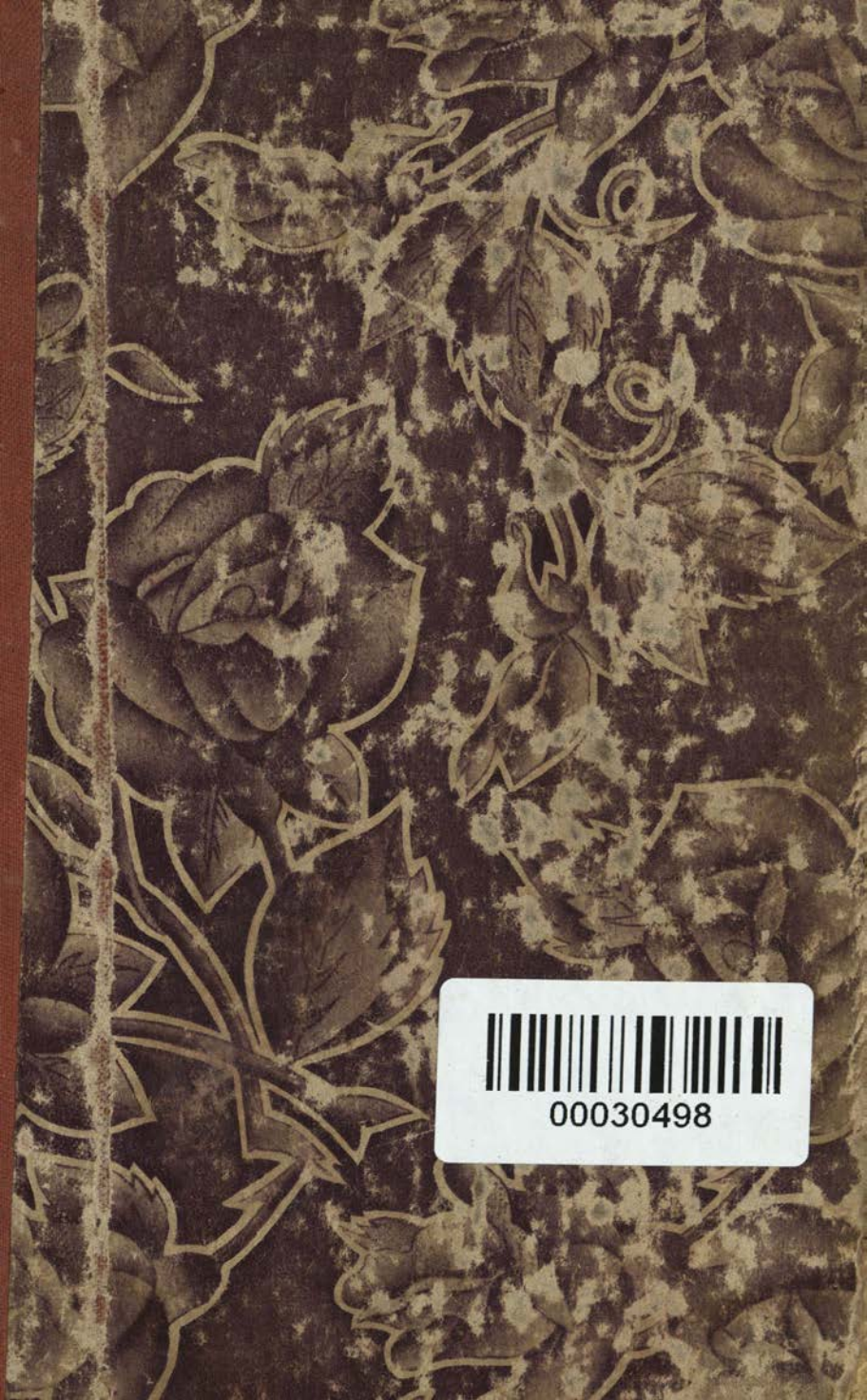

00030498

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Ms.Ranjana Kulkarni
on 29 March, 2019

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

BY

BAL KRISHNA, M. A., PH. D.,

Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, the Royal Statistical Society, the Royal Economic Society, London; Professor of Economics and Principal, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, India

30498

SS·n·80

LIBR
OF T
BOME
BRAN
OF T
ROYAL ASIATI

Vol. II—Part I

ARYA BOOK DEPOT,
Laxmipuri, Kolhapur

COPYRIGHT
1939
Reserved by the Author

954.02
Kri/Shi
30498

Published by
ARYA BOOK DEPOT,
KOLHAPUR

Printed by K. R. Mohite
AT THE ARYA BHANU PRESS, WILSON ROAD, KOLHAPUR CITY.

00030498

Col. His Highness

Sir Shree Chhatrapati RAJARAM Maharaja Saheb

G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., KOLHAPUR.

To

HIS HIGHNESS

LT. COL. SIR RAJARAM, G. C. I. E., G. C. S. I.,

CHHATRAPATI MAHARAJASAHEB OF KOLHAPUR,

the only ruling representative of

the noble house of

SHIVAJI THE GREAT

FOR

HIS KIND PATRONAGE.

OTHER WORKS BY THE AUTHOR

(In English)

1.	Commercial Relations between India and England (Routledge, London)	14/—
2.	Hindu Philosophers on Evolution	Rs. 10
3.	The Industrial Decline in India.	3
4.	Demands of Democracy	2
5.	Commercial Survey of Kolhapur	1
6.	From the Counter to the Crown (In prep.)	
7.	Hindu Economics (In preparation)	
8.	Vedic Psalms (In the Press)	2
9.	Distribution of Real Property in Kolhapur City	1

(In Hindi)

10.	The Principles of Economics. Vol. I	2-0-0
11.	History of India. 2 Vols.	2-8-0
12.	Ancient Polity	0-8-0
13.	Modern Constitutions	1-4-0
14.	Veda-the Word of God	1-8-0
15.	Philosophy of Yajna	0-4-0
16.	Sukraniti with notes and explanations (In the Press)	2-0-0

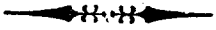
(In Marathi)

17.	History of India 3 parts (Oxford Univ. Press. Bombay.)	2-8-0

Arya Book Depot,
KOLHAPUR.

D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.,
BOMBAY.

FOREWORD



It is regrettable that this volume was withheld from publication for more than six years. I was keen on simultaneously bringing out all the parts of the book. But no local press was willing to undertake the printing of the whole book in the same type. Hence different type was used in this volume. As is evident from reference to page 512 of this volume on page 572 of Volume I, Part II, 532 pages were printed along with the first volume. Thereafter no more matter could be given by me on account of my serious illness. For all these years the work could not be finished owing to my continued ill-health and manifold official and public duties. A few serious typographical mistakes have been unfortunately left on account of the haste with which it was rushed through the press. Some of these are pointed out in the errata. I crave the indulgence of the reader for the shortcomings of this volume.

Kolhapur,
1-8-39.

Bal Krishna

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XIV

Coronation of Shivaji ... ... 1—43.

1. Sources of the account; 2. Raigurh, the Gibralter of the East; 3. Why was Raigurh made Capital ? 4. The significance of the coronation; 5. Shivaji's position before the coronation; 6. Shivaji to Chiplun and Pratapgurh; 7. Oxinden's interview with Niraji; 8. Oxinden in the Rairi fortress; 9. Shivaji with Sambhaji gave audience to Oxinden; 10. The weighing ceremony of Shivaji; 11. Oxinden and party invited to the coronation ceremony; 12. Treaty concluded; 13 Oxinden to Chaul and Raigurh; 14. Pourparlers between Oxinden and Niraji; 15. Interview with Shivaji; 16. Conclusion of Treaty; 17. Bombay Council's reply to Oxinden; 18. Bombay and Surat Councils record the treaty; 19. Lasting peace with Shivaji; 20. Comparison between the dietary of the English and the Marathas; 21. The Dutch account of the coronation; 22. Marvellous and miraculous Shivaji; 23. The second coronation of Shivaji; 24. Preliminary articles of peace; 25. Articles of peace proposed by the English.

CHAPTER XV

Tardy Fulfilment of the Treaty ... ... 44—78

1. Satisfactory treaty with Shivaji; 2. Governor Aungier's tribute to Shivaji; 3. The English re-open trade with Shivaji's ports; 4. Messrs. Child and Mitchell at Rajapur; 5. Great reception given to the English; 6. Interview of the English merchants with Shivaji; 7. Shivaji desires guns from the English; 8. The plunder of the Dharangaon factory; 9. Austin's Embassy to Rairi in 1675; 10. Prospects of the factories on the Western coast; 11. Quarrel between the English and the Maratha Governor of Karwar.

CHAPTER XVI

Tardy Fulfilment of the Treaty (Contd.) ... ... 79—117

1. Athani plundered by Shivaji in 1676; 2 Failed in the realization of compensation; 3. Envoys at the court of Shivaji; 4. Embassy of Lt. Adames; 5. The withdrawal of the English Factories; 6. Miraculous victories of Shivaji and the growth of Bombay; 7. Mr. Child to treat with Shivaji and his officers; 8. Last days of the Raja; 9. Negotiations with Sambhaji; 10. An Embassy with presents to Sambhaji.

CHAPTER XVII

The Seven Years' Offensive ... ... 118—161.

1. Shivaji's chances of success; 2. Illness and death of Ali Adil Shah; 3. Demise of the King of Golconda and Vyankoji's new opportunities; 4. Dissensions among Bijapur nobles; 5. The capture of Panhala; 6. The battle of Umrani; 7. Pratap Rao's campaigns; 8. Routs of Dilir Khan and Bahadur Khan in 1673; 9. The battle of Jesri or Nivati; 10. Achievements of Anand Rao; 11. Bahadur Khan's camp plundered; 12. The Mogul and Maratha armies against each other; 13. Shivaji twice disappointed in capturing Shivneri; 14. The events at Bijapur; 15. The fall of Phonda in 1675; 16 Sweeping conquests on the coast in 1675; 17. Dr. Fryer's

account of Shivaji's conquest; 18. Reflection on Shivaji's Government; 19. Vingurla under Shivaji; 20. Effect of the new conquest on Goa; 21. The revolt of the rulers of Bednur and Sunda (1672); 22. Shivaji's expedition to Sunda in 1673; 23. Disturbances in 1674; 24. Shivaji against Bednur and Sunda in 1675–76; 25. The Dutch and Shivaji in Malabar (1675–1680).

CHAPTER XVIII

Seven Years' Offensive (Contd.) 162–222

1. Peace parley with the Mogul in 1675; 2. Shivaji's wars with Bijapur and Golconda in 1675; 3. Serious illness of Shivaji in 1676; 4. Revolution at Bijapur; 5. Peace between Shivaji and Bijapur; 6. Bahadur Khan repulsed; 7. Sambhaji to Goa and Daman; 8. Fryer's account of dissensions at Bijapur and Shivaji's opportunities (1675-77); 9. The Marathas foiled in capturing Belgaum in 1676; 10. Rumoured peace between Shivaji and the Mogul; 11. The recall of Bahadur Khan in 1677; 12. An allied army against Golconda in 1677; 13. The loss of Gulburga; 14. A severe struggle; 15. Retreat of the allied army; 16 Masaud supreme at Bijapur; 17. Masaud makes friendship with Shivaji; 18. Grand preparations at Bijapur against Shivaji; 19. Shivaji Maharaja's plundering expedition in 1678; 20. Desertion and return of Sambhaji; 21. The Mogul advance against Bijapur; 22. Exorbitant demands upon Golconda; 23. The aftermath of the sack of Jalna; 24. Third futile attempt of capturing Shivneri in 1679; 25. Extensive raids in Khandesh; 26. A treaty with Bijapur; 27. Death of Raja Jaswant Singh; 28. Jazia due to wars with Shivaji; 29. Shivaji's protest against Jazia.

CHAPTER XIX

The Karnatic Campaign 223–289

1. Vyankoji, Shahji's successor; 2. Vyankoji conquers Tanjore; 3. The political atmosphere of the South; 4. Aims of the expedition; 5. The national party against foreigners; 6. Time propitious for success; 7. Arrangements during Shivaji's absence; 8 Shivaji's alliance with Golconda; 9. Hyderabad to Madras; 10. Shivaji near Madras; 11. The English sent presents to Shivaji; 12. Shivaji's letter to Sir Wm. Langhorne; 13. Langhorne's reply to Shivaji; 14. More presents for Shivaji; 15. Gingee–the city of forts; 16. The fall of Gingee; 17. Battle of Tiruvade in June 1676; 18. Struggle after the battle; 19. Shivaji's quarrel with his brother Vyankoji; 20. Shivaji's conquest of the Karnatic; 21. Terror of Shivaji's name 22. Consolidation of the conquest; 23. Shivaji compared to Caesar; 24. Shivaji, the Indian Hannibal and second Sertorius; 25. The siege of Vellore: 26 What became of Abdulla Khan ? 27. Plunder after conquest; 28. Return home; 29 Malbai of Belvadi; 30. The conquest of the Doab; 31. War between Santoji and Vyankoji 32 Shivaji victorious even to a miracle; 33. Shivaji as a conqueror; 34. Shivaji and the Dutch; 35. Pondichery under Shivaji; 36. Spies of the English with Shivaji's army; 37. Route of Shivaji's expedition; 38. Chronology of the Karnatic campaign; 39. Shivaji's relation with Kutub Shah; 40. Shivaji's letter to

Maloji; 41. Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji; 42. Treaty between Shivaji and Vyankoji.

CHAPTER XX

Shivaji and the Siddis 290–375

1. Early History of Janjira. 2. Janjira under Nizamshahi kings; 3 Janjira transferred to Bijapur; 4. Expeditions against Janjira in 1658 and 1659; 5. The English attempt to capture Danda Rajpuri; 6. Shivaji against Janjira during 1660–1669; 7 War between the Siddi and Shivaji in 1669; 8. Janjira besieged by Shivaji in 1669; 9. End of the regime of Fateh Khan in 1669; 10. Siege of Janjira in 1670; 11. The Portuguese help the Siddi; 12. A fleet against Janjira in 1671; 13. The Mogul and Maratha fleets in 1672; 14. The Maratha and Mogul fleets in Bombay; 15. Shivaji's refusal to join the Dutch against the English in 1673; 16. Loss of Danda Rajpuri in 1673; 17. The Siddi's fleet in Bombay; 18. Shivaji to surprise Bombay; 19. The Siddi building a fort in Nagothna; 20. The Siddi dislodged from Nagothna; 21. Mediation of the English for peace; 22. Fight between Sambal and Daulat Khan; 23. The Siddi refused admission in Bombay; 24. Shivaji Maharaja; 25. Shivaji's ultimatum to the English: 26. Siege of Janjira in 1675; 27. Shivaji's Armada for Janjira; 28. The Mogul fleet under Qasim at Bombay; 29. Failure of Moro Pant against Janjira; 30. Wintering of the Siddi's fleet at Bombay in 1676; 31. Siddi Qasim appointed Governor and Admiral; 32. Suspension of hostilities in 1677; 33. Means for expelling Sambal from Bombay; 34. Sambal unwilling to hand over the charge; 35. Fight between the two Siddis in Bombay; 36. Shivaji's salt fleet protected against the Siddi in 1678; 37. Siddi Qasim permitted to winter at Bombay in 1678; 38. Shivaji's threat to burn Siddi's fleet in Bombay; 39. Daulat Khan not permitted to pass through Portuguese territory; 40. The Siddi's departure from Bombay; 41. Shivaji severely punishes his Admirals for the failure; 42. Failure to storm Janjira; 43. Dispute between the Bombay Government and Governor of Chaul; 44. Bhairopant's letter to Bombay Government.

CHAPTER XXI

The Occupation of Khanderi 374–494

1. Situation of Khanderi and Undheri; 2. Shivaji's attempt to capture Khanderi in 1672; 3. Shivaji's attempt to fortify Khanderi in 1679; 4. The English preparation for preventing fortifications; 5. Shivaji occupies Khanderi; 6 The English fleet before Khanderi–13th September to 18th October; 7. The naval engagement on 18th October 1679; 8. The Maratha Armada for the relief of Khanderi; 9. Shivaji's design against Bombay; 10. Failure of the English to prevent relief; 11. The Surat Council against war; 12. Summary of proceedings during September and October; 13. Bombay threatened by Shivaji; 14. The English fleet blockades Negothna creek; 15. The Siddi to the help of the English; 16. Relative position of the parties on 17th November; 17. Plans to checkmate

the Siddi; 18. The Marathas spurn the proposal of surrender; 19. Efforts of peace with Shivaji; 20. Diplomatic dealings with the Marathas; 21. The English waver between war and peace; 22. The Siddi's raids on the coast: 23. The Maratha fleet against Bombay: 24. Continued cannonading for one month; 25. Preparations for a treaty; 26. The English demands from the Marathas: 27. The Maratha demands; 28. Fulfilment of the peace-terms; 29. Struggle for Undheri; 30. Struggle with the Siddi near Undheri: 31. The Siddi claims the right of searching boats; 32. Shivaji's position in 1680; 33. The policy of peace leads to a treaty with Shivaji; 34. Justification of the policy of peace: 35. The surrender of the "Dove;" 36. Declaration regarding the seizure of the Dove; 37. Dr. Fryer's account: 38. Chronology of the events of the struggle for Hendry Kendry.

CHAPTER XXII

Shivaji and the Portuguese 495–531

1. Dearth of material: 2. Shivaji's victories in 1660: 3. Goa threatened in 1661: 4. The Portuguese help against the Moguls in 1663: 5. The conquest of Vingurla in 1663; 6. Shivaji a man of valour and industry; 7. The plunder of Surat in 1664: 8. The defeats of the Bijapur army 1665; 9. Promise to Jaisingh of not rendering help to Shivaji, 1665; 10. The story of Shivaji seeking refuge in Chaul; 11. Conquests of Shivaji in 1664-66; 12. The Viceroy and Mirza Raja; 13. The Portuguese treaty with Aurangzeb in 1667; 14. Shivaji, defender of religious freedom–1667; 15. Shivaji's plot to capture Goa in 1667; 16. Preliminaries of peace with Goa; 17. First treaty between Shivaji and the Viceroy in 1667; 18. The second treaty in February 1670; 19. Shivaji's success in 1671; 20. The expulsion of the Portuguese from India; 21. European league against Shivaji; 22. Amicable relations with the Portuguese in 1673–4; 23. Threat of war on conversions in 1675; 24. The capture of two Maratha vessels in 1678; 25. Prevention of raids on the Maratha territory–1678; 26. Chauth-claims from Daman villages; 27. Shivaji, the Atila of India; 28. Chauth–negotiations protracted to 1680.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Last Phase 532–542

1. Passing away of the great Shivaji; 2. The death-bed scene; 3 The date of Shivaji's death; 4. The cause of the Raja's death; 5. Doubts on Shivaji's demise: 6. Dr. Fryer's fanciful account of Sati; 7. Secret Counsels regarding succession; 8. Plot against Sambhaji; 9. Failure of the plot; 19. Sambhaji's cruelties after succession.

Appendices 543

Index 569

CHAPTER XIV

Coronation of Shivaji

1. Sources of the account

The first part of the Diary of Mr. H. Oxinden embodies the story of the progress of the negotiations with the ministers of Shivaji in simple and unvarnished terms. The latter part is full of interesting details on the coronation ceremony performed by Shivaji. This is the only account from the pen of an Englishman who was an eye-witness of all the main functions publicly performed at Raigurh. The description of the installation of Shivaji written in poetic and rhetorical language by the authors of the Bakkars[1] is defective and dubious in several places. Even the Dutch, Portuguese and Persian accounts were based upon heresay. Consequently, Oxinden's Narrative is unique in the importance and simplicity of its details. The Dutch letters afford supplementary information on several important points, and thus fill up gaps in the English account.

2. Raigurh, the Gibraltar of the East

Raigurh is not Rajgurh, though they both mean Royal Forts. Grose has indulged in hyperbole in writing about Rairi: '*This must be the most completely impregnable place in the universe.* It is represented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and so steep, as by no one narrow pathway, to be accessible to human[2] footing.' The pen-picture of this rocky castle by Douglas is remarkably vivid and revives the forgotten memories of the place: "It has been called the Gibraltar of the East: and of all the hill-forts in the Bombay Presidency it is the most interesting. It was built and fortified by Shivaji and became his abode. In other

1. Sabhasad, 81—84; Chitnis 146—170; Chitragupta, 95—109; Shiva Digvijaya, 408—409.

2. Cf. Bombay Gaz, Kolaba, Volume, XI, 357-363. Grose's Voyage of the E. Indies (1772), Vol. I, 88.

parts he was merely a way-faring man for the night; but here for sixteen years he gathered around him wives and children, Brahman statesmen such as they were, gods and their gurus, goods and chattels, the mighty plunder he levied from cities, kafilas, and caravels. Whatever wild raids he was engaged in, they all had one natural termination, which was when he sat down on this mountain-top and counted up his gains; and his endless acquisition of plunder, which was his meat and drink, never knew respite except when its massive gates were closed upon him. If ever he slept soundly, it was in Raygarh. Here he was crowned, and through its two-leaved gates, borne upon a litter, came from his bloody raid at Jalna this restless scion of humanity, for the last time, with his battered body, to lay him down and die." [1]

3. Why was Raigurh made Capital ?

The Raigurh Hill, rising about 3000 feet above sea level, is completely chipped off from the Western Ghauts. Its precipitous rocks make it inaccessible from three sides, while on the fourth, strong fortifications made it impregnable to Shivaji's enemies, but easy of access to his friends. This frowning fortress, secluded by encircling hills, is nearly equidistant from Bombay, Poona and Satara, and thus it curiously commands the sea and the land around it. Then, it is only a few miles from Mahad which, in those days, was a busy seaport whence Shivaji could conveniently secure war material and keep up communications with the chain of his sea forts. It was far away from the plains which the vast armies of Aurangzeb could easily desolate. Guarded by the invulnerable defences of Torna and Rajgarh, it could long defy the hostile forces. Thus Shivaji, like the Eagle of the hills, with his penetrating eyes could from his eyrie descry his prey in all directions, but no one could approach the Lion's Den. More truly, it may be said that like an invisible Dragon, Shivaji issued forth from this 'King of Forts' to give blows to all his enemies, but eluded their blows by vanishing away to his fortifications

1. Douglas, Vol, II. P. 161.

whence he bade " defiance to the Emperor, Gulconda, Duccan, Portuguese and all the world, magnifying himself in his strong-holds, installed Maharajah two years since." It was on account of some such advantages that Shahji and Shivaji selected it for the capital of the infant Maratha empire.

4. The significance of the coronation

Shivaji, from the very dawn of his career, aspired for a Hindu Empire, and concentrated all his thoughts and energies on the realization of his cherished ideal. His success probably exceeded his most sanguine expectation, as his dreams soon materialized into a compact kingdom. He finally resolved on celebrating his coronation, as it was the consummation of the romance of his life.

First of all, Shivaji is said to have obtained the holy and divine sanction of his guiding deity, the Goddess Bhavani, for putting the crown on his head. Then the Raja, with his usual prudence, sent his officers to ascertain the views of the various sections of his people. He severally consulted his mother, his guide and philosopher Swami Ramdas, many eminent Brahmans of Paithan and the chief nobles and ministers of his kingdom. All readily gave their consent to the sacred investiture and the crowning of Shivaji, since they were looking forward to the auspicious day when the idol of his people would, by coronation, sanctify the Swarajya which had been built up by his extraordinary valour, superhuman genius, and noble wars for the protection of the gods, homes, honour, culture and religion of the Hindus.

(2) Shivaji was considered to be a rebellious Jagirdar of Bijapur by the world. He was the Grand Rebel of the Deccan, the Robber-chief, or the intrepid rover and marauder in the eyes of his contemporaries. Even the Maratha chiefs of ancient families holding estates from Bijapur like the Ghorpades, the Shirkes, the Nimbalkars, the Mohites, the Mahadiks, the Ghatages, and the Jadhavs, prided themselves on their loyalty to the Bijapur throne,

and looked down upon this terrible disturber of the peace and order of the Deccan. They were unwilling to give precedence to the Bhonslas in social matters. Shivaji consequently resolved to get himself crowned to secure social and political precedence over the other Maratha nobles, and to offer them the sheet-anchor of Hindvi Swarajya in place of slavery to the foreign rule.

(3) The consolidation of his new government by evoking the deepest national sentiments of the people of Maharashtra, was not a small gain from this magnetizing act of installation.

(4) This new Hindu kingdom was to become the sacred symbol of freedom from Moslem oppression, of the Hindvi Swaraja and Aryan culture. Under the crushing weight of the Mogul Empire and the Bijapur kingdom, Swarajya was nothing more than a dream and a chimera, but now it was to become an undisputed reality. Shivaji, in installing himself, reinstated the dethroned culture and religion of the Hindus. Therefore he and his successors have rightly been called "Hindupati Padshah" and the state governed by them has come to be known as the "Hindupad Padshahi"-the government of the protectors of the Hindus.

(5) The Hindu Kingdoms of the north, even the Solar dynasty of Udaipur, had become tributaries of the Moguls. The ancient Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar was dismembered into petty principalities, The last monarch, having lost his capital Vellore, was a fugitive in the woods. Thus not a single Hindu independent Kingdom was in existence in 1674. Gagabhatt beautifully put the case for investing Shivaji with the imperial dignity. "The whole planet is in the hands of the Yavanas, so that they have established thrones everywhere. The Universal Monarchy is being enjoyed by the Yavanas. You, Shivaji, have by your own valour, vanquished all the Moslem Kings. Therefore you deserve to be put on the throne which will be an ornament to your valour and a challenge to the universal rule of the Yavanas."

(6) Shivaji being invested with regal power, crown, umbrella

and other insignia of royalty, was to be placed on a level with the ruling monarchs of Bijapur, Golcondah, and even the great Mogul. The grants of land and titles made by Shivaji would now have the same sanctity and security as those of other crowned heads.

(7) An independent Hindu kingdom was like an island in the sea of Muslem conquests. It was a beacon light for all Hindus to rise against their foreign oppressors, and come under the protecting umbrella of the Chhatrapaties, or to establish their own Swarajya everywhere.

(8) A Hindu kingdom became a unit in international politics. If the account of the Bakhars is to be believed, the new state was forthwith recognized by all the Moslem and European states in India, through their representatives who were present at the time of the coronation.

(9) Shivaji, by ascending the throne, by putting the crown upon his brow and by taking the coronation oaths, was to become responsible for the good government of his people and for improving popular interests and prosperity.

(10) It was justly considered by Shivaji that the performance of the consecration and coronation ceremonies by the most renowned Pandit of Kashi whose fame was recognized both in Northern and Southern India, would, in the eyes of all orthodox people, be a seal of his legitimacy as a Kshatriya sovereign. None could question his right to Kshatriyahood and kingship when once it was stamped by the religious rite performed according to the Vedic injunctions by Gagabhatt, the holiest and wisest Brahman of his time in India.

(11) It is said that there cannot be a king without a kingdom. Here there was a kingdom without a King. The hero who, by his dauntless struggles of twenty years, had created this kingdom, was by the act of coronation to be recognized its crowned king. In fact, coronation was the wisest step to organize,

stabilize and sanctify the state, to inaugurate a new era of intellectual and religious reformation, and to mark the beginning of a new cycle in the political existence of the country, which was to be characterised by the decline of the Moslems and the rise of the Hindus.

5. Shivaji's position before the coronation

At the close of the year 1673 and a few months before his coronation, the power and position of Shivaji are brought out in this extract. "This year we hope to put off yet greater quantity of Europe goods, if we are not disturbed by the war with the Dutch, and more by continued dissention between the Mogull and Shivaji *who though prosecuted by sea and land, by his policy and courage maintains himself valiantly and grows dayly more and more powerfull*, but in the mean time all trade is in a manner obstructed both by sea and land by reason of the Armys and Fleets abroad on both sides." [1]

We are told in the Surat letter sent to Calicut on 25th April 1674 that Sevagee was making a costly throne and intended to be crowned king in June next.[2] The installation ceremony was actually held on 6th June and the news was sent from Surat to Robert Smith at 'Dilly' in a letter dated 16 July 1674. "We have of late been in quiet in these parts, Sewagee in the month of June haveing caused himself to be crowned a king, sitting on his throne, at least 20,000 brahmins and all his officers attending the ceremony.[3]" Another letter from Surat to Broach, dated 21 July 1674, speaks of the Raja's coronation.

"Wee have nothing of newes passing this dead tyme of the raines and it will be none to tell you that Sevajee hath caused himself to be crowned king, at which ceremony Mr. Henry Oxinden was, with whome hee hath concluded Articles of peace, for trade in his countryes and some reparation for the Company's and their servants losses in Rajapore, Anno 1660." [4]

1. O. C. 3919,—16th Dec. 1673.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 152.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 183.
4. F. R. Surat, Vol. 87, p. 185.

Now follows the narrative of H. Oxinden who was sent as an envoy to the court of Shivaji at the time of the coronation.

6. Shivaji to Chiplun and Pratapgurh

" *MEMORIAL*[1] *OR NARRATIVE of what occurred in Henry Oxindens Journey to the Castle of Rairy the Residence and Court of Sevajee Rajah to which place he was enordered to repaire by the Honable. Gerald Aungier President of India, and Governour of Bombay and Councill, to conclude the long Depending Differences betwixt the said Rajah and the Honble. English East India Company and Negotiate a firme Peace with him.*

1674 May the 13th. Having received Instructions from the Honable. President and Councill and gott all things in a readiness in order to my Journey, I imbarked in a Bombay Shibbar (a small sail boat) [together with Mr. George Robinson and Mr. Thomas Michell who were by his Honour appointed to accompany me] and about nine of the Clock at Night arrived at Chaule, a Portugall Citty on the maine, into which wee could not enter, the gates being shutt up and watch sett, so that wee passed this night in the suburbs in a small Church called St. Sebastians, and

Oxinden at Portuguese Chaul.

The 14: About three in the afternoone receiving advice that Sevagee was returned to Rary from Chiblone (Chiplun),[2] departed thence to Upper Chaule, a towne belonging to the Rajah [Shivaji], about two miles distant from the Portugall Citty, and was in former times a great mart for all sort of Decan commodities, but now totally ruined by the warres betwixt the Mogull and Sevajee, whose armies have plundered and lade [laid] it waste. The Soobedar of this towne being a person of quallity, who commands

Shivaji returns from Chiplun.

1. F. R, Surat Vol. 88; O. C, Vol. 35. No. 3965.

2. Shivaji returned from Chiplun after worshipping Parashuram in the famous temple there.

the country opposite to Bombay, as Negotan, Penn etc.;[1] I thought good to give him a vissitt, and to present him with a couple of Pamerines, and the rather because I understood from Narinsinay, our Linguist, that he hath some aversion to our nation, and might somewhat hinder our proceedings at Court, which I was willing to take him off by all faire meanes. He received the vissitt kindly and promised all the courtesye that lay in his power to performe, and after some immaterial discourse wee returned to our tent; and

Oxinden visits Upper Chaul and gives presents to the Maratha Subedar.

The 16: Tooke boate and sailed up Chaule River to a town called Esthemy, (Ashtami) some 6 leagues distant from Chaule, where wee stayed untill the next day; and on

The 17: Sett forth about 6 in the morning for Esthemy and about sunnsett pitched our tent in a plaine some 6 miles distant from Nishampore [Nizampur]; and on

The 18: About Four O'clock in the morning went from thence, and about sunn rising came to Nisampore where we stayed about one houre to refresh our Coolys, and then sett forwards, and at 9 of the clock arrived at Gongouly, a little village scituated on the banck of a pleasant rivulet, from which in a faire day may be descryed the Castle of Rairy; and on

Oxinden goes to Ashtami, Nizampur, Gangavli and to Pachad.

The 19: Sett to forwards for Rairy, and about nine of the clock came to Puncharra (Pachad,)[2] a towne at the foot of Rairy hill, where wee understood that Sevagee was departed thence to Purtaab Gurr to Visit the Shrine of Bowany, a Pagode of great esteem with him, and celebrate some ceremonies there in order to his Coronation, having carried with him severall presents, and among the rest a

Shivaji gone to Pratapgurh for worshipping Bhavani.

1. Fryer reads Penn and Tull, Vol. I, pp. 195-209.

2. Douglas writes: "Pachad is the ancient peth of the fort, Somewhat like the grange attached to baron's keep and castle, the peth was the depot of supplies brought in from the surrounding country for the use of the garrison: a strong place to keep watch and ward, and summon all visitors, friendly or otherwise, to parley." II. 160.

sombrero of five
gold [1] weighing about 1¼ mds. Which he hath dedicated to the said Pagodes use. Understanding here that we could not be admitted into the Castle untill Sevagees return, pitched our tents in the plaine; and

7. Oxinden's interview with Niraji

The 20th: Esteeming it necessary in order to our more speedy dispatch to make our business known to our Procurator Neragy Pundit, I went to visset him (whose reception was very kind.) I delivered him his Honours Letters showing him the severall presents we brought for the Rajah and Ministers of state, of which he highly approved, and promised to helpe us to the Rajahs presence as soone as conveniently he could after his returne from his pillgrimage to Purtaab Gurr. In the interim wee might rest satisfied that his endeavors should be totally employed in forwarding the Honoble. Companies Interest and procuring us a speedy dispatch, for which, having rendered him thankes, I presented him with the Articles which wee brought for the Rajah to signe, translated in the Moratty Language, which he said he would peruse, and then give his Judgment of them another time. I then took occasion to discourse with him concerning the conclusion of a Peace betwixt the Rajah and Siddy of Danda Rajapore, urging many arguments to create in him a beleife it would be for the Rajahs advantage; but he would not be perswaded it was for his Masters interest to raise a siege which hath cost him soe much blood and treasure, especially now he hath such hopes of gayning the place, and therefore told me it would be in vaine to move it to the Rajah, who was resolved to take that Castle, lett it cost him what it will, and to that effect was dayly sending downe more ordinance, ammunition, men and money. I replied the President had no more designe in makeing

Presents shown to Niraji.

No peace with the Siddi possible.

1, Fryer reads Lumbrico, But Sombrero is an umbrella as is clear from another passage of his book:- "The English President has a Mirchall (Morchaal) to keep off the sun as the Ombrahs have; none but the Emperor have a Sumbrero among the Moguls." Edition 1698, p. 86.

This umbrella was made of 1¼ Surat maunds of gold.

this motion then that of a good neighbour to them both, having observed the Miserys that each party endured and the generall obstruction of trade occasioned by the warr, but since he desired me to desist mentioning it to the Rajah, I should not trouble him therewith, but what was more consistent with our and his own interest, which was the encourageing of trade and merchandize in his country and opening the waies to Ballagatte that merchants might with safety bring downe their goods to the sea ports, which would be much to the Rajahs proffitt and increase of trade and treasure; and this I recommended to his prudence to perswade the Rajah thereto, who being a souldier from his infancy it's possible, minded not such concernes, to which he answered that he doubted not but it would be effected in a short time, for that the King of Vizapore, who is owner of those countrys from whence most sorts of commodities come, being weary of the warr with his Master, hath sent severall Embassadours to conclude a peace with him, which he thought would be made up within two or three months, and then the ways would be free and merchants have egress and regress as formerly; that the Rajah would, after his Coronation, act more like a Prince by taking care of his subjects and endeavoring the advancement of commerce and trade in his dominions, which he could not attend before, being in perpetuall warrs with the great Mogull and King of Vizapore. This is the substance of my first discourse with our Procurator, Naragy Punditt, who seemes to be a man of prudence and esteeme with his Master, so that after a little sitting, I tooke my leave of him, having first presented with a diamond ringe, for which he expressed a liking, and his eldest sonne a couple of Pamerines, [1] and doubt not but they will well deserve it from the Honable. Company, if any settlement is made in Sevagees dominions. After returne to the tent I gave his Honour etc. an account of my negotiations, together with the news current in these parts.

Trade be encouraged.

Niraji was presented a diamond ring.

8. Oxinden in the Rairi fortress

Ditto the 21st: This day wee continued in the place under

1. These are fine mantles or togas. *Fryer*.

the tent, and found it excessive hott and incommodious; but this evening to our joy wee understood that the Rajah was returned from Purtaab Gurr, when I sollicited Naragy Punditt to procure us leave to pass up the hill into Rairy Castle, and on

Invited to Raigurh Fort.

The 22nd: We received orders to ascend up the hill into the Castle the Rajah having enordered us a house there, which wee did. Leaving Pucharra about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, wee arrived at the topp of that strong mountain about sunn sett, which is fortified by nature more than art, being of very difficult access, and but one advance to it, which is guarded by two narrow gates, and fortified with a strong high wall, and bastions there to.[1] All the other parte of the mountaine is a direct precipice, so that it is impregnable except the treachery of some in it betrayes it. On the Mountaine are many strong buildings,[2] as the Rajahs Court, and houses for other Ministers of State, to the number of about 300. It is in length about 2½ miles and breadth ½ a mile,[3] but noe pleasant trees nor any sort of graine growes thereon. Our house was about a mile from the Rajahs Pallace, into which wee retired with noe little content.

Description of the Rairi Castle.

9. Shivaji with Sambhaji gave audience to Oxinden

Ditto 26. The Rajah, by the sollicitation of Naragee Punditt, gave us audience, though busily employed with other great affaires, as his Coronation, Marriage, etc. I presented him and his sonne Sombagy Rajah with those particulars appointed for them by the

1. Khafi Khan says that Rairi is a very high and strong place, its ascent is three koses and it is situated about 24 koses from the sea. This inaccessible hill was made impregnable by Shivaji. The story of testing the impregnability of the fort is worth reading there. Elliot. VII, P. 288.

2. A list of state buildings is given in Shiva Digvijaya, pp. 416, 437—8.

3. The space and provisions available were not much. But Chitnis (161) tells us that 5 to 10 *lakhs* of visitors gathered together and 50,000 Brahmins were fed daily for several months. A difference of 5 lakhs of people is nothing to him.

President and Council, which they seemed to take very kindly, and the Rajah assured us that wee might now trade securely in all dominions without the least apprehension of evil from him, for that the Peace was concluded. I replyed that was our intent, and to that effect the President etc. had sent me to his Court to procure some Articles signed and privilledges graunted by him which were the same wee enjoyed in Hindostan, Persia, etc. where wee traded. He answered it was well, and refferring me to Moro Panditt, his Peshua or Chancellor, to examine the Articles and give him an account what they were, he and his sonne took their leaves and retired into their private apartmenst, where they are busily emploied with the Banyans in consultations and other ceremonies, and will heare of no manner of business until the Coronation be over. Wee likewise departed to our house againe, when I gave his Honour etc. an account of my transactions hitherto.

May the 28th: Went to Naragy Panditts, and tooke his advice concerning the presenting the rest of the Ministers of State, who told me that I might goe in person to Moro Punditt, but to the rest I should send what was for them by Narinsinay, declaring likewise that if I would have our businesse speedyly effected and without impediment, it was necessary to be at some more charge to present some officers with Pamerines etc. who were not mentioned in our list of presents, to which I assented, considering that the time of yeare was farr spent, and that should wee be forced to stay the whole raines at Rairy the Honable. Companies charge would be greater then the additionall presents comes to, and therefore desired to know who they were which wee must oblige. He answered that two Pamerines were not enough for Moro Punditt, that wee must present him with foure, and Dutagy[1] Punditt, Vokanavice or Publique intelligencer, with a ring that is vallued at 125 Rups.

Presents given to Ministers and officers

The Debir or Persian Escrivan with 4 Pamerins.

1. Fryer says Petaji which might mean Pantaji Gopinath. Dattaji Pandit Vaknis is often mentioned in these pages.

Samgee Naigee,[1] Keeper of the Seale 4
Abagy Punditt 4

And then I need not doubt of a speedy conclusion. Otherwise, they would raise objections and scruples on purpose to impede our negotiations, for every officer in Court expected something according to his degree and charge. So wee tooke out Pamerins etc. for them, and went accompained with Naragy Punditt, sonne to Moro Punditt, with his present, who received it very kindly, and promised he would press the Rajah to confirme the Articles and dispeed us, as did all the rest of the ministers unto whom, by Naragy Punditts advice, I sent Náran Sinay and a servant of my owne.

10. The weighing ceremony of Shivaji

Ditto the 29th: this day the Rajah, according to the Hindoo custome, was weighed in gould,[2] and poized about 16,000

1. According to Chitnis (165), Shamji Naik was appointed Potdar, Chimnaji Avaji was made Phadnis and Balaji Avaji was raised to the post of Chitnis. Oxinden seems to have given the present to the Chitnis.

Balaji was also known as Bal Prabhu. He was the most trusted servant of the Raja, and enjoyed extensive powers as his private and political secretary.

The names of Shivaji's Council of Eight Ministers will be given later on.

2. The Sabhasad and Chitnis make no mention of this ceremony, but the Dutch evidence confirms Oxinden's account. The rite, known as Tula-dana was practised by many Hindu princes, and even by the Mogul Emperors. The Rajas of Marwar and Amber used to weigh themselves against gold, gems, and precious cloths at the Pushkar pilgrimage, the articles being afterwards distributed among the priests (Tod, Annals, I, 537). The Raja of Vijayanagar followed the same practice (Hampi Ruins, pp. 42-3). Even at the present day the golden lotus through which the Maharaja of Travancore passes, and which is broken up and given to Brahmans, must be his exact weight (Land of Charity. 170; Manual of Travancore, i, 171; 227). Akbar was weighed twice a year against gold and other valuables (Ain, I, 266 f.). The weighing of Jahangir is described by Sir T. Roe (i, 252) and by Terry (p. 395). The same custom prevailed in the time of Aurangzeb (Manucci, ii, 348; Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 379; Bernier, 270).

Pagothas [1] which money, together with one hundred thousand more, is to be distributed after his Coronation unto the Braminys who in great number are flockt hither from all the adjacent countrys.

Weighing ceremony performed

Ditto the 30: This day I sent our Linguist Naran Sinay to Naragy Punditt to enquire what he had transacted in our business touching the signing our Articles etc. who returned answer that the Rajah stopt his eares to all affaires whatever, and defferred them till his Coronation was over, being busily employed with his Braminys to put things in a readiness against that day, it being now at hand, and therefore must have patience till then, declaring that the Rajah hath graunted all our demands except those two articles, wherein it is expresst that our moneys shall goe currant in his dominions and his on Bombay, and that he shall restore whatever wracks may happen on his coast beloning to the English and inhabitants of Bombay. To the first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted in the Articles of Peace, because he forbidds not the passing any manner of coyne in his dominions, [2] nor on the other side can he force his subjects to take those moneys whereby they shall be loosers. But if our coyne be of as fine an allay and as weightey as the Mogulls and other Princes, he will not probibitt its passing currant. To the other Article he sayes that it is against the lawes of Koncan to restore any shipps, vessells, or goods that are driven on shoare by tempest or otherwise, and that should he graunt us that priviledge, the French, Dutch, and other merchants in his country would demand and claime the same right with us, which he could not graunt without breaking a custome that hath lasted for many ages. The rest of our desires he most willingly conceded, embraceing with much satisfaction

Treaty can not be signed till after the coronation.

Two terms not accepted.

1. The weight of Shivaji on this occasion is mentioned as 16,000 pagodas by Oxinden, but 17,000 pagodas by the Dutch Factor of Vingurla. Thus it may be said to be between 140 and 160 lbs.

2. Orme has rightly remarked that this demand was made inconsiderately, because it implied at least a partial control of his treasury; Shivaji nevertheless dismissed it mildly.

our Freindship, promissing to himselfe and country much happiness by our settlement and trade. Naragy Punditt did likewise & then informe me that he doubted not but to perswade the Rajah to graunt us our wracks, [1] because wee enjoyed the same priviledges in the Mogull and King of Decans country, but the former Articles concerning the money, wee must not expect it, and it was enough that the Rajah would not prohibitt its passing, if made conformidable in goodness and weight to other Kings coynes with which I might rest satisfied, and that as soon as possible after the Rajahs Coronation he would gett the Articles signed and dispatch us, of all which I advised his Honour etc. by the returne of some Coolyes I sent to Bombay to ease our charges.

11. Oxinden and party invited to the coronation ceremony

June 5th: Naragy Punditt sent me word that on the morrow about 7 or 8 in the morning the Rajah Sevagee intended to ascend his throne, and he would take it kindly if I came to congratulate him therein, that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it being not the custome of these Easterne parts to appeare before a Prince empty handed. I sent him answer I would, according to his advice, waite on the Rajah at the prescribed time.

Ditto the 6th:[2] About 7 or 8 of the clock went to Court and found the Rajah seated in a magnificent[3] throne and all the Nobles waiting on him in very rich attire, his Sonne Sombagy Rajah,

1. Shivaji finally renounced even his inalienable privilege of not restoring the English wrecks cast on his coasts. Douglas has piquantly remarked: "We asked what we ourselves had not then the ability to grant in our own kingdoms of England, Scotland, or France, the boasted homes of civilization. J. Douglas—Bombay and Western India, II. P. 178.

2. The coronation ceremony took place on Saturday, 13th day of the 1st half of Jeshtha. The Shiva Era begins from that day. It is followed in Kolhapur up till now. Here the financial year begins on 6th June.

3. The throne was made of 32 maunds of gold, jewels of great value were sought from among the nine varieties of priceless jewels that were in the treasury, and set in the throne. The eight pillars of the throne were studded with gems. Sabhasad. 83-4.

Peshua Moro Punditt and a Braminy[1] of great eminence seated on an ascent under the Throne, the rest, as well officers of the army as others, standing with great respect. I made my obeysence at a distance[2] and Naransinay held up the diamond ringe which was to be presented him. He presently tooke notice of us and enordered our coming nearer, even to the foote of the Throne, where being vested, wee were desired to retire, which wee did, but not so soon but that I tooke notice, on each side of the throne there hung, [according to the Moores manner] on heads of guilded lances many emblems of Government and dominion, as on the right hand were two great fishes heads of gould with very large teeth:[3] on the left hand severall horses tailes, a paire of gould scales on a very rich lance head poized equally, an emblem of justice, and as we returned, at the Pallace gate there was standing two small elephants on each side and two faire horses with gould bridles and rich furniture,[4] which made us admire which way they brought them up the hill, the passage being so difficult and hazardous.

The splendour of the Court described.

1. He was probably Gaga Bhatt of Benares. He originally belonged to Paithan, the Kashi of the Deccan, on the river Godaveri. This most learned scholar of his time was invited to perform the consecration and coronation ceremonies of Shivaji according to the orthodox rites. These are described in a flowery language by Chitragupta (95-108), Chitnis (157-171) and Sabhasad (82-3).

2. Shiva Digvijayya gives a very complete list of the ambassadors and of the rulers of various states, who were present at the time of the coronation. Amongst these we find the names of an English General from Bombay, Governor of Goa, a representative from Bassien, Khem Savant of Wadi, officers of port towns like Mangalore etc., representives of all Muslem states, of Karnatic, Rajputana, Gujerat states, etc. The author has, in his enthusiasm, mentioned the representatives of all the states of India being present at the Maratha Court. The list is merely imaginary. For instance, the presence of the Portuguese Governor would have been noticed by Oxinden.

3. Shivaji adopted the ancient Aryan and the prevalent Muslem methods of coronation, The emblems of Government were taken from the Mogul Emperors and Bijapur Sultans. A fish of guilt copper, four feet in length, was placed horizontally on the point of a spear in Muslem courts, Similarly, a balance made of gold was hung as an emblem of justice, See the same emblem in Shah Jahan's Court of Justice in the Delhi Fort.

4. Chitnis (165) describes in florid style the grand procession that was led through the streets of Raigarh. It is the invention of his imagination. Oxinden would not have omitted to mention such a grand function, if it had been held at all.

Ditto the 8th: The Rajah was married to a fourth [1] wife without any State or ceremony, and doth every day distribute his [2] almes to the Brahminys.

Fourth marriage of Shivaji.

12. Treaty concluded

9 and 10: Every day sollicited Naragy Punditt to gett our articles signed and dispatch us, the raines being sett in violently. He returned answer that he would loose noe oppertunity, carrying them always about him, but that the Rajah was totally taken up in the distribution of his almes to the Brahminys.

June 11th: Naragy Punditt sent word that the Rajah had graunted all our demands and articles excepting our money passing currant in his country, [3] which hee accounted needless and had signed them: that to-morrow the rest of the Ministers of State would signe them [4] and then wee might depart as soone as wee pleased.

Articles being signed by the ministers.

June 12th: This day the rest of the Ministers of State signed to the Articles, and I went to receive them at Naragy Punditts house, where they were delivered me by him, who occations to negotiate our business at Court with Rajah, for which having rendered him thanks and given a Cozen (Cousin) of his a Pamerine for his paines in transcribing the Articles and other services, I tooke my leave of him and the

Articles delivered to Oxinden.

13: Departed Rairy Castle, and the 16th Ditto arrived at Bombay and delivered his Honour etc. the Articles of Peace signed and ratified by Sevagee and his Ministers of State, which if punctually observed will be of no small benefitt to the Honable. Companies affaires, both on this Island Bombay and their factories which may be settled in Sevagy Rajahs Dominions. — HENRY OXINDEN"

The significance of the treaty.

1. According to Jedhe Ch., Shivaji was married on 30 May according to Vedic mantras. It does not refer to any marriage after the coronation, See notes.
2. Cf. Sabhasad. 83—5.
3. G. Duff is wrong in leaving off this exception. P. 118.
4. The counter signature of all the ministers on a document is indicative of ministerial responsibility and importance.

13. Oxinden to Chaul and Raigurh

The Letters referred to in the preceding Journal confirm and add to the information recorded therein. They are reproduced here in their chronological order.

(Letters [1] and Memorial from Henry Oxinden giving an account of his mission to Shivaji. May-June 1674.)

" *Honourable Sir,*

Wednesday at night wee arrived at the Portugall Choule where wee lodged that night at St. Sebastians Church without the Citty, by reason the gates were shutt up, though it was not yet 8 of the clock, the Portugalls being very suspitious of Sevajee, and it was told me by a Portugal gentleman that came to visitt the Padre of the Church that the Vice Roy had already declared warr against him in Goa, but the truth of it I suspect, thinking the Portugalls at present not in a capacity to contend with him. Yesterday in the evening arrived to this place from whence intend to sett forward within this houre, staying only to give a visitt to this Soobedarr (who is a Braminy of quallity) and dispatch away the Portugall gentleman your Honour recommended to me. Sevajee is returned from his progress to Rairy, which makes me make the greater haste hence, that if possible I might accomplish the Treaty with him and returne to kiss your Honours hands ere the raines are sett in which and all other commands I shall use my most dilligence, being

Oxinden visits Chaul and hastens to meet Shivaji at Rairi.

Upper Choule 15th May 1674 } Your Honours affectionate humble servant, HENRY OXINDEN."

14. Pourparlers between Oxinden and Niraji.

" *Honourable etc.*

My last to you was from Choule, since which, on the 19th instant wee arrived here to this place, from whence to our sorrow I found the Rajah was departed to visitt a Pagoda of his *St. Bowanys* at Parrabgur (Pratapgurh) and celebrate some ceremonyes there in order to his coronation, having carryed with him a golden

Shivaji gone to Pratapgurh to worship Bhawani.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88.

sombrero which he has dedicated to the use of the said Pagotha. It is reported he will returne within two or three days, when doubt not of a speedy admission and accomplishment of those affaires recommended to my management, to which end he shall not want solicitation, for wee live on such a hott dry place and barren of all things that were there no other argument on our side to press him to a speedy conclusion, that would sufficiently prompte us to use all means possible for a speedy dispatch.

Presents shown to Niraji.

This morning I gave a visitt to Naragee Punditt (who received us very kindly) and delivered him his Honours letter, shewing him the severall presents intended for the Rajah and Ministers of State, of all which he disliked nothing but the prizes, being an experienced person in jewells, and having bought many in Gulcundah and Orungabaud, he declared they were all overrated or the Company abused by the buyers. I replied they were not overrated, but it's possible they might be deare bought in regard they were procured in haste against the Rajahs Coronation, with which he seemed satisfied and promised to helpe us to the Rajahs presence as soon as convenient he can after his returne from Purtabgurr.

Desirability of peace between the Rajah and the Siddi.

I took (according to Your Honours order) occation to discourse with him concerning the concluding a peace betwixt the Rajah and the Siddy of Danda Rajapore, urging those arguments enordered in my instructions, and like wise those communicated me in private by his Honour, but all were not prevalent enough to perswade him, it was not his Masters interest to prosecute that siege so neer a conclution, for the Rajah without doubt will have Danda either this raines or next monsoon, intending to make a furious assault on it speedily after his coronation, to which effect he hath enordered his best souldiers to get themselves in a readyness, and hath already sent 15 pieces ordinance more to strengthen and renew the battary. He hath offered the Siddy upon delivery of the castle what Monsup (Mansab or rank) he shall desire, upon refusall whereof he must

expect the miserys that attend warr and so severe an enemy as Sevagee Rajah who, as Naragee Punditt reports, vallues not the assistance the Mogulls fleete gives him nor the damage it will doe his country in the future. What the Siddy did last yeare was by reason of his absence in Ballagatt: but he hath so well provided for its defence that he thinks it secure enough. Besides they have news that Bauder Ckaun (Bahadar Khan) is very angry with the Siddy and will furnish him with no more money, but intends to call him to an account for what already spent and what service he hath done the king for it: for on his first undertakeing the warr by sea, he promised to conquer the sea coast and take the castles there, which he hath not effected.

Rajah resolved to conquer Danda Rajapuri

Discourseing further with him concerning the opening the wayes to Ballacatt (Balaghat) and encourageing the merchants to bring downe their goods to the sea ports and carry on their trade, which would be to the Rajahs greate proffit and increase of his incomes, he answerd he doubted not but both would be shortly effected, for that the King of Vizapore, by the Rajahs often incursions and spoyling of his country, was sencible that a peace with him was far more advantagious then a warr, and therefore had sent severall Embassadores to treate with him, and he doubted not but this raines it would be concluded, and that when the Rajah was crowned he would act more like a King by taking care of his subjects and endeavouring to advance trade and commerce, on which he well knows depends the happiness and flourishing estates of the Prince.

Peace between the Rajah and Bijapur will promote trade.

From the Mogulls army they have no other news then that Dillell Ckaun is already gon to Court, whom they most feared, so there remaynes only Bauder Ckaun against them, whom they vallue not, but intend to beate up his quarters after the raines. Naragee Punditt thinks there is little probability of peace with the Mogull, who being oppulent and not knowing what to imploy his souldiers about, will always keepe an army against Sevajee: but having peace with the King of Decan, he doubts

No possibility of peace with the Mogul.

not but to hold him to it and make his country flourish againe.

I had almost forgot to lett you know that when in discourse I had given Naragee Punditt to understand what had passed betwixt the Siddy and your Honour etc. at Bombay, and the reasons of his wintering there, which was contrary to your consent, hee seemed much satisfied there with, and told us if by reason of your freindship with and interest in the Mogulls country, you could not deny the Siddys wintering there, the Rajah could expect nor desire any more but that you would not assist him in anything to his prejudice.

The Raja not displeased at the wintering of the Siddi's fleet at Bombay.

This is what hath hitherto happened worthy your Honours notice, so that with due respects,

I take leave and remayne,

Foot of Rairy Gurr this 21st May 1674. } Your Honours most humble servant, HENRY OXINDEN.

15. Interview with Shivaji

"*Honble. and Honoured Freinds*

May last addresses to you were of the 21st present month, wherein I gave you an accountt of what passed untill that time. What hath since succeeded, please to read in the subsequent lines, which I hope will be the last trouble I shall give you untill my arrivall at Bombay, when you may expect the verball account of what shall pass hereafter, for I am given to understand from good hands that my business here will have a suddaine period.

The Raja returned to Rairi.

The 21st instant the Rajah arrived to this castle from Purtab Gurr, and the next day wee received orders to ascend into the Castle, which wee accordingly effected, where wee found a house fitted for our reception which was very wellcome to us after having suffered so much heat and incomodiousness at the foot of the hill. The next day we applied ourselves to Naragee Punditt, desireing him to procure our visit (?) to the Rajah, who did all possible he could to attaine it, but the Rajah was, and is still so busie about

his Coronation and marriage with two other (blank) women, that it was yesterday before wee had audience, when presented him with those particulars appointed by your Honour etc. for him, which he seemed to take kindly, and assured us that wee might now trade securely and without any apprehension of evill from him, for that the peace was concluded. I answered that was our intent, and to that intent your Honour etc. had sent me to his Court to gett some Articles signed and Priviledges graunted by him which were no other then what enjoyed in Hindustan, Decan, Persia, etc. where wee had a trade. He replied it was very well, and referred us to Mora Punditt, his Pessua, who is to examine the Articles and gett them sealed, and so tooke his leave and retired into his house, where he is whole days together with his Bramines, and will not heare of any business, but applys himself wholy to his blind devotion. Wee are much beholding to Naragee Punditt for procureing us this visitt, for had he not interceeded, wee might have been this month here without effecting any thing. This day or to-morrow I intend to visitt his Pessua etc. Ministers and present them like-wise with what intended for them, when wee are likewise to debate on the Articles, which they have delivered them translated in the Moratty language, against some of which I heare they will accept (*sic ?* except) and specially against that wherein it's incerted that Bombay money shall goe current in the Rajahs dominions, which will never (be) graunted, for after his Coronation he intends to set up a mint, and proposes to himselfe great advantages thereby, so that Naragee Punditt declares he will never agree to that. The other is touching our ships being driven on shore on his coast by foule weather, that he should assist us in the recovery of ships and goods which is quite against the custome and laws of Concan: but; whether they will insist much on the last I cannot tell, but shall shortly know, when I shall not be wanting to advise your Honour. Here is a prisoner in this Castle, by name Sedoo Jussun, who formerly resided on Bombay and was Siddy Samboles servant. He solicits me very much to speake to the Rajah for his release, declareing himselfe to be an inhabitant of the Island and out of

Shivaji busy about his marriage with two ladies.

Oxinden had audience with Shivaji.

the Siddys service. He was taken prisoner goeing over to the maine to buy provisions for the Island, but your Honour etc. haveing given me no directions to move any thing in his behalfe (although it was knowne in Bombay that he was taken before my departure), I have not thought fit to stirr therein, but sent him word I would write to your Honour etc. about it, whose order herein shall be obeyed.

In my last I omitted to acquaint your Honour etc. that when wee shewed the presents wee brought for the Rajah etc, to Naragee Punditt, hee took a fancie for one of the rings, which wee thought good to present him with, and doubt not but he will deserve it in the future, for if factoryes be settled in the Rajahs dominions he will be the fittingest person to solicite for the nation in this Rajahs Court, being one in much esteeme with the Rajah, whose councill he follows in most things.

A ring presented to Niraji.

These goe by the returne of the Bombay Coolyes, who brought the Chaire of State very opportunely to be presented, it arriving about halfe an houre before wee had admittance, and these with the presentation of due respects are tendered by

Honoble. etc.
Your Honours most humble Servant,
HENRY OXINDEN.

Rairy
27th May 1674.

16. Conclusion of Treaty.

" *Honoble. etc. Respected Freinds,*

Since my last of the 27th Instant, per returne of the Coolyes that brought the Chaire of State for the Rajah, I have received your Honours of the 23rd present, together with the joyfull news of his Majesties Navys success against the Dutch, the surprisall of their East India Shipps and arrivall of our Honoble. Masters fleete from India, for which blessing all due thanks be

The English victory over the Dutch.

returned to the Almighty for his protection and good guidance of such generall affaires. Were there any in these parts that minded or took notice of such generall affairs of forraigne Princes or their rise or fall, I should not be wanting to publish such good news, but it being insignificant to them who gaines or looses, wee are content to rejoyce among ourselves.

This morning I sent Naransiny to our Procurator Naragee Punditt to know what hath been transacted in our business touching the signing the Articles wee demanded and the restoring the vessell belonging to our Broach Broker, taken by Deria Sarung, and now in Carapatan, who very fairely pulled off the vale with which he had so long cloulded us with expectation of a suddain dispatch, and sent mee word that nothing could be done untill the Rajah was crowned, who stopps his ear to all business whatever, being busily employed to gett affaires in a readyness (with his Braminies) against that ceremoney which is to be celebrated about fifteen days hence, after which he will likewise be occupied for some days, so that it will be neare a month ere wee shall be dispatcht.

Nothing to be done about the treaty.

He hath graunted all what we demanded except our money goeing current in his country and the restoring unto us what wrecks may happen on his coasts. To the first he sayes, if you make your money as fine and as weighty as the Mogulls money, it shall goe in his country if his people will take it, but he can not force them, neither will he hinder its being current, which wee have experimented to be true in the time of our being here, for sending our money to change, wee find among the pice they bring us abundance of Bombay pice, but no bugrookes. To the other they say that should they graunt us our wracks the French, Dutch and other merchants would demand the same, which they cannot graunt, being possitively againt the Lawes and Constitutions of their country now, and formerly the Nisamshy (Nizamshahi) Kingdome by which they are still governed. They do likewise scruple at our desires to pay custome no where but in port, but as to that they will insert in the articles that whatever custome

Exception taken to money and wrecks.

wee paid and privilledges wee enjoyed at Rajapore in Adell Shas time wee shall retaine still, and not be deprived thereof, which if am not mistaken, were large enough. Neragee Punditt advised mee likewise that the Rajah had dispatched me, thinking I had been gone, and left Narinsinay, to look after the writings and follow me, declaring that my presence would but little avail, for they were already resolved what to signe, to which noe perswasions could alter. But without your Honour etc. order I shall not stirr hence, although I could wish myselfe from this damp and feavourish aire, being all day long encompassed with clouds which continually cover the topp of this hill.

By the bearer you may please to express your minds, whom I sent to accompany to Bombay our supernumerary coolys, and kept only those that belong to our Pallenkeens and nevertheless wee shall have in all neare 50 persons in pay, which is a great charge to the Company, where fewer persons might doe the business.

Extra hands returned to Bombay.

From Neragy Punditt I received the same news which his Honour writes concerning Dillell Ckauns being called up to Court, of Bhadur Ckauns following him and the Kings displeasure against the latter, which is the occation of his sending downe Rajah Ramsuing to treat with Sevajee, so that now expect a sudden peace with the Mogull and Adull Shah, when the settling of Factorys in the Rajahs country will be secure and beneficiall to the Honble. Company; otherwise they will be neither.

Raja Ramsingh sent to treat with Shivaji.

Naragy Punditt declares that the Rajah will not recede from the Contract he signed about the Rajapore business, disuading me much from moving any alteration therein, least he should be displeased; but you may receive the appointed quantity of goods yearly at Rajapore.[1] Cloth they declare they have

Articles to be given in payment of debts.

1. The Rajah agreed to pay to the English 10,000 pagodas by selling 7,500 pagodas worth of goods to them for three years, the latter paying him half the value, and for the balance of 2,500 pagodas he granted them an exemption from customs, until the sum was paid off at Rajapur. Refer to the Treaty.

none, but pepper, bettlenutts and coconutts shall be ready there.

If your Honour etc. command our stay here, wee shall be in want of some refreshments of wine, etc., to force us against this noysome foggy aire, which pray enorder to be sent us with speed, together with an answer to these, which with presentation of due respects is at present whatt offers from

Honble etc.

Rairy Gurr
30th May 1674,

Your Honours most humble Servant,
HENRY OXINDEN."

17. Bombay Council's reply to H. Oxinden

The last two letters were acknowledged by the Bombay Council in a letter of 5th June when they sent to Henry Oxinden a reply containing their views on important points.

"Wee have received yours of the 27th and 30th May, whereunto wee now returne answer by the same Bandarine which brought you last. Wee take notice of the first audience you had from Sevagee, and are glad to understand the success you had in your first reception, which gives us noe small content, to observe the respects and favor which the said Rajah expresseth for our Honble. Company and nation, from whence wee doe reasonably presage a prosperous negotiation of the Company's affaires in those partes hereafter.

Prospects of prosperous negotiations.

As to those articles which the said Rajahs Ministers had scrupled to graunt, wee noe wayes wonder at, nor would wee have you be very importunate or pressing to procure them, least they should conclude by our earnestnesse that wee pretend to a greater designe therein then in trueth we have: time and their better experience of us wee doubt not will procure more priviledges for us, and for the present wee are contented with those which they have already promised: onely you may assure them this, that it is not the Rajahs interest to deny us anything which wee doe reasonably propose,

Pressure to be avoided in negotiations.

tending to the advancement of trade, for in that wee prosecute his interest as much if not more then our owne, which he in time will be [1] sensible of.

As to Sidy Kassum, though he wrote unto the President a pitiful letter, desireing his intercession for him, yet we thinck it not consistent with our Master's interest for a person in your qualification to appeare publickly in his defence in procureing his release, seeing he hath noe relation to Bombay further then what tends to his accidentall interest: wherefore wee advise that publickly you take noe notice of it, but if privately you can doe him good by declareing that at present he is quite out of the Sidys service and soe was when he was taken, you may therein doe an act of charity to him and noe hurt to the Company; yet if he doth still presse you to interceede for him, wee would have you promise him faire, but act according to prudence and as our orders shall direct.

Tactful dealing for the release of the Bombay Siddi.

Wee approve of the present of a diamond ring which you have made to Naragee Pundett, and hope hee will bee hereafter very serviceable to our Masters.

In your letter of 30th May wee finde litle to add of what wee have allready wrote; as to the silver coyne, which wee intend it shall bee as fine and weighty if not better then that of the King of Indias and soe if the Rajah doth not hinder its being current, wee desire noe further favor from him, but wee hope hereafter to procure his order that our Budgrookes may passe, to which end wee will contrive them accordingly, for from thence wee expect the greatest advantage to our Company, being made of our owne native commodity, wee would not have you to bee too pressing therein for the reason above specifyed.

Bombay Rs. and Budgrooks to pass current.

As for wracks, the the same law which they use with us wee shall use with them if wee finde it to the Company's advantage, otherwise not.

Restoration of wrecks.

1. F. R. Bomb. Vol 6, pp. 139-141. Partly rep. in Orme Mss. Vol. 114.

As to the customes being paid onely at port, it would bee well if you could procure a graunt there of, but if you cannot, wee shall content ourselves with the same customes and priviledges which wee enjoyed in Adel Shaw's time. As to your stay there for procuring the articles signed, wee heartily wish you could gett them graunted and bring them along with you without the necessity of a further charge of keeping Naransina there, whose stay will alsoe bee chargeable to the Company, but if you cannot and that you find the ayre and weather doth not agree with you and the rest of our freinds, wee leave it to you to act therein as you think good, but in such case wee desire you to presse Naragee Pundet for a speedy dispatch thereof, and in the meane time wee much approve of your sending away the supernumerary coolies. Wee hope that there will bee a suddain peace concluded between Sevagee and the Mogull, whereby his country will bee free and secure for our Masters trade there hereafter. Seeing you cannot procure any alteration of the contract at Rajapore, you may desist the motioning of it any further, referring it to an after negotiation. Wee have ordered you what wine, &ca., refreshments you want, hopeing they will sufficiently supply you until your returne hither, where we wish you a safe arrival and remaine

Content with Adil Shahi privileges.

Shivaji's peace with the Mogul.

Your very loveing freinds. "

18. Bombay and Surat Councils record the Treaty

On Oxinden's return, the Council held a consultation in Bombay on 10 July 1674 wherein it was recorded that

"Mr. Henry Oxinden being returned from Sevagy, with whom a firme peace is settled and articles signed betweene the Honble Company and him, this day presented to the President and Councell a narrative of his negotiations at the Court of Sevagy which being read was approved of and

ORDERED That the said narrative be entered in the Register and coppyes thereof be sent to the Honble. Company by the next shipping.

Mr. Henry Oxinden having also delivered in his account of charges in his Journey to and from Sevagy, it was given to the accomptant to examine and

ORDERED That the said account be entered in the Companys books and added to the rest of the charges expended in the treaty with Sevagy and cleared by the money which Sevagee shall pay according to the Articles of Agreement made betweene the Honble. Company and him." [1]

The news was conveyed to Surat whereupon the Council wrote to Bombay on 14 July 1674:—

"Wee are glad to read Mr. Oxinden returned, and your Articles of peace signed by Sevagee, in which, if there be any alteration made of those you propounded and formerly sent us a coppy of wee desire another coppie." [2]

The Council of Fort St. George sent to Surat on 7 September 1674, their appreciative note on the conclusion of the treaty.

"The above confirm with yours of 26th May in answer whereto haveing first congratulated that eminent service you have done our Honble employers in settling soe faire a correspondence with Sevajee.....and so seasonable overtures for advantages both in traffique and neighbourhood now that the establishment of his conquests renders him no less concerned for the encouragement of trade then he was formerly for plunder. Your restraining of the Mogulls fleete from hostilities in your quarters, being no doubt a greatful service and endearment to him in this conjuncture, which with concourse of people and trade to your Island under the shelter of so just an administrator are instances of soe great merritt as cannot faile of our Honable Employers highest esteeme and acceptance the which our affectionate desires are content to wish may ever equall your deserts". [3]

1. Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 1, pp. 60-1 (2d set.)
2. Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 77, p. 182. Cf. P. 178.
3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88, p. 227.

" The old difference between the Honourable Company and Sevagee concerning his plundering Rajapore is decided, and wholly made up, and a firme (and we hope) lasting peace concluded on such tearmes and Articles as will in time tend much to the advantage of the Honourable Company and honour of the English nation. The treaty was managed by Mr. Henry Oxinden, who therein carryed himselfe with much prudence and integrity to his Masters advantage. Sevagee by the advise of his Braminys hath made himselfe King, or Sovereigne Prince of his owne dominions[1] and was *crowned in great pomp and state,* giveing away, upon his coronation, to the Bramines and others *about 2 Lack of Pagodas in ready coyne.* He hath raised a powerfull army seeming to feare no enemy, but on the contrary makes *all his neighbours stand in dread of him,* especially the Portuguese to whom he hath given frequent allarums, demanding of them his tribute of Choutry (Chouth) or the fourth part of the revenue of theire country. " [2]

19. Lasting peace with Shivaji

The importance of the Treaty is expressed in two documents, one of June on " Bombay occurrences " and the other, a letter to London, dated 20th August 1674.

" May it please your Honours,

Our most humble services in all obedience presented etc.

Siddy Sumbole Commander of the Surrat Fleete, touching whome we have often wrote to you, taking advantage of the dependance of your affairs in Surat and other parts of his kings Dominions, forced us much against our will to permitt him to winter with his fleete at Mozogon during these raines, what trouble we had with him, the severall overtures which passed and the tearmes on which he was admitted, you will read at large in our Consultation Books, beeing too tedious to be inserted here, wee doe the better beare the trouble, because the people of youre island are

Siddi permited to winter at Bombay.

1. O. C. Vol. 35. No. 3990 has these additional words,
2. O. C. Vol. 34. No. 3918, June 1674.

not a little enriched by the money which he and his Souldiers spend here.

We have concluded a firme (and we hope a lasting) peace with Sevagy on such terms and Articles as wee presume will not be displeasing unto you. It was managed by Mr. Henry Oxinden a narrative of whose proceedings shall attend you by your shipps wherein if he hath meritted your approbation, it will be to his own honour and advantage."[1]

A lasting peace with Shivaji.

20. Comparison between the dietary of the English and the Marathas

Dr. Fryer was at Bombay when Mr. Oxinden was sent to Rairi and also at the time of his return to Bombay. He incorporated Oxinden's Journal in his book, entitled "An Account of Persia and India." From his personal conversation with Oxinden, he recorded an interesting story on the dietary of the Deccanies and Englishmen.

"I will only add one Passage during the Stay of our Ambassador at Rairee: The Diet of this sort of people admits not of great Variety or Cost, their delightfullest Food being only Cutchery, a sort of Pulse and Rice mixed together, and boiled in Butter, with which they grow Fat: but such Victuals could not be long pleasing to our Merchants, who had been used to Feed on good Flesh; It was therefore signified to the Rajah, That Meat should be provided for them: and to that end a Butcher that served those few Moors that were there, that were able to go to the charge of Meat, was ordered to supply them with what Goat they should expend (nothing else here being to be gotten for them), which he did accordingly to the consumption of half a Goat a Day, which he found very profitable for him, and thereupon was taken with a Curiosity to visit his new Customers: to whom, when he came, it was told them. The honest Butcher had made an Adventure up the Hill, though very old, to have the sight of his

1. Bombay P. Un. Vol. P. 71. O. C. 3990.

good Masters, who had taken off of his hands more Flesh in that time they had been there than he had sold in some years before: so rare a thing is it to eat Flesh among them: for the Gentiles eat none, and the Moors and Portugals eat it well stew'd, bak'd, or made into Pottage, no Nation eating it roasted so commonly as we do: And in this point I doubt we err in these Hot Countries where our Spirits being always upon the Flight, are not so intent on the business of Concoction: So that those things that are easiest digested, and that create the least trouble to the Stomach, we find by Experience to agree best here. "

This is not an unlikely story, because although the Marathas and Kunbis eat mutton and goat's flesh, they do so occasionally and that too in small quantities.

The following remark of the Editor of Fryer's book has some truth. " Sivaji and his Court, however, under Brahman influence, may have discontinued the eating of meat, except that of sacrificed animals."

21. The Dutch account of the coronation

" To Joan Maatsuyker,[1] Govr. General, and the Council of India, from Abraham Le Feber, etc. dated Wingurla, 13 October 1674. [2]

The freebooter Sivasy (Shivaji) has been making preparations for some time past for having himself crowned King, and in the month of June everything was ready, and the Brahmans and Bhuts who are learned men of the highest caste), and 11,000 persons from many places round about, with their wives and children, were gathered together to perform the ceremony after the custom of the country, near the castle of Rairy. Suasy (Shivaji) made known his intention to the principal and most

Gathering for Coronation.

1. Dutch Records XXXIV. No. 841.

2. At that time, the Brahmans alone wore the sacred thread in the south. Hence the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread is called the initiation of Shivaji to the Brahmanik rule.

learned persons, and said that he could not be crowned until he had abandoned his present caste of Bhonsla and taken the caste of Kettery (Kshatriya), and that it was fitting that they should initiate him into that caste. Thereupon the learned men answered that that could hardly be, as his ancestors had always been Bhonslas. Suasy replied that the Bhonslas were descended from the Kettery caste, and that what he wished could certainly be done. So the other party, taking into consideration that Suasy could not be crowned unless he first became a Kettery, and that he had promised not to act or rule tyrannically and badly as before, on the 8th of June last, with great ceremony, they granted him the caste of Kettery and intended also to initiate him into the rules of the caste: but he demanded to be taught the Brahman rule.[1] This, however, they refused, but one of the chief among them complied, and Suasy ordered 7000 pagodas to be given to him as a present. This day was given up to the ceremony and a sum of 17000 pagodas distributed to the crowd collected for it.[2] On the 14th June Suasy made a great distribution to the learned men, for the washing away of the sins he had committed, of gold to the weight of his body (weighing 17000 pagodas or about 160 pounds), and the same of silver, copper, spelter, tin and iron and of very fine linen, camphor, salt, nails, nuts and mace, with the same of other native spices, butter, sugar, etc.: of all fruits and all sorts of eatables, betel and arrack (areca) included, also to the weight of his body.

Shivaji implores the Bhattas to make him a Kshatriya.

Shivaji made a Kshatriya.

Shivaji initiated into the Brahmin caste.

Weighing ceremony on 14th June.

Two of the learned men proposed 1600 pagodas in addition on account of the sin Suasy might have committed by his burnings, involving the death of women, children, cattle and Brahmans.

More charity for sins committed.

1. The Bakhars say that a lakh of Huns were given to Gaga Bhatta and the whole expenditure was one crore and 42 lakhs of Hons.

2. It is clear that Shivaji was not only weighed against gold, but against so many other articles.

On the 15th of June, all the fitting ceremonial having been accomplished, he [Suasy] washed his body with water from the Ganges,[1] which he had brought for the purpose, and gave to each Brahman that day 100 pagodas, and to the chief of them 5000 pagodas, and promised to give him 2000 a year.[2] On the morning of the 16th at 5 o'clock he seated himself on the new throne which had been made ready, and was invested by the crowd with the name Sivraj.[3]

Coronation Bath on 15th June.

Shivaji crowned 'Shivraj' on 16th June.

Then his Chief Minister, Moro[4] Pandit, after making obeisance, brought 8,000 pagodas, which he poured over the head of Suasy; his chief accountant, Nilo Pandit brought 7,000 pagodas; and the two Councillors brought 5,000 pagodas each and preformed a similar action.

Presents from Ministers.

Then his other ministers came before him to do him homage and stood in two rows at the side of the throne, and his eldest son Sambasy Raja sat at the foot of his throne. On the 17th a general gift of largess was begun to all the assembled envoys and learned men: 3, 4, or 5 rupees to each, and I or 2 to the women and children.

Gifts to Ministers in Durbar.

This distribution continued for 12 days, and every day Suasy feasted the people; it is said that this ceremony and distribution of largess cost 150,000 pagodas.[5]

Distribution of money for days.

1. Water from the seven holy rivers, as well as from other big rivers and sea-water and holy water from famous places of pilgrimage were brought.

2. Borne out by Bakhars: Chitnis (164), Sabhasad (95), Chitragupata (107),

3. Shivaji assumed the title of *Kshattriya Kulavatamsa, Sri Raja Siva Chhatrapati, the head ornament of the Kshattriya race, His Majesty, lord of the Royal umbrella.*

4. The names of Shivaji's ministers are given before. It is evident that the system of the 'Ministry of Eight' had already been evolved.

5. It is an understatement, while the Bhakhars have exaggerated the figures of expenses. Sabhasad (84)-"One kror and 42 lakhs of Hons." It is a gross exaggeration. Each Hon=Rs. 4/8/-.

Sudden death of Jijabai on 18th June.

Suasy's mother [1] having come to be present at her son's coronation, although about 80 years old, died 12 days after, leaving to her son about 25 lakhs of pagodas, some say more...

Unsuccessful attempt of Annaji for the capture of Phonda,

In the beginning of September last, in Condael (Kudal), about four miles from here, one of Suasy's generals, called Amasy (Annaji) came with 3000 soldiers to surprise the fortress Phonda, but Mamet Chan (Muhammad Khan) who was there, being informed of his coming, armed himself against him, so the aforesaid Pundit had no luck and has accomplished nothing."

21. Marvellous and miraculous Shivaji.

A summary of the preceding letter was sent to the Company in January 1675. This original communication is preserved in Batavia (Bl. 424). Its translation is given below:

"Having written till here on the 24th of January, we received via Ceylon a letter from Wingurla dated Oct. 13, 1674 mentioning in extenso, *how the marvellous and rapacious Siwagie* had himself crowned King of his tribe, having changed his sect (caste), taking to another heathen sect or creed as before; the priests had absolved him and he promised not to rule in future in such a tyrannic and vehement way as he had done before. In this way, his accession to the throne took place, after distribution of *enormous presents to his subjects*, and many heathen ceremonies: *he took the name of Sivarai Chhatrapati.* They value the amount paid for the ceremonies at this coronation to be 150,000 pagodas of two rix dollers each, as Your Honours may read in the afore-said letter. It is miraculous how this man saw his way to rise and make himself dreaded by various Moorish powerful kings, yea, even by the Great Mogul."

1. Jijabai died on 18th June. Jedhe Shakavali puts it on 17th June Wednesday midnight.

22. The second coronation of Shivaji.

According to the "Shivarajyabhisheka Kalpataru," the coronation ceremony performed by Gagabhatta with Vedic rituals, was defective and attended with ill omens, like the death of the aged mother of the Raja. Hence another with Tantric ritual was performed by the author of the said book on 23rd September [1] 1674. As the work is full of self-glorification and vilification of Gagabhatta, as no cogent reason has been advanced for the second installation, as the fall of the comet and other ill omens are not noticed in the contemporary letters, as confirmatory evidence on the second ceremony is absent, the authenticity of this book is not above suspicion. Some ceremonies might have been privately performed to appease the malevolent forces, but these could not be construed as constituting the second coronation of Shivaji.

23. Preliminary Articles of Peace.

"*Articles of peace, Union and Freindship agreed on between the noble prince Sevagy Rajah and the Honble East India Company.*

"*Consultation at Surat, 8 May 1674.* Severall writings being sent by Naransinay, *signed by Sevajy* in order to be concluding of the Rajapore differences and confirming a peace between the English and him, being translated into English and publiquely read, some things therein were found to be superadded thereunto more than what was consented unto, whereupon a Paper of other articles being drawne out, necessary to be agreed on betweene both partyes, was this day read, examined and approved, and conteyne as followeth [viz.]

Other articles necessary to be agreed, are drawn out.

Sevagy Rajahs Cole Nomma or Conclusion of peace with the Honoble. English East India Company negotiated by their servant Naransinay on the 9th day of the month Maharam which is the 6th Aprill 1674.

1. Bombay Gaz. XI, 368 gives 20th June as the date of the second coronation. As Jijabai died on 18th June, it is impossible that Shivaji could be crowned two days after the death of his revered mother.

WHEREAS in the raigne of Adell Shaw the English East India Company had a Settlement and Factory at the Port of Rajapore, which Port being taken and plundered by Sevagy Rajah the Factory was likewise robbed and they became great loosers thereby. Parte of their goods and money fell to the said Rajah's share and the rest were taken by the souldiery: whereupon ensued a breach between the Rajah and the English, who left frequenting the said Part of Rajapore, but they intending to compose those differences and resettle at Rajapore, did formerly send two Envoyes to him, but effected nothing: since which, Neragy Pundett interposing by his mediation and desire to the President of Bombay he sent as an Envoy to this Court of Rairee, Naransinay, who concluded the differences as followeth [viz].

Recital of the loss sustained by the English.

That the English for their losses susteined at Rajapore shall receive 10,000 Kings Pagothas from the Rajah Sevagee to be paid (vzt.) 7,500 out of his Treasury to be received in three years time, that is to say, 2,500 in the first years time to be deducted out of 5,000 Pagothas worth of goods, which the English shall buy of him, for which they shall pay but 2,500 Pagothas and 2,500 to be discounted, and this is to continue for 3 yeares time, when the English will be reimbursed of the 7,500 Pagothas; and for the remayning 2,500 Pagothas, when the English settle at Rajapore, it shall be paid them out of the customes, and untill the said summe is fully discounted, they shall not pay any customes. And thus, paying 10,000 pagothas, all disputes and discords about the Rajapore business shall cease on either side.

10,000 Pags. to be paid the English in parcels.

That the English may have liberty to settle their factory in any part of Sevagys dominions (vzt.) Rajapore, Choul, Dabull or Cullean, and whatever goods they shall import into any of these ports or export, shall be valued at the Custome House by faverable merchants and according to what they shall apprize them, the English shall pay at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent and noe more nor noe less.

Liberty granted to the English to settle factories in any part of Shivaji's dominion.

That the English shall sell their goods in their owne Factory to any merchants whatever at their owne price, and they shall have licence to transport them whither they please, paying the inland Customes, but the English to buy and sell at Port and not carry or transport them inland. And if the English shall find some sorts of goods unvendible and think fitting to reshipp them without paying any other Custom than what did at landing (vzt.) 2½ per cent; and according to these Articles, both Sevagy and the English are to act.

Privilege to sell their goods to any merchants whatever.

" Ordered that Sevagy pay noe Custome for the wheate; and in regard the Company hath lett the Customes out, that the Rendoro or farmer be allowed soe much as the Custome of the wheate comes to."

24. Articles of Peace proposed by the English

" *Articles*[1] *of peace, union and friendship between the noble prince Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. English East India Company.*

1. That from this day forward, there be a true, firm and inviolable peace and amity between the noble prince Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. English East India Company, their successors and assignees and between the lands, countries, subjects and inhabitants of both parties of what degree and quality soever.

Inviolable and lasting peace

2. That all acts of enmity, hostility and discord, shall cease and be abolished, and that both parties shall abstain and forbear from all plunderings, depredations and injuries, whatsoever, public and private, in all places both by sea and land.

Hostilities to cease.

3. That the said Sevagee Rajah and his subjects and all

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, pp. 30-31. Cf. Orme, p. 185. Vol. 114.

other inhabitants in his Dominions, shall use and treat the English kindly and with respect and honour due to them as friends and confederates, so that they may freely pass by land and water into the countrys, cities and towns belonging to Sevagee Rajah, and there coutinue so long as they please and buy provisions and likewise trade and traffick in goods and commodities of all sorts, paying the usual duties and be obedient to the civil Government of the respective places, the same kindness to be reciprocally interchanged to the subjects of Sevagee Rajah on the island Bombay.

Kind treatment to be meted out to the English.

4. That in case any ships or vessells of the subjects of either nation shall by storm or pirates or any other necessity whatsoever be driven into any of the ports of Sevagee Rajah or into Bombay, that they may depart at their pleasure without paying custom or any other duty, except they break bulk or land their goods; and in case it so happeneth (which God forbid) that any ship or vessell shall be so cast away or driven on shore by the violence of storm or otherwise, it shall not be lawfull for either party to confiscate or seize upon the said vessell or goods so unfortunately cast on shore, but rather each nation shall be obliged to help and assist the distressed in the recovery of the said vessell and goods and restore the same to the owners thereof.

Cast ships to be restored.

5. That the officers of the respective custom houses, searchers or any of their ministers of either party shall regulate themselves by the laws of justice and equity, and demand no more customs or dutys or force from the merchants for presents or otherwise, more than is just, or usual.

No molestation at toll-houses.

6. In case any English or subjects belonging to the Island Bombay, shall be wronged or abused in the Dominions of Sevagee Rajah, the said Sevagee or the Governors of his respective towns and ports, shall take care that speedy justice be done, according to right

Wrongs to be righted.

equity, and that due punishment be inflicted upon the persons, who have committed the offence and injury; the same justice also to be exercised by the Governors of the Island Bombay to all subjects of Sevagee Rajah in the like cases.

7. That no private injury of any sort shall weaken this happy peace or beget any quarrel or dissention between the said Sevagee Rajah and the Hon. Company, but every one shall answer for their own actions and be prosecuted thereon, neither shall one person suffer for the offence of another by reprisal, confiscation or other unjust proceedings, unless justice be denyed or unreasonably delayed by either side.

Private injuries not to endanger the peace

8. That in case it shall so happen that Sevagee Rajah having warrs at present, or hereafter with the countries of the Mogull and king of Decan, or other Prince whatsoever shall make inroads and plunder any town where the English have any factory settled, it shall not be lawfull for the General or officers or soldiers of Sevagee Rajah to plunder, molest, or disturb any house, warehouse or factory, belonging to the English, or to seize upon any of the persons of their servants or brokers upon pretence or design whatsoever, but rather the said general or principal officer shall be obliged to secure the said English factors from the violence of the soldiers, and in case any of the goods or estates belonging to the English or their brokers shall be embezled or plundered, the said Sevagee Rajah shall be obliged to make full satisfaction for the same.

English factories not to be plundered in fulure.

9. That in case the armada or ships of war, belonging to Sevagee Rajah, shall make seizure of any vessell belonging to the ports of Indostan or Decan wherein any English goods are laden, tho' the said vessell or other goods be made prize, yet whatever goods belong to the English, shall not be confiscated, plundered imbezzled upon any account whatsoever, provided they are de to appear by sufficient proof and testimony, that the same nged to them, and in the same nature, if the English shall

Prize goods to be mutually restored.

make seizure upon vessells wherein are any goods belonging to Sevagee Rajah or his subjects, though the said vessells and other goods be made prizes, yet whatever goods belong to Sevagee Rajah or his subjects upon sufficient proof thereof made, shall not be confiscated or embezzelled, but restored unto them again.

10. That the English during their pleasure shall reside at the port of Rajapore or any other ports in his Dominions, with all freedom and liberty: the Rajah, at his own charges, giving them a convenient house to live in, and not suffering any to molest them and that they may at their pleasure journey up and down in the country and voyage from place to place in pursuance of their trade, without any let or hinderance, paying custom for their goods once, and that in port only, when imported or exported.

Freedom of settlement and travel.

11. That whatever goods or merchandize the English shall import or export, they are to pay custom, at the rate of 2½ per-cent, and if any goods landed are not sold, but reshipped for other places, no customs to be paid for the same, nor for any sort of provisions or timber whatever.

The English to pay 2½ per cent duty.

12. That it shall not be lawful for any Governor, Droga of the custom house, or any person in power to obstruct by public prohibition or private menaces the sale of any English manufactures, or hinder them in buying the commodities of the country upon any pretence whatever, but that the English shall have free liberty to buy their goods of and dispose of their merchandize to whom they please.

The English to enjoy freedom of trade.

13. That if any English merchants buy any goods of the natives or contract for any of the native commodities to be delivered them, and the natives shall either neglect to pay their debts or pay their contracts, Sevagee or his governors shall use means to force him c them to make satisfaction, and on default the of, it shall be lawfull for the English to detain such persons their house till the debt be cleared, or the contract accomplisd

Recovery of debts from Indians.

14. That whereas the English factory house at Rajapore is fallen much to decay: they may have liberty to repair the same and build such conveniencys there to as shall be necessary and what charge they are at, to be defrayed out of the customs.

Rajapur factory to be repaired at the cost of the Raja.

15. That in case any war should happen between the English, Dutch, French, Portugueze, or others, it shall not be lawfull for Sevagee to assist any of them, on any pretence whatever to seize, deliver up or suffer to be seized or delivered up any part of the estate belonging to the English, or any of their persons or servants, but he shall be bound to protect, and if any of the Company's or particular men's estates be seized, he shall be bound to make it good.

The Raja not to help the enemies of the English.

16. That no person of what quality soever, shall enter forcibly into the English factory, or warehouse, but if any difference happens between the English and the natives, it shall be amicably composed betwixt both parties, and in case (which God forbid) any quarrel should arise, so that by heat of blood either party be wounded or killed, Sevagee or his ministers shall do justice on the native, if it appear to be his fault, and the Englishman (if culpable) to be kept in irons, till order shall come from the Governor of Bombay concerning his punishment, and if any difference shall arise in accounts, or otherwise betwixt any of the English servants, or brokers and the country merchants, the chief of the English is to be acquainted with it and to determine the controversy according to the justness of the cause.

Englishmen and their servants not triable in the Raja's courts.

17. That if any of the Company's servants, of what quality soever, should absent himself from his duty and retire to any part of Sevagees country, upon notice given he shall use his endeavours to return and surrender him.

Absconding [illegible]nglishmen to [illegible]elivered up [illegible]e Company.

18. That the English, and other inhabitants upon the Island Bombay, shall have free liberty to fetch firewood from the adjacent islands opposite to the main, without any obstruction from Sevagee's people, or any custom to be demanded or paid for the same, to whom strict prohibition is to be given to prevent any misunderstandings.

Firewood without duty to be freely got by Englishmen.

19. That for the better management of the intended trade and commerce, between these islands and Sevagee's dominions and for the mutual encouragement of the respective inhabitants to apply themselves thereunto the more vigorously, manner of all coins, made and used of the Island Bombay, go current in Sevagee's Dominions to which effect Sevagees's order is to be given to his Soubidars, Havildars &c. accordingly and also all sorts of coins made in Sevagee's Dominions shall pass freely on the Island Bombay.

Bombay coins to pass current.

20. That whatever priviledges, favours and immunities the said Sevagee Rajah shall think good to grant unto the English nation or to any inhabitants of the Island Bombay, the Governor of the said Island shall be obliged to grant the same unto all the subjects and inhabitants of the countries and Dominions of the said Savagee Rajah."[1]

Some privileges to be mutually granted.

1. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6, pp. 124-28.

CHAPTER XV

Tardy Fulfilment of the Treaty

1. Satisfactory treaty with Shivaji

Even the first distinguished historian of the Maratha people doubted whether the English ever received what was settled by the treaty [1]. It is evident that the voluminous evidence on the payment of the compensation compiled here in two chapters, was not in the possession of Grant Duff. Relying on his story, Mr. James Douglas remarks that "at all events we hear no more of the treaty of Raygarh. It lies on the page of History, a mere expression of enemity between Shivaji and the English nation." However, we hear of the treaty for full ten years more.

The English Factories at Surat, Carwar, Madras, etc. express their genuine satisfaction on the terms secured from Shivaji Raja.

The Surat Council satisfied with the treaty.

"The narrative of Mr. Oxinden's proceedings in Savagee Rajah's Court we are well satisfied with as to the signeing of the Articles of Peace and Commerce in his countrys. Wee have only further to desire to know the particular conditions of satisfactions Savagee is to give us for the (loss) at Rajahpore which did preceed the confermation of the Articles, and whereon in great measure (we suppose) depends the more speedy settlement of that Factory, which otherwise for some considerations might yet be forborne awhile, as well in regard to the king of Vissiapores forces who live upon the Hill and hinder at present all trade from or to the Port of Rajapore, as also to our present warr with the Dutch, our want of stock etc. But that you may not think us averse to its settlement, although wee cannot apprehend any great security there for an estate, while an enemy lies hovering about it that may fall downe upon the towne at his pleasure, yet upon the hope of a sudden peace, between the king of Vissiapore, and the Rajah (as Naranje Punditt acquainted Mr. Oxinden there was probability

[redacted] Rajapur Factory re-established

[1] G. Duff, P. 118.

of) we consent that upon arrivall of our ships, when we see what orders the Honble. Company may give for an investment next year that factors be sent thither. "[1]

"Wee yesterday duly debated in Councill, which consultation being herewith sent, we humbly referr it to your Honours consideration, the which will pass for answer to your said letters. We only may signifie to you that haveing perused Savagee Rajahs orders to his Subedar of Rajapore concerning his Articles and the conditions made with him for trade in that his port, we find them more recluse then we had thought, and much short of the privilledge we enjoy in other parts, more especially in the king of Deccans, a copie of the Articles with that king shall be sent you.

Surat Council object to the restrictions put at Rajapur on Company's trade.

To be denyed the carrying our goods up into the countrys for sale, but confined to sell them in port, is what we never expected for 'twill be a great prejudice to our trade in Deccan and the carrying out our goods againe that will not sell there, having first paid the costome, in nothing of priviledg, for in other ports where we have trade, we may carry them out without paying any custom.[2].

I thought good...to acquaint you of affaires here...which is that "Sevajee is mightily insenced against this Ckaune, Lord of this country, for haveing seased upon a very rich merchant of his living at Narsa, a towne of his 16 miles distant from Punda (Phonda) or thereabouts, in so much that these Governors hereabouts are in greate feare, prepareing boates to send to Punda with artillery, desiring us here to spare them some gunns and our balloone for their assistance against Sevajee. but I know better then comply hereunto, haveing given a deniall pretending by report I have heard that your Honour hath settled a factory in Rajapore, for which reason I sent them answer that wee are merchants an ought not to concerne ourselves in other affaires than what belon

The English refuse to help the Bijapuries against Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fols. 172, 188. Surat to Bombay 6th August 1
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 196. Surat to Bombay 1st September 1

ed unto us, and that wee doe not come here to fight, but to trade; and in case wee should doe any such thing, our factory would be destroyed there, as formerly it was." [1]

Madras Government pleased with the treaty

"The above confirme with Yours of 26th May, in answer whereto haveing first congratulated that eminent service you have done our Honble Employers is settling soe faire a correspondence with Sevajee, restitution for the damage of Rajapore agreed, and so seasonable overtures for advantages both in traffique and neighbourhood now that the establishment of his conquests renders him no less concerned for the encouragement of trade then he was formerly for plunder. Your restraining of the Mogulls fleete from hostilities in your quarters being no doubt a gratefull service, and endearement to him in this conjuncture, which with the concourse of people and trade to your Island under the shelter of so just an administrator are instances of soe great merrit as cannot faile of our Honble Employers highest esteeme [2] and acceptance, the which our affectionate desires are content to wish may ever equal your deserts."

2. Governor Aungier's tribute to Shivaji.

President and Governor Aungier, before giving charge to his successor, Mr. P. Gyffard, the D. Governor of Bombay, reviewed the position of the Island. In this he paid a high tribute to Shivaji for his fair and noble treatment of the English.

Shivaji the fairest friend and the noblest enemy of the English.

"During my stay here I have found odd neighbours to deale with, the jealous and envious Portuguese have endeavoured all that lay in their power to obstruct our settlement; the Governor of Surat hath not been wanting alsoe to use his Policy to undermine us; and Siddy Sambole with his Fleete hath been no small impediment.

The Dutch with their powerful fleete designed to have allowed us up, but blessed be God who hath hitherto preserved

[1] F. R. Surat Vol, 88. Fols. 203-204. Carwar 2nd September 1674.
[2] F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 227. Fort St. George 7th Sept. 1674.

us, and rendered all their evill designes advantagious; Sevagee onely hath proved, and that for his own interest sake, our fairest friend, and noblest enemy. You must expect to encounter many ill offices from the Portuguese, especially in the passe of Caranjah, as I have done, but you must not yield in the least to them, but boldly maintaine the Honble Companys right." [1]

3. The English re-open trade with Shivaji's ports.

The English entertained such a high opinion of Shivaji, since he had not wavered in his friendship with them during the Anglo-Dutch war, nor had he in any way assisted the Dutch or taken advantage of the weakness of the English during that crisis.

The trade of Bombay was obstructed by Shivaji's wars with the Mogul. The Thana and Carinjah passes were closed, as we learn from the Bombay letter of 16th Dec. 1674 to London.

War between Shivaji and the Mogul closes the Thana Pass.

" Besides so long as the warr continues between the King of India and Sevagee that pass wil be of little use to your island, in regard the townes on the Maine bordering thereon Cullean Bundy etc. are as it were blocked up and obstructed from all trade by means of the Mogulls and Sevagee's armies, always encamped thereabout. " [2]

Being at peace with Shivaji, they sent one party with the salt Fleet to Chaul, Chiploon and Dabhol to dispose of their salt and to demand money from Shivaji's Governor of Dabhol, and another party to Rajapur for making some purchases there. The English merchants were heartily welcomed there by all the people.

The English go to Dabul to take money from Shivaji.

" In persuance of your orders at our arrivall in this port on the 24th of September, wee delivered the Pullankeen to the Subedar who received it very kindly and promised us all kindness and expedition; but wee found the Haveldar of Chepaloone to be very crosse to us who denyed us a measure for some time and told us it was not the custome to measure salt on board, but wee urging

1 O. C. 4115. B. P. Unav, Vol. VI. P. 152. Bombay 28th Sept, 1675.
2. B. P. Unav. Vol. VI, P. 84. O. C, 4051. Bombay to London.

that it was a great distance betwixt the towne and our ships, there might be great imbezelments by the way; so that at last wee procured a small measure from him which by our stilliards(?) weighed of neat salt $14=6\frac{3}{4}$ [?], soe that the *Revenge* delivered tonns 84 and upwards and the *Hunter* upwards of 36 tonns and a halfe, and haveing delivered our salt wee fell downe to Dabull and with Mulla Muhmud applied ourselves to the Subedarr for money, who hath promised it us 3 several days one after another, and yesterday night sent us word that Sevajee is on some action, and had present occation for money to pay part of his Army and that all his moneys was gon in paying them, soe that wee are unmoored and weight (wait) for this mornings Breese to carry us out that wee may proceed on our voiage. This is all at present that offers to acquaint your Honour with. [1]

"I should be wanting at Rajapore to waite the comeing of Annagee Punditt to gett his orders to the Chouckies (toll-houses) not to stop our goods coming down, he haveing already gott a pass from Covas Ckaun (Khwas Khan) and Balloall Caun (Bahlol Khan) and the Governors of the townes belonging to the king: that I found no great necessity for my proceeding, but soe returned with him.

Exemption from toll at Rajapur.

The 17th: Jenagee Punditt arrived to keepe his Dually here and the 18th came to give us a vissitt in our little cottage, we used our endeavours what wee could to gett our old house againe, which he now lives in, but will not yeald it unless wee send for the Articles betweene Your Honour and Sevagee, and then he will not stay one houre there. Annagee Punditt is expected dayly, and hope, he being at the makeing of the articles to find some helpe by him for the recovery of it.[2]

The English claim back their house at Rajapur.

When the two Eglishmen, Messrs Ward and Robinson, could not get their house, they put up a small habitation by the river

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 218. Dabull 14th October 1674. (Thomas Niccolls and Wm. Minchin.

2. F. R, Surat Vol. 88. Fol, 225. Rajapore 24th October 1674. (Messrs. Ward and Robinson)

side and waited for the arrival of Mr. Child, a senior factor for negotiating with the authorities.

" Annagee Punditt arrived here some days past, but made his stay very short, his occations calling him to a place called Killnarr, some twelve course hence, but doth intend to returne speedily. Wee used our endeavours in the time of his aboade here for the house, but could worke nothing upon him, he telling us the house was included in the 10,000 pagodas Sevagee gave, nor will he give us ground convenient for the building one on, but a place so incommodious occasioned by the shallowness of water that our boates cannot come within a quarter of a mile loaden, but must be forced to unlade, and to be carryed on coolys, which wee are very sensible will be of great charge to the Hon'ble Company, considering how dear they are here in this place."[1]

Inconvenience of the new habitation.

We learn from a Bombay letter to Surat, dated 23rd December 1674, that Bombay pice were current in Shivaji's territories:—

" there is coming in the *Golden ffleece and Rainbow* 1500 Chests of copper more which we have thoughts of takeing most part of it on shore here for the mint, for our pice doe not onely pass current in Sevagees country, but in all the Portugall country. " [2]

Bombay money current in Shivaji's territory.

The Bombay Council in their letter of 30th Dec. 1674 to Surat proposed to send Mr. Childe to Rajapur for re-opening the factory there. One of the reasons in favour of this proposal was that the articles of peace concluded with 'Sevagee' could not be accomplished till Mr. Child went there. [3]

" The Subedar is very importunate with us to build a house, promise very faire, but wee cannot as yet be assured to our satisfacon that it shall be allowed for by Sevagee, however are in great hopes to effect it; wee have had some dispute with him: the house ordered by Annagee for our accomodation being

Dispute with the Officer on the house of the English.

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 254. Rajapore 30th November 1674.
2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107. Fol. 43. 3. F. R. Surat, Vol. 107. Fol. 47.

broke open, it was told us by his order, about this Mr. Ward and Mr. Mitchell, was sent with a message to him; he pleaded ignorance, hath put the man in prison that made use of his name, and hath promised to meet John Child, at our owne house, and will in all thinges comply with our desires." [1]

4. Messrs. Child and Mitchell at Rajapur.

" It [2] pleased God to arrive us on the Ship Maytree in Rajapore Road the 28th past month in the evening about 5 of the clock, soe that wee were not 48 houres in our passage hither from Bombay. Immediately after our arival wee dispatched Thomas Michell in a boate with advice to Mr. Ward, whose company wee had the next day. When haveing well considered all things, it was thought fit to send the broker with the Presidents letter to Annagee Punditt and the Subedar giveing them notice of our arrivall and that the want of a convenient house was the onley cause that John Child was not the bearer himself. The 31st passed month the Broker returned with a letter from the Subedar wrote by Annagees order wherein desired our coming on shore, and that himselfe, with the other officers and merchants of the towne would come to meet us and Annagee sent this message, that he would afford us the best accomodation in towne, but if proved not to content to chuse what place wee pleased, in 3 months he would take care a house according to our desires and liking should be built; this proffer wee thought good to accept, for the following reason, first, in respect to your orders to John Child on this businesse, wherein you write you hope the Presidents letter to Annagee and the Subedar would either produce our ould house or some other stone or brick house; next, in respect the distance between the towne and the ship was about 25 miles, soe that it was alwaies 24 nay 30 hours before could receive any answer and the monsoone being far spent, a day was of vallue in respect your orders concerning getting a freight for the

Governor offers them good accommodation.

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 216. Carwarr to Surat 3rd February. 1674-5.
2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 88. pp. 15-20. Feb. 6th 1675.

Maytree. Next, in respect what happened upon Mr. Ward being earnest for our ould house, Annagee tould him that he should not have it, and that he did not care wither wee staid here or noe. If wee did not, his master would save 10,000 pagodas by it and further will have it that the house was allowed for in that summe grannted us by his Master towards satisfaction for our losses. This aversenesse of his was one maine reason, for he is not only one of Sevajees great favourites but Governor in chief of all Cunconn; soe that wee cannott settle in any place but it's under his jurisdiction, and such is his power that noe Governor can doe any thing without his leave, wherefore, wee hold it prudence not in the least to disobleige him but by all means endeavour to make him our friend; and lastly, in respect its reported for certaine that Sevagee himselfe will be here within 15 or 20 dayes. By that time wee may receive your answer to this when, if you thinke fitt wee demand it, wee may better from him hope to procure our ould house. Your order therefore concerning this perticular wee humbly desire, and that you may be fully informed in this matter wee beg leave to advise Your Honour that the house Mr. Revington built is small, occastioned by reason of another adjoyning to it, which then was in the English's possession, for which was paid monthly 100 Larrees. In this latter the Subedar lives, which Annagee possitively denyes us as not our owne. The other is made a place where publique grievances are heard, and all their regeltrys kept. This he sent me word on board by the Broker, should bee delivered, if wee were resolved to have it: but indeed alone it will not serve our turnes and wee cannot enlarge it, being noe roome, but that would not be wanting, for had wee possession of this wee are apt to beleive the other would soon fall to us; but then wee shall highly disobleige the Hindues and Mores, for the latter have their church close adjoyning to itt and all persons in the towne of any quality of the former live close round about it who will be forced to remove if wee come there. Now all things being duly considered wee are much inclined to accept of Annajee's proffer, and if wee can find a fitt and convenient place to build, but then wee shall stand much on being paid ready money for our

Reasons for claiming the old factory.

Arguments for accepting a new house.

ould house at cost which if my memory failes not, is about 800 pagodas and doe believe shall effect it, or that what house is built for us shall be at Sevajees charge, which wee are the rather of the two desirous of, because wee shall not be able to build a convenient house for lesse then 10,000 rupees, for that the French have built here cost about rupees 15,000 and yet not fully finished. Now althongh wee cannot expect that Annagee will performe this promise in building of a convenient house in three months, yett he will be able by his power if willing, to effect it in a short time, and wee doe thinke it the least evill to make the best shift we can for the present, then by striving for our ould house create abundance of enimies and at last possibly never have it; which will be the greatest evill of all, for Sevajee himselfe is a Hindu, therefore, if wee can have our desire complyed with, wee shall accept of Annagees proffer, and if it happens before your answer to these arrives to our hands, will hope to renew your leaves, and if suites not with Your Honours judgement, humbly beg your pardon and a favourable construction of us that to the best of our understanding in this wee acted to the Honour of our nation and our masters interest."

5. Great reception given to the English

"We have already acquainted you the 31st January our broker returned to us with the Subedar's letter and a message from Annajee which being taken into consideration it was resolved, the answer should be wrote to the Subedar's letters and a letter to Annagee in answer to his message, and that on Tuesday, God willing, wee should land at the place appointed for our reception. Being 2nd instant, early in the morning wee left the ship and about 10 o clock wee found most of the merchants of Rajapore arrived in a pleasant place about 6 miles short of the towne. After wee had bin there a short time, came Jévajee Punditt the Subedar, and the Generall of Sevajees sea forces Dolatt Caun, with' them most of the officers of Rajapore and a great number of souldiers. Wee continued here about one houer being entertained according to thelr customes with trumpetts, drums, pipes etc. and dancing women and then set forth for Rajapore by land being in common about 500 men, the way soe bad that wee made it neare sunset before

arrived at the towne. At entering it the shore and vessells welcomed us with discharging many great gunns and our number increased to at least 3000 men, we were conducted to the house appointed for us, which although the best in towne except that of Annajee and the Subedars and French, yett not big enough for us; and more, its far from the water side, but however its a strong built stone house and soe conveniently built that itt will secure any goods very well, and a larger quantiy then wee shall have to put into it. Here the Subedarr, the Generall etc. took their leaves and immediately Annagee sent to desire our company but being night wee desired to be excused, but indeed chiefly because he had promised to come out of his house to meet us but performed it not; the fault he laid on the Subedar who brought us not the way he ordered, soe that he was unprovided to receive us according to his intentions. He hath bin much angry with the Subedar on this occasion and publiquely chid him very severely. Wee staid some small time and received the house, but for want of conveniency wee went to an accomodation built by Mr. Ward very convenient in all respects, only feare of fire being kedjans.

We had thus farr wrote the 3rd instant when being informed of Annajees intentions suddenly to leave Rajapore, wee were all yesterday very busily imployed in getting read and well informing ourselves the contents of these Articles delivered by Your Honour to John Child in order to the furthering our businesse, for in his absence is nothing to be done here of the least moment, soe after wee had well understood all and especially such as wee had present occasion for, wee accepted his invitation and visited him, yesterday in the evening. With him wee spent about 5 houres and in all this time could hardly persuade him to come to our businesse; full he was of discourses and questions, talke he gave us enough of and in all things like a shufling Banian behaved himself.

Interview of the English with Annajee.

The first of businesse was concerning our house; it expresseth that the Englishes Becaurr (Bakhar-store or factory) should be delivered them and for that it may be ould and broken what it shall want wee are to disburse the money, and it to be deducted out of the customes. The meaning of the word 'Becaurr' Your Honour well understand, although they will have it but for only

the house wee built, yet it certainly means the other house wee hired likewise, and accordingly made demand showing Annajee the Articles which he could not deny, but said that after it was signed they had discourse with Naransenwy about this perticular and because they could not well deliver it, he demanded 800 pagodoes, but at length with him agreed that it should be included in your sume of 10000 pagodas. This wee told him did not at all concerne us, and that wee did beleive Narransenwy never had order to make any such agreement, but in fine he tould us that we would not let us have our old accomodation but named to us 4 places which were shewed us all too far from the waterside: but one of them hath only that inconveinence, otherwise very fitt and convenient in all respects and is not far from the waterside above a bowes shott. And further if wee like neither of these bid us chuse what place wee would: above is his owne house in the towne wee should have it, and in 2 months he would obleige himselfe to build us a house to our liking. Upon this wee desired to know who should be at the charge. He answered that it should be according to the Articles which he would faine have persuaded us to believe that what therein writ runne soe that wee disbursting the money it should be allowed us out of the customes. But our opinion was contrary, for the Articles about our house says thus, that if the English Becaurr wants repaire what charge they should be at thereon should be allowed them out of the customes. This wee disputed with him at least an houer, at last he tooke John Child by the hand, and gave it unto the Subedars declaring that what charge wee should be at in building should be deducted out of the customes. But with this wee could not rest satisfied; wee therefore, to end all further discourses on this subject said that what Annajee spoke was true, but wee desired for our satisfaction that he would give this under his hand that should any one dispute this hereafter it might the more plainly appear: soe after a little pause he promised to comply with our desire, and in the morning would send us under his hand that whatever place wee should chuse to build on above his house wee should have, and that in 2 monthes after our speaking to the Subedar etc. it should be finished and the charge to be deducted out of the custome. Thus far in this have wee done, not let goe our ould dwelling; procured this paper from Annajee, whose copie is inclosed, and yett not att

all obleiged ourselves to build, but waite your orders which wee humbly beg may be sent us with all convenient speed. Haveing thus far done concernning a house, the next businessee reckoned was to endeavour the getting of the 2500 pagodas which wee demanded as due. He demanded Sevagees order concerning this, whereupon wee shewed him that paper gave us to demand it by which after [he] had perused, he said it was good. Goods he had enough, the Subedar should deliver us to the amount 5000 pagodas, when wee must pay him 2500, and this yearly for 3 years and indeed soe Sevagees orders runne that was delivered us however your Honour understood it. But wee shall not care for pressing this any further till have your Honour's orders, and indeed cannot doe it, for money your Honour knowes wee have none, but our copper wee are encouraged to have a speedy sale for, att 20 rupees per maund of 28 [1] (seers)."

"In our former letters we have advised the settlement of your factory at Rajapore, where wee have employed a considerable stock to be invested in commoditys proper for Europe, which wee expected would have been sent us seasonable enough to have bin cured and laden home on these shipps: but wee have been much disappointed of our expectations, having received scarce halfe of what we ordered of baftas, dungarees, &c. and them all, or the greatest part, browne, and now it is too late to cure them. The reason of this disappointment is caused by the continued warrs in the inland townes, which gives an apparent obstruction to all trade. Mr. Child, &c. factors complaine alsoe of the late raines which have fallen there, hindering the passages of all caphalaes and belating them one month of what their usuall time of arrivall, which is a very great perplexity to us and puts to great difficulty in the lading these shipps. Wee doe not find but your settlement there hath been very well esteemed by Sevagee and all the neighbour government of Deccan, by whom your factors were received with all demonstration of kindness and respect to your honors name and that of the nation. Wee perswade ourselves it will in a year or two more become a useful

Resettlement of the Rajapur Factory esteemed by Shivaji and the people.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 15-19. 6th Feb. 1675.

and advantageous factory to you. Mr. Childs tyme having been wholly taken up in travelling up the country for the settlement of your business, he hath not yet had time to prosecute your demands on Sevagee for your former loss at Rajapore according to contract, but wee expect that hee will suddenly bring that affaire to some issue."[1]

6. Interviews of the English merchants with Shivaji

"The Rajah hath been here, he used us with all expressions of kindnesse. He is now gone to a place of his owne called Corrall (Kudal), within a dayes journey of Fundah. Before he went hence, he ordered about 40 small vessells to be gott ready, the biggest not above 4 gunns which are to goe to Vengerlah with all speed, there to waite his orders: he hath an army with him of 15000 horse, 14000 foote and 10000 Mesures (labourers), with pickaxes, crowes, hatchets etc. His designes are not knowne. Some are of the opinion he designes against Fundah, others that he intends to plunder Goa, others that he is going against Surrup Magues (Naik's) country: and others that he designes against Vizapore. He hath taken Callapore and report speakes hee will soone have Raybag. When he was here, we found it necessary to present him with some desires in our masters behalfe. All our requests he readily gratified: one was about a house which wee are in hopes to gett without disbursing a penny: with him wee sent Mohondas, one of our Brokers, to gett his Pheermaun sealed for what we desired which wee hourely expect. When he arrives wee shall send an express with ample advices.[2]"

Shivaji at Rajapur.

Shivaji after capturing Kolhapur, marches to the south.

Requests of the English granted.

"The goods that Annajee Punditt intends us for the 5000 Pagodes is coconutts and betlenutts and that at deare rates, the former at 5 Larres per c. o., the latter, 100 Lar. per Candy of this place being accustomary and alwaies practised by Sevagee Raja to pay his creditors: soe when the 1st is really worth but 1ar. 2½ per ditto and the latter Larees 80 per

Debt to be repaid in cocoanuts and betelnuts at dear rates.

1. O. C. Vol. 36. No. 4163. Fols. 10–11. Surat to Co, 21 Jan. 1676.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Part II. Fol. 33. Rajapore 1st April 1675.

Candy: soe that by this account there will come little to our masters of the 10000 pags more than their part of it to be deducted out of the customes for pepper, Dungarees, percollaes, broad and narrow Baftas he hath none in any of his owne dominions."

"Annagee Pundit hath very much baffled with us, and hath bin very industrious to worke us all the evill he could, but rest assured wee are not to be discouraged by him or any other, soe long as wee have your approvall and favourable acceptance of our hearty endeavours for our masters interest.[1]"

"Wee have been continually much pressed by the Subedar to build, but wee are not in soe much haste of a house, as not to advize our masters interest: wee kept him in continuall hopes when we would goe about it, which wee counted prudence because would not be seen to doubt Annagees promise in allowing for it out of the customes, but were resolved, since wee had staid soe long, [we] would spend a few more dayes in expectation of the Rajah, with whome if wee should be able to doe nothing, wee had still Annagees promise. The 20th past month, the Subedarr sent us word that the Rajah would be the next day att a place called Nellvorah, about 4 course from hence, whither hee, the Havelladarr etc., went to meet him and that from thence he would come directly hither. Soe soon as wee received this newes wee imediately made all our businesse in a readinesse, and had translated into the country language our desires (copie whereof is inclosed) which was wrote on a faire paper; and by John Child kept in his pocket to be delivered as wee should see oppertunity, and then wee sent forward for to meet the Rajah at the prementioned place, wither wee came the same night, but the Rajah came not the next day as expected, but the 22nd about midday accompanied with abundance of horse and foot and about 150 pallankeens. Wee had for our accomodation pitched a tent neer the way he was to pass to the place appointed for his reception. Soe soone as wee heard of his near approach, wee went out

Attempt to interview the Raja.

The English meet him outside Nellvorah.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 42-43. Rajapore 20th April 1675.

of tent, and very near met him. He ordered his pallankeen to stand still, called us very near him, seemed very glad to see us, and much pleased wee came to meet him and said the sunne being hot, he would not keep us now, but in the evening he would send for us. Wee had still a regard to Annagee, who although wee had certaine knowledge was none of our friend, yet wee knew it concerned us much to give him no occasion of offence but on the other side it behoved us to improve all wayes and meanes whatever to obleige him and gaine him on our side, for 1st our business lay wholly with him, and next he was much in credit with his master. We therefore after had left the Rajah applied ourselves to him; hee seemed well pleased and promised he would doe what businesse wee had with the Rajah to our full content, and that in the evening he would bring us unto the presence. With this good succesee wee returned to our tent, where after wee had been a small time, Annagee sent to know what wee had to request of the Rajah which wee sent him an account of, when he sent us word he would come and see us. Wee waited in expectation of him till neer sunnsett and then sent to him to mind his promise. He returned us a short answer and bid the messenger tell us that at Rojapore wee might meet the Rajah. Upon this haveing newes that Nelah Punditt had a sonne with the Rajah in great favour, wee sent one to him only to enquire of his health, and offer him what service lay in our powers. He returned us a very civill answer, and but that it was night would have come to see us. Wee now seeing Annagee soe resolved against us, began to advise what to be done, being very loath to doe any thing that might disobleige him. In the morning early wee sett forward for Rojapore, and comeing to a pleasant spring of water wee satte downe under a tree, resolving to stay there once more to meet the Rajah where wee had not been long but Parland (Prahlad) Punditt, Neeragee Punditts sonne, passing by came out of his pallankeen to where wee were, seemed very glad to see us, and desirous to know wherein he might be serviceable to us, being very sensible of what had passed between us and Annagee. Wee

Invited to see the Raja in the evening.

Annaji puts off the interview.

The English try to meet the Raja on the way to Rajapur.

shewed him that request wee intended to make to the Rajah; and desired his advice. He gave us hopes to expect that all would be granted only that part of our desire about the 5000 Pagodas goods to the delivered us, in goods at their true valleu, and for instances tould us that when Narran Sinwaey was at Rairee, he was about making a bargaine to furnish the Rajah with salt, but requested he might be excused a usual custome of 5 candy deducted out of every 100 candy sold him, when the Raja answered him that he would not breake his usuall customes but rather want that salt, Wee had some discourse with him about this and at last brought him to confesse our request was reasonable, for wee had noe other thought but that the goods he intended us should be such as wee liked both in quality and price.

Interview with Prahlad Pandit.

The Rajah being neer at hand, he tooke leave of us and bid us be confident of his readynesse to serve us imediatly after he was gone, came the Rajah. Hee stopped his pellenken, and called us to him. When wee were pretty neare him, wee made a stopp, but he beckoned with his hand till I was up close with him. He diverted himselfe a little by taking in his hand the locks of my Perriwing, and asked us severall questions; at length asked us how wee liked Rajapore. and said that he was informed we were not well pleased there, but bid us not be in the least dissatisfied for what passed. He would order things for the future to our full satisfaction and that wee might be sure he would not faile to send for us when at Rojapore, and that noe reasonable request wee should make to him would he deny us. After he was gone, wee sate us downe intending to pass a compliment on Annagee, for we still had a great care not to disobleidge him and that he should not have the least occasion to thinke we mistrusted his friendship, but he goeing another way wee missed of him. But meeting his brother applied ourselves to him, he promised us in his brothers behalf all manner of kindness; and now wee went home. The 24th March in the morning, Annagee sent for us in the Rajahs name, wee were brought where he was, he left us pretend-

Assurance given by the Raja.

Meeting with Annaji.

ing to goe to the Rajah, to give him notice that wee were there. There wee staid with his brother in expectation of his returne at least two howers, he then came and tould us that wee could not speak with the Rajah now, but he desired to know what present we had for the Rajah. Wee now thought it prudence to let him know that wee resented his behaviour towards us, and tould him somewhat of our mind, after which wee took a civill leave and went home. The next morning wee were sent for againe by Annagee, in the Rajahs name, but deferred our coming till wee had newes that French were already gone to him, and Purlaut Punditt sent his man to desire wee would make hast when wee left our house, and when wee came neer to the house where the Rajah was, adjoyning to our ould house, a messinger was sent to desire us to stay under a tree where after wee had bin a small time wee were admitted into his presence. I was placed soe neare him on his right hand that I could touch him; with him wee continued about (two) howers, which was most part spent in answering many of his questions, at length wee presented him our paper of desires, which after had bin read to him, with a little pause seriously looking on us, said that it was all granted us. He would give us a Phiremaun for all; wee then sent for a present that wee had made ready for him amounting to about 200 pags with what wee gave privately to Parlaut Punditt etc. that much assisted us; which money wee count very well bestowed and doubt not but that you will highly approve thereof.

The English with the Raja for two hours.

Phirmand to be granted.

The same evening (that) the Rajah went hence, and wee dispatched Mohondass to waite upon him and gett the Phuremaun sealed, for him wee waited this many dayes hourely expecting him but being lately informed that the Rajah hath sett whatches, suffering none to passe to the northward of the place where he is but are searched and that papers found about them taken away; shall not keep these any longer, but copie of the Pharemaun shall send here-after. The foundation for a house for us is dugg and lime and stone gathered together for it. The Rajah left a man behind him, whose businesse is only to looke after the worke

Mohandas sent to secure a Phirmand.

and see it finished with all speed. The money for building is to be paid to him by the Subeedarr, soe that wee shall not be at any more charge for a house that will cost building at least fiveteen thousand rupees. Wee have not as yett any goods on account the 5000 pags; cocoanutts wee are only offered att the Rajahs rates: But then wee are not in haste to take, for wee dayly expect our Phirmaune when if wee must take them and the beetlenuts, wee shall have them att a cheaper rate; butt with neither shall wee meddle till receive your orders.[1] "

New house for the English.

Cocoanuts etc., to be taken.

We thinke you have no cause and hope you have noe thoughts to imagine any otherwise of us but that wee have and shall behave ourselves with all moderation, justice and candore (condour) towards the Rajah, his officers and the nationes of the countrey; our actions we begg may plead for us.....But wee desire for the future such as send their Boates hither favour us with a line or two that wee may know what port the vessell belongs to, her owners name, the perticulars of her cargo, and for whose account, the occasion of offence to the Rajah and his governours, for our customes for some goods, is but halfe soe much as others pay, besides those vessells, wee favour, reape other great kindnesses.[2] "

The English obtain some privileges at Rajapur.

7. Shivaji desires guns from the English

On the restoration of the friendly relations with the English Shivaji sent a present to the Governor of Bombay and requested him for the supply of 50 guns, but these were not sold to him for political reasons. Although the Company was importing guns for sale in India, yet it disposed of these means of destruction to those from whom there was no danger to their possessions. While the English were trying to obtain privileges from Shivaji, they were not ready to reciprocate with him, lest the Raja might some day employ those guns against their island.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 66. Fols. 45-48. Rajapore 20th Aprill 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 52. Rajapur. 3rd May 1675.

" Wee have now to advise that Sevagee hath now here an envoy who hath brought an extraordinary kinde letter from him to the President together with a present of 5 loads of ordinary stuffs and a confirmation of the order for the President of the mony according to agreement at Rajapore and other priviledges which he hath granted to the English in his country and in a private message he hath desired us to supply him 50 great iron gunns from 40 to 60 hundred weight of which wee are at present totally unfurnished except wee spare him what belongs to the ffort, besides which he hath alsoe sent to deale with us for the two greate brass gunns which wee can sell to him for reasonable profit, but wee have a tender upon us, least the sale thereof being knowne to the Mogull and (this) tis impossible to hide, it may create some disturbance to the Companys affaires att Surratt; for which reason wee have suspended our answere at present to both these proposals, untill wee heare from you; wherefore wee desire you seriously to advise the conveniency and inconveniency of this affaire. It will certainly be very good for the Company to ease their large dead stock here by the sale of some of the gunns and especially the two great brass gunns which lye heavy upon us. But if the disposall thereof may any wayes prove dangerous to the peace of your settlement in Surratt, you being the best judges, pray let us know your opinion that wee may proceed accordingly. [1] "

Confirmation of the treaty by Shivaji's envoy at Bombay.

Whether guns be sold to Shivaji?

The Surat Factors advanced several reasons for not selling the guns to Shivaji.

" By a letter of the 2nd current from our President and his Councell in Bombay, wee are advised that Sevajee hath an envoy there who sollicites the President to spare him for his masters use 50 great iron ordnance, from 40 to 60 cwt apiece, and moreover desires the 2 brass gunns that came out the last year; which being an affaire that may interfere with the Companys affairs in this place and others of this kings dominions, they have thought fitt to advise with us therein, which wee having duly

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 6. 9 Nov. 1674.

debated, wee have concluded to lett our friends there know, that (1) such an action would incense this king, their being letters wrote up to court against the ffrench for furnishing him lately with ammunition and (2) they are not a little disgusted that Sevagee hath bin furnished with provitions from our island of Bombay, much more would they be concernd upon our accomodating their enemys with ammunition and our friends at Bombay doe declare it is impossible to hide such a thing from their knowledge. (3) Moreover wee doe know that the ffort hath no such quantitys of large guns to spare, there not being above 13 Iron ordnance from 40 to 50 cwt, when it is requisite there should be a greater quantity and for the 2 brass guns although they be a great charge of dead stock, yet they are so absolutely necessary for the defence of the place having so great a command into the sea that wee should grieve to part with them to Sevagee or any other although it may give no offence. "[1]

"Your proposall to us about accomodating the desire of Sevajee in furnishing him with 50 great ordnance from 40 to 60 h. weight, and the 2 great Brass gunns that came out the last yeare, wee have debated, and doe finde that soe publique an action as that would be, must needs provoke this king, who being already made sensible by his minister Bander Ckaun and others as we hear, that his enemy is furnished with provissions from our island, might be incensed to ruine our trade in his dominions should wee assist him with such ammunition and what the French have lately done of this nature, the Governor hath wrote up to the king; nor indeed have you such store of gunns of that waight as to spare any without prejudice to the castle, for you have not wee thinke above (which were brought out in the Barkley Castle) from 40 to 48 cwt and wee could wish you had as many more such. And for the brass gunns, wee heare from divers of the commanders etc. they are of such use and service by the command they have into the sea, besides the repute they give to the place that although they are a charge, yet wee should blush to thinke, that either Sevajee, or any others should be master of them.[2]"

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Part IV. Surat Consultation 12th Nov. 1674.
2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 88. Fol. 244. Surat 13th November 1674.

"As concerning the great gunns which Savagée soe earnestly desires of us, wee observe what you write thereon, but cannot att present give you our sense, untill the affaires be againe debated and considered of here in Counsell. [1]"

Bombay council's indecision.

"The Broker was also ordered to find out a Chapman for 89 Iron gunns brought out last year by those ships and this year by the Faulcon, if they would give 11 rupees the cwt. for the whole parcell." [2]

Price of guns.

"Though Sevagee should profer you ready money for your two brass gunns, yet wee would not have you part with them without a positive order from us: for it is a matter of great consequence, and wee know not how farr he may be trusted. [3]"

Guns not to be sold to Shivaji

"The two great brass guns are remayning at the (Bombay) fort, no person appearing to buy them. Indeed Sevagee would be our chapman for them and many more things, but without money or expectation of payment his great debt to your Honours may witness what small punctuallity may be expected from him. If any buyer presents, (we) shall dispose of them. [4]"

8. The plunder of the Dharangaon factory

While Shivaji's forces were on their plundering expeditions in Khandesh, they looted a great commercial centre by name, Dharangaon, on the 1st of January 1675 and took away certain goods from the English Factory also. But these bold and enterprising merchants never tamely submitted to even petty wrongs done to them. They immediately protested against the high-handed proceedings of Shivaji's soldiers and demanded a due compensation from the Raja. The story of the plunder and the negotiations is amply told by the following letters.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 15, Bombay to Surat, 23rd November 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 3. Part. IV. Fol. 49 Surat 28 November 1674.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 90. Surat 5th December 1676.
4. F. R. Surat Vol, 89. Fol. 30. Swally Marine to the Co. 21st Jan. 1678.

"Mr Samuell Austen and Mr. Haggerston are returned to us. Their ffactory at Dungom being destroyed by Sevajees forces the lst of this month; our warehouse with what goods therein the Generall ordered to be burnt, notwithstanding they declared themselves English that wee had peace with Sevajee and had settled a factory in Rajapore which some of his principall officers about him did affirme and would have persuaded the generall to forbear what he did and let our people go, but would not prevaile. At length after they had carried them 30 or 40 course with them, dismissed them haveing taken away all they had and chabuckt (whipped) one of them because he had noe more. Wee feare the Hon'ble Company have lost in cloth in the warehonse and in the weavers houses and moneys imprested them about 10,000 rups, an account of which wee shall endeavour carefully to collect with the ffactors losses and send you soe soon as wee can have it punctuall from the Brokers at Dungom. That satisfaction may be required and a greater security for our trade, or our peace with Sevajee will be only a baite to take the Companys Estate by parcells, wherever his people by their inroades shall find it; more especially tis requisite that you procure his Cowles for our Brokers and English factors in all places where our investments are made." [1]

The English Factory at Dungom plundered.

Loss sustained.

Security for further trade.

"Wee are sorry for the disaster at Dungom and the hard fate which hath fallen on Mr. Austen and Mr. Haggerston; loss could not but bee expected from Forces (?) bent and designed wholy on plunder. Sevagee and wee in these parts keep a fair understanding and good correspondence and we question not but it will continue, however we shall make a full demand of the Companys and factors loss there of him and procure for the future if possible we can, coles for the English factors and Brokers in all places where our investments are made that none of his forces at any time molest them." [2]

Plunder of the English Factory at Dungom.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 13. Suratt 20th January 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 60, Bombay 6th February 1675.

Satisfaction demanded from Shivaji.

" Wee are now sending a letter to Sevagee together with coppy of Attestation of Mr. Austen and Mr. Haggerston concerning his forces plundering Dungom, wherein wee demand full satisfaction for the Company etc. losses sustained there and hope to procure satisfaction for the same. " [1]

Austin to be sent to Shivaji.

" Wee have thought good to send Mr. Samuell Austin up to Sevagy to demand satisfaction, for what his army plundered and burnt at Dungom belonging to the Honourable Company and their factors there, who will sett forward from hence toward Rairy about two days hence. " [2]

More charters from Shivaji.

After enquiring whether Samuel Austen (formerly sent to Shivaji) should again be sent to his former charge at Dharangaon, the Bombay Governor observes: " We hope to procure sure authentick coles from Sevagee, that wee hope they will secure the Honourable Companys trade from the violence of his armies hereafter. " [3]

Proposal to send Austin to Dumgom for estimating the loss.

" Wee doe now find a necessity of sending up Mr. Austen to adjust the accompts with the brokers, weavers and washers in the severall townes where our investments were on foot, when Sevagees forces robbed the the place (Dungom) that wee may know that certaine losses the Company have and (if) certainely the businesse be not well searcht into, the broker soe much indebted to the Hon'ble Company will pay a good part of his debt with pretended losses. " [4]

9. Austin's Embassy to Rairi in 1675

(" A Narative of what occurred in Samuell Austins journey to the Castle of Rairy, the Court and residence of Sevagee Rajah, being thither sent by the Honable. Gerald Aungier, etc., Councill, to demand satisfaction for the damage the Honable Company susteyned by

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 64. Bombay to Surat 20th February 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 75. Bombay to Surat 13th March 1675.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. 19th June 1675.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 77. Surat 31st July 1675.

his army (consisting of 12,000 horse) at the factory of Dungom, and likewise to obtain his Coles to prevent like injuries.)

The 24th August, 1675. Having received my instructions from the Honble. President etc., Councell and got all things in readyness for the journey, I imbarkt in a balloone together with Mr. Robert Harbin (who was appointed to accompany mee], and by breake of the ensuing day, arrived at Battee, from whence proceeding to Chaul and towards Rairy, I think nothing worthy your trouble of veiwing untill I obtained Nejampore, which was on the 2nd September in which place meeting with our most prevalent friend Pashua Mora Pundit, together with Annajee Pundit, I waited on them, and after their alloted presents delivered represented unto them, our injuries and demands of satisfaction for the same; to which they could give no result, in respect of their distance from the Rajah, and no otherwise favour us but by writeing to him in our behalfes, by reason of their designe for Junea (with an army of 8,000 foote] and suddaine departure from thence.

The English interviewed Moro Pandit at Nizampur.

The 6th September. On the 6th of September we gained the high and difficult top of Rairy hill, which impertially may boast of either, and fortunately had an audience the next day of Sevagee and Sambojee Rahah etc., principal officers, who being burthened with shame at my complaints, a pollitick slumber incircled his brow, and seemingly hung thereon untill I had finished; and then he pleaded ignorance to the fact and totally denyed the reception of any effect[s] whatsoever, and so desired time for his most serious considerations.

The envoys had an audience with Shivaji on 7th September.

The 15th September. After audience had, Perlad Pundet, our procurator was not idle in this affair, but with much courage and rigour stirred up the Rajah to give us a speedy and effectuall answere, which would not be obtained untill the 15th of September when at the same place as formerly he expressed his minde in few words, to witt, that in respect he had not account given him by his Generall of any effect(s) taken from us more than some

No compensation for Dharangaon debt.

plate (which belonged to Samuell Austen), he thought our demands very unreasonable, and in respect our Factory was not so well fortified as even to oppose the meanest force; he had no reason to satisfy us for that which vagabonds and scouts committed, without order or the knowledge of the Generall. To which I answered, it was done by his Generalls knowledge; otherwise he would not have carryed me away prisoner as far as he did, and therefore desired his personall appearance to deny it if he could. He tooke no notice of this, but on the contrary assured me I should have no satisfaction. Meeting with so small comfort (after many arguments to move him to a more generous complyance), I proceeded to request for his Coles for all our factoryes, to which he demurred, and thought convenient to give to none but Suratt etc. sea port townes. But after a strict debate, he consented to all, and ordered the Secretary in our heareing to dispatch them, which since are arrived to the Honble. President and Councells hands, and question not (finding soe great a difficulty in procuring them) but they will redound much to the Honble. Companys advantage, in case such like accidents should happen for the future."[1]

Cowles for future securty given.

"At Mr. Samuell Austins earnest request, we have made choice of Mr. Robert Harbin to goe his second to resettle the factory of Dungom...Mr. Austin also desires that you would take care to recover the money granted him by Sevagee. Here is a flying report that Sevagee is dead; wherefore wee would have you consider whether it be safe to deliver the bill out of your hands before you are further satisfied of the truth hereof."[2]

Dungom factory to be re-settled.

Further rumour of Shivaji's death.

Letters were addressed to the company containing the account of the plunder of the factory and the result of the embassy to Shivaji. The Directors approved of the proceedings adopted by the Surat Presidency to recover compensation from Shivaji.

1. O.C. Vol. 36. 4106.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 13. Swally Marine 24th January1676.

"Wee advised you formerly the ill successe of your factory at Dungom neare Brainpore (Burhanpur) where Mr. Samuell Austin was taken prisoner, plundered of all he had to the very clothes on his back, and your factory house burnt, all the goods therein, and all the weavers destroyed by Savajees flying Army. Touching which wee thought fit to send up Mr. Austin himself to Savajee Rajah, to complain and expostulate the great violence done us when we were at peace with him, whose narrative wee send you herewith. Sattisfaction could not be procured, Savajee declaring that he was not liable to make good any losse wee sustained in his enemyes country against whome he prosecuted a just war; he blamed the Generall of his Army much for the violence done us: and to the end wee should not be subject to such injuries heareafter, he gave us his coles or passports for that place, also for many other factoryes; but wee know not how farr they may be trusted unto, and therefore wee shall adventure noe more than the necessity of your affairs force us unto, for the better procuring of goods for England. Mr. Austin hath in this affaire done you good service and behaved himselfe prudently; his losses were great and bespeak your favorable eye towards him."[1]

The plunder of the English factory at Dungom near Burhanpur.

Cowles granted by Shivaji exempting them from future plunder.

"Mr. Samuell Austin hath againe earnestly entreated us to remind of his concerne with Sevagee. Wee desire that you would so use your endeavour for the procureing him speedy satisfaction, being he is fearefull should Sevagee be dead as it is reported, he would never recover a farthing for his loss."[2]

Austin's loss to be recovered from Shivaji.

"Having received from Sevajee his cole or passport for security of the ffactory of Dungom, wee have thought good to resettle the ffactory again, being very necessary for your investment; whither wee have sent Mr. Samuell Austen together with Mr. Keek and Mr. Shapé, who we hope will doe you very good service there."[3]

Resettlement of the Dungom Factory.

1. O, C. 4175. Vol. 36. Forrest H. S. I. P. 81. Swally Marine to the Co. 2nd Feb. 1676.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 17. Surat 8th February 1676.
3. Swally Marine the 7th Aprill 1676. Forrest H. S. I. P. 93.

"We approve of the course you have taken to gett sattisfaction of Sevagee for our loss at Dungom and would have you prosecute it, for tho it should cost as much as you shall recover, yet it will deterr him from making the like depradations for the future, when they consider they must pay for it." [1]

10. Prospects of the factories on the Western Coast

Highly experienced factors like Messrs. Child and Oxinden were posted to Rajapur and Carwar respectively for securing the best terms on which trade could be carried on in Shivaji's territories from these two ports.

Building a factory at Rajapur.

"The Subedar of Rajapur is very importunate with the English to build a factory there." [2]

Mr. Child at Rajapur.

"Wee doe not find but your settlement there, hath been very well esteemed by Savajee and all the neighbour Governments of Deccan by whome your factors were Received with all Demonstrations of kindnesse, and Respect to your honours and that of the nation, and wee persweded ourselves it will in a yeare or two more become an usefull and advantageous factory unto us (?). Mr. Childs time having been onely taken up in travelling up the countrey for the settlement of your businesse, he hath not yet had opportunity to prosecute your demands on Savajee for your former losse at Rojapore, according to contract, but we expect he will suddenly bring that affairs, to some issue.[3]

The trade at Carwar had much dwindled down on account of the ruin caused by Shivaji's wars in those parts. Mr. Oxinden was sent to interview Shivaji's officers at Karwar for an uninterrupted trade there.

"Your factory at Carwarr which in former ages proved bene-

1. Letter Book. Vol. 5, 266.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107, Fol. 69. Rasapore to Surat 11th February 1675,
3. To the Company from Swally Marine 17th Jan. 1675-76, S. F. Out. Letter Book No. 2. P. 32.

ficiall, and supplyed us with such large quantities of cloth and pepper, hath disappointed (?) us this yeare alsoe for wee have received from thence not one eighth part, what wee used to have from thence. This factory make the same complaint of intestine warrs which are growne more violent since Savajee conquered those parts, who plundering and distroying wherever he goes, hath brought an utter ruine on all trade. Wee have lately sent Mr. Henry Oxinden, Cheife of that factory with effectuall orders from Savajee, to his Ministers together with his Cole or passe for their future security and wee trust that by his large experience and acquaintance gained with severall of Savajees officers, that your affaires in that factory will comence againe and that the next yeare it will afford us the usuall quantity of goods.[1]

Mr. Oxinden sent with Cowl from Shivaji for trade in the Carnatic.

" The Deputie Governour did lately send the President a bill of Exchange drawne by Sevajee Rajah upon his corrispondent in Golconda, part where of being on account of money due to some Merchants on Bombay and paid for corne and other goods sold to Sevajee's Soobedarrs by his owne order, the Remainder of the money was to be invested in corne for Sevajees owne account. The said bill was accordingly sent up, but is againe returned unto us, the person on whome it was drawne being departed from Golconda before its arrivall. The bill wee now returne you here inclosed; seeing the Company themselves are concerned in the business as well as their Merchants whome they are bound to protect against any violence of their neighbours; wee thinke good that you owne the cause publikly as the Companys concerne; and in order to the speedy recovery of said money that you send up the chiefe Broker Girderdas together with Narran Sunay and one or 2 able English men who in the Companys name are to deliver the letter herewith sent to Sevajee and Moro Punditt together with another letter from the Deputie Governor and in the said name to demand satisfaction for the said money together with interest and other damages and they are not to depart till they have satisfaction; but if they see no

Realisation of money from Shivaji whose bill remained unpaid at Golcondah.

1. S. F. Letter Book No. 2. P. 33, 17 Jan. Out, 1676.

probability of sattisfaction, then the Englishmen are first to make protest in the Companys name against their proceedings, and declare that if any damage or breach of friendship doth acrew there by, they are the cause thereof; and then they are to return and having given you an account of their proceedings: you are to signifie the same to us, and wee shall take such course therein as shall consist with our Master's Honour, Interest and security of their Merchants and trade hereafter in those parts. All which wee heartily commend to your observance and remaine. [1] "

The same points are expressed in a consultation held at Bombay on 19th February 1676. [2]

Why the Hundi was not accepted ?

" Narransinay and Caus Moody being returned from Mora Panditt with an answer to the President's letter touching the bill of exchange that was returned, and Mora Panditt having alsoe wrott a very civill letter to the Deputy Governor declaring that the reason the bill of exchange was not accepted to be occasioned by the departure of the person on whom it was drawn, and that he was now arrived to Sevagee with the money, and that he had wrott Savagee how great the disappointment hath been to the English, which being taken into consideration, it was thought convenient that two persons be sent immediately to Savagee with the bill and to make demand thereof, which if he denies to pay they are to returne with his answer that wee may send some English to make demand, and, in case necessity requires, to protest against him according to the orders wee have received from the President and Councill, and in regard it is cheaper. sending such of our servants as are natives than English, it was ordered that Narransinay and Caus Moody be dispatch'd with all convenient speed to Sevagee with the bill of exchange, which, if accepted; they are to advise us thereof and remaine there till they receive our further orders, but if not returne speedily with Savagees answer thereto that wee may put in execution the Presidents and Councills orders. "

1. Forrest H. S. I. 80. Swally Manine 24th Jany. 1676.
2. F. R, Bombay Vol. 2. P. 9.

"Wee read your overtures made with the Soobedarr and doe much wonder you have made soe many delayes, and that hitherto you have received noe sattisffaction. You know well that it is a desperate Debt, and that wee should be glad of any thing, what wee can get, and doe veryly beleive this to be a falacy of Savajee's Soobebarr and that he never intends your loding either coconutts or bettle for Surat, on our vessells, to be sould by us here, however at your request wee shall order some boates to be sent you from the Island together with the Mayboome, if she can performe the voyage."[1]

The Rajapur factors blamed for not realizing debts from Shivaji.

"Wee take notice of Sevagee's death which is alsoe confirmed here; wee pray be carefull to recover the money which is due to the Company and the merchants on the island, for the last goods sould, and trust noe more of the Companys Estate in any of the Soobedarrs hands, till the debt be first sattisfied; of them be as wary as you can; how you trust those people, till they keepe their words better with us than hitherto they have done.....Mr. John Child haveing advised us that the Soobedarr of Rajapore hath a great quantity of coconutts to be laden for, account of freight to be sent for, sale at Surratt which coconutts wee are to dispose of and there out to pay the Company the first payment of what agreed on previous contract; we have thought good to order the Mayboome downe thither, as well to lade, so much as she can bring herselfe; as to be convoy to such other vessells as wee would have you hire at Bombay for transport of said goods from Rajapore to Surratt; wee inclosed send you the contract made betweene Mr. Child and the Soobedarr of Rajapore and would have you not to faill to send downe boats sufficient for the bringing up the said goods to which end you may imploy Mallabars Boates, the Companys Shibarrs if not otherwise disposed and in want of them you may hire a good large grob or two at Mahim, Bandera and Bombay at as cheape a rate as you can and send them

Confirmation of the rumour of Shivaji's death

Goods to be brought from Rajapur.

1. S. F. Outward Letter Book. No. 2. P. 75. 12 Feb. 1676. From Surat to Rajapore.

downe with all speed to Rajapore either together with the Mayboome or before her, to the end noe time may be lost, for the sooner we get the money into our hands the better. [1]

"You have omitted to advise us what success you have had in your demands touching recovery of the money due to the company etc. merchants from Sevagee. Wee feare you are too remiss and indifferent in that affaire and looke upon it only as a private concerne; whereas if you understand it aright, it is like to be the standard of your future dealings with Sevagee, and his ministers, for if you suffer yourselves to be baffled in this business, they will use you soe hereafter. Wee therefore desire you to prosecute the said demand with all vigoure and that you signifie to Sevagee and his minister that if they use us soe injuriously in detaining our money and breaking the contracts made with them, wee shall be forced to withdraw all correspondence and trade from their countrey. And wee desire you to be wary how you trust them in the Companys account till that debt be satisfyed." [2]

Strong attitude to be taken in the recovery of money.

11. Quarrel between the English and the Maratha Governor of Karwar

Karwar was captured and occupied by the forces of Shivaji and hence the English merchants were anxious to secure ratification of their privileges in that port. Before they could obtain a charter from Shivaji, they came into conflict with the local Governor on the question of duties.

"Sevagee hath made a thorough conquest of the Country hereabouts. Robert Jones and Edward Austen went and visited him, as to the discourse they had with him about the Companys business, wee referr your worships to our other General (Letter) which wee thinke is something satisfactory to acquaint how affaires are with us at present. [3]"

The English ambassadors have an interview with Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fols. 16-17. Surat 8th Feb. 1676.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 33. Surat 29th April 1676.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 104. Carwar to Surat 25th May 1675.

"Wee have sufficiently perticipated with the calemityes of the countrey since our new comers have invested themselves in the possession, for our Carwareans to wind themselves into your favour, with their owne insulting inclination hath bred noe small difference, as to the robbing us of our former rights and priviledges, the first affront they gave us was in respect of our cocanutt trees belonging to our garden which they would come and tell and likewise the cocanutts upon them, woe told them wee never used to be examined in the Moores time how many trees wee had, but that wee did pay 1 pago ½ Tipkee a year to them as a duty, but never received any further trouble, with this answer they would not be satisfied, but wee was forced to send them an account; they were soe tyrannicall as they would have obleiged us to sell the cocoнutts to them, but wee putt them off, the businesse lyes dead; noe sooner had wee lulled the businesse asleep and thought that all our trouble had bin over, but was surprised with a far greater perplexity, for the *simader* (Zimindar) being informed by the incendiaries to mischiefe there, upon the change of Government when most people rann away that they left their rice with our peons; upon the newes he sends that Towns Musumdar to search for it, wee haveing advice upon what account he came sent for him, and told him, wee would enquire of our peons about it, and if hee could produce any sufficient testimony he should not only have their rice but see the peons severally punishhed that wee are guilty of such a fault; with this he went away something satisfied to our thinking; noe sooner was hee gone out of the doore, but sends his peons to severall of our servents houses to take account of the rice they had not time to carry any away, for our servants was at their backs and frighted them away without any harme done, wee sent for that *musumder* (Muzamdar) and gave him a small check for his impatience and all past very quietly till the next day; and then he began his ould trade to search, wee past that over with a gentle admonition not to invade our privilidges which councell hee took for that time and desired us to examine our servants if they had any rice of people that had run away; wee promised him wee would which wee did and found a good quantity of other mens rice among our peons; which they confest soe soone as they were askt. Wee had the account drawn out to show that Simindar (Zimindar)

Quarrels of the English with Carwar authorities.

whensoeever he should demand it, that wee might end all further trouble; when he came over he did not soe much as send to us to know whether wee had done any things in the businese, but sends and takes out all the rice that did belong to one of our servants, wee hearing of it examined the list and found that our servants had some of other mens, soe desired the Simidar to returne what he had taken more then is due, but wee perceived no mockedum (Head Constable) and soe wee brought it back ourselves without any harme done. After we were returned to our house, the Musumdar went to the Simidar to send him some horse and foott to force us to a better complyance to deliver them soe much rice as their account speakes, wee told him wee would deliver up according to our account, and the force nor nothing else should compell us to doe other wise. Wee have turned out of the garden all rice that belongs to them. We heard the Simidar would faine have quarrelled with us about this business as they pretend, and to the purpose did desire the Governor of the castle to spare him 100 men to joyne with his 30 horse and soe come to rob us and our peons, but the Governor being an understanding man, and knowing how the Simidar had abused us put him off by telling him he must have the Rajahs order, our troubles are renewed daily and wee can never expect the Factory to flourish as long as it is under Sevagees Government, they have robbed all the country people soe much as to the seed they should sowe, soe that the next year the men will be ready to eat one another for the new crop will be very small. All people prey that the Moores may come and regaine the country and there is a rumour that they will come after the raines. Timmanna waiting their coming to joyne them, a few dayes more will discover that certainty.

The Maratha oppressions.

Wee have made bold to send our complaints to the Rajah, he being something nigher us than you, that wee might not loose soe much time for an answer as your honour etc. letter would take up. But wee desire you to write him about it, and our answer from the Rajah with his order to the Semidar, will keep him in some bounds of civillity till a letter comes writ by your honours etc. instigation."[1]

Shivaji was complained against his Officers

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 73-74. Carwar 1st July 1675.

"Wee could not send (them interlopers or Maratha rulers of Carwar,) money which they have bin very importunate for, countinually hinting us what wee have spared Mahmud Ckaune and other Moores upon a necessity, wee alwaies gave them a modest denial that though wee sent them away empty they had noe reason to be dissatisfied with us. But these men are soe unreasonable that they look upon it as an affront to be denied, though wee have it not and to make us sensible of it they have brought up a new custome as to make us pay custome att Burbullee which is att the bottome of the Gaute; these insolencies if sufferred will make them thinke they cannot impose too much upon us, wee know not what to say or doe, for wee cannot send a letter to your honour etc. But they must have something for it or will not lett it passe. Wee wrote formerly to your honour etc. of their affronts cast upon us, hoping that you will take this and the Hubely businesse into your serious consideration that our factory may come once more to shine in its former splendour, having lost much of its reputation.

The English asked to pay money.

A new toll imposed on the goods of the English.

Here is uncertaine newes and therefore we know not what may be done after the raines. but if the Moores should come to conquer these partes, and that Sevagee should come here in September, as it is bruited, wee desire your honour etc. as there may be occasion to order the Captaines accordingly, for if this king and Sevagees (army) lies hereabouts, wee thinke it will be insecure bringing any goods downe the Gautes.[1]"

Prospect of a new war

"Wee informed your honour etc. in our general (sent per your returned cossitts) that wee had sent a letter of complaints to the Rajah of his ministers insolence here; which letter wee sent by those cossitts to Rajahpore and desired our friends there to forward it with all speed possible to the Rajah, being businesse of no small import, our owne peons as they returned back from Surratt

Grievances sent to the Raja.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 89–90. Carwar 28th July 1675.

called there to know whither they had any letters from this factory or Callicutt, they did not show soe much good will to us, nor respect to our honourable masters affaires as enough to receive the Rajahs answer to send it to us, which we suppose they have detained.....

The Semidar having received of the country people that keep buffaloes and cowes according to their Rojapore custome, is endeavouring to impose that as a duty that never was demanded by the Moors; they upon this have seized upon all their buffaloes and cowes and tell us with all (?) they will never returne them till our servants do fully satisfie the Rajapore duty, so that wee believe they will remaine in the Semidars power, till Mr. Oxinden our chiefe comes down, for wee are resolved never to condiscend that our servants shall pay them any thing for their releasment.

Another quarrel with the Zimindar at Carwar.

Wee may blesse God that wee have a house that is of force sufficient to defend us from their rapine and plunder; for wee doe not question if wee were at their mercy, as wee was in the Moores time we were on the other side (our tot) tering house being rather on offence than defence- wee had long ere this been devested of all. [1]"

The English have a strong house to defend themselves.

"As for affairs at present they are as wee formerly advised you, the Simider maintaining his vyolence and preamitorily tells us that he will not lett goe our servants cattle without they will complye with their Rajahpore custome, which they say is to pay for each buffillo 4 larrees and for a cow one, we are advised that they pay at Rajapore...Larres a buffillo and one for a cow; that is not all, for they demand custome of buffillos and cowes for the former yeare when the country was governed by the Moores; we lye very quiett waiting with impatience for Mr. Oxindens comeing downe, hoping to meete with some satisfaction towards the repairing our Honour, wee judge wee shall drive a very little trade if the country continues subject to Sevagees Tyranny. We expect to carry our cloth to (Vingurla ?) and there to laid off the shipp that shall come downe. [2]"

Custom on cattle demanded at Carwar.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 111-12. Carwar 22nd August 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Carwar 29th Aug. 1675.

CHAPTER XVI

Tardy Fulfilment of the Treaty *(Contd.)*

1. Athani plundered by Shivaji in 1676

Athani is even now a commercial centre in the Belgaum District. In the last quarter of the 17th century, it was a very important entrepôt for the distribution of the local agricultural produce. Shivaji made a raid on the town and plundered the English Factory in the general loot. His forces carried away plunder worth about three lakhs of pagodas from the town. While the English were trying to obtain satisfaction for losses suffered at Rajapur, Hubli and Dharangaon, they had to suffer a further loss by the plunder of their factory at Athani.

"The report still continues of Sevajee's death, (but yet it is much doubted). He was poysoned by his barber, and for a long time hath not appeared abroad, but his army hath lately robbed a considerable mart towne in Decan called Hanttanee near Raybagg, where wee heare some of your estate is plundered but doe not yet know the certainty thereof. He holds a very faire understanding with your Island Bombay and all offices of ffreindshipp passe betweene them."[1]

Shivaji poisoned by his barber.

"Wee are now fully assured of Sevagee's perfect recovery and that he hath been abroad with his armys and plundered Hanttannee (as Report speakes) of 3,00,000 Pagodas where your Honours have been some small suffererers, vizt. 16 pieces Broad Cloth, 19 pieces Perpetuanoes and 8 pieccs Surges. The factories of Carwarr and Rajapur by reason of these troubles are very insecure; we have thoughts, if these warrs continue, to withdraw one or both of them, but wee hope for better times which God send,"

Shivaji's recovery from illness.

Amount of plunder and the English loss at Athani.

1, O. C. 4202; Forrest H. S. I. .P 93. Swally Marine to the Co. 7th April 1676.

"Wee take notice of Sevajees plundering Hattanee wherein the Company have sustained some loss. Wee approved well of your sending Mr. Lounds for the securing the Companys goods at Hubely which, feare, alsoe is fallen under the Rajah Savajees Army who, wee hear, are gone that way and wee pray God preserve the Companys estate from their hands, for wee expect but little sattisfaction from them afterwards and which is worse wee feare soe long as he lives, wee shall never have any settled trade in those partes."[1]

Mr. Lounds to Shivaji.

"Wee are sorry to understand that Sevajees army has robbed Hattanee which doubtless hath given a dangerous wound to all the trade of your partes. The losses the Company have sustained, wee are much apprehensive of, not soe much for the value thereof (which yet is too much to loose) as for the utter disregard Sevagee hath of all his coles (Cowls) etc. promised to us, and alsoe to other merchants which causes us to consider that soe long as he lives wee may noe wayes expect security or increase of the Companys trade and therefore we shall govern ourselves accordingly, wee doe not find the matter worth our concerning ourselves for our writing to Sevajee about, especially at this time when wee know not where to find him; but hereafter wee shall take a first opportunity to signifie our Resentment; in the meane time wee would have you prosecute the Companys demands as from yourselves, endeavour what sattisfaction you can, in bettlenutt or coconutts or whatever you can get and tell the Soobedar from us that if full sattisfaction be not given and alsoe full complyance with our former contract, and will tell (him if ?) wee can (not) live and trade with greater security and freedome in his Port and the townes adjacent, he must never expect that wee can make any thorough settlement there."[2]

English demand compensation for losses at Athani.

1. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 112. From Swally Marine to Carwar. 12 April 1676.
2. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 110. To Rajapore, Swally Marrine 12th April 1676.

"In our last wee advised you the report of Sevajees death, but wee soone after found it fabulous, and that he was recovered of his sicknesse, and his Armys abroad, which has plundered a considerable mart towne in Decan called Hauttanee (Athani) from whence Report speakes he hath carried away 3,00,000 Pagodas, where our Honourable Masters have suffered in 16 pieces Broadcloth and other goods sent thither for sale by the factors at Rajapoor. The Kingdom of Visapore is now in a miserable distracted condition, the King being in his nonage and not able to take the charge of the Government upon him, all his Umbrawes are divided one against another, and in armes. The Mogulls Generall Bander Channe is gone with his army against the whole kingdom, in hopes of conquest and Sevajee, who hath alwayes had an eye that way, but never darest attempt anything for feare of Bander Channe who continually lay with his armyes on the borders at his contreyes, hath now taken opportunity of fishing alsoe in those muddy waters and sided with Bullol Chaune, the Generall of Visapoore, but what the issue of all will be time must produce. In the interim the Company suffer greatly in their factories of Rajapore and Carwarr and all trading impeeded, noe merchants adventuring to buy any goods, and all the weavers fled from their homes, noe place being secure, that they cannot settle to worke, nor dare wee impress them with money till affaires are better setled, which God in his due time send to whose protection wee commed you and remaine."[1]

News of Shivaji's death fabulous.

Shivaji plunders Athani.

Shivaji assists Bijapur against Bahadur Khan.

Trade at a standstill.

2. Failed in the realization of compensation

The Englishmen were all along trying to realise their dues from Shivaji in cash or commodities, but the payments were very slow, and the cocoanuts or betlenuts supplied to the English were generally rotten and highly priced. Being foiled in their attempts, the English gave a threat of withdrawing their Rajapur factory.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 119. To Fort St. George, Surat Pmo. May 1676.

"Wee have wrote to our friend at Rajapore to use their diligence in getting in that 5000 pagodas goods and have likewise wrote to the Subedarr about it, what success they have from them you will hear."[1]

Realization of money.

"Wee are about bargaining to put off together a large quantity of lead, copper and cloth, the former is now here at one pagoda and 1/10 per md, the maund about 28 pounds. Wee have sent to our friends at Rajapore for 10 candys that wee may be assured whether Sevagee will permit us to bring it up or noe, but wee have noe fear but that he will, for he permitts horses and salt without any the least hindrance to goe from Rajapore etc. his port townes up to those partes.

Trade at Rajapur.

The newes of these parts are alltogether uncertaine, for wee have fresh news daily and one contradicts the other."

"Enclosed *wee send a letter that wee received this morning from Savagee together with coles* from the severall factories according to his promise. Such as were of use in these parts wee have, and sent the rest to the President with the list of the whole that was granted by Sevagee."[2]

A letter and Cowles from Shivaji

The English trade with the inland parts was not progressing on account of the continuance of the war. The profit from their new factory at Rajapur fell far short of their expectation. Hence they proposed to open a factory at Junner.

"Wee have thoughts of settling a factory at Junea where wee understand that severall sorts of cloth may be bought cheape and if the triall doth answere expectations, it will bee good help unto us and wee hope the transport hither will bee secure enough whether the peace between the Mogoll and Sevagee be confirmed or noe; for wee have a very faire understanding with both partyes

Proposal of starting a factory at Junner.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fols. 133–136, 15 Sept. 1675. Letter by John Child and S. Mitchell from Raybag.

2. F. R. Surat Vot. 107. Fols. 131-32. 4th October 1675.

and wee doubt not to procure their pasports for the safe conveighance of our goods, the most that will trouble us will bee the pass of Tannah. But wee must deale with the Portuguese as well as wee can, though not soe well as wee would."[1]

"By returne of the Carwarr expresses wee gave answer to yours of the 13th March since wee have received not any from you. These are only to accompany Abajee, who hath often importuned us for money to beare his charges, but you not advising any thing concerning it, wee have not allowed him a pice, and being not returning to Rajapore, hath desired our Letter to you to manifest as much. Wee have received a great deale of trouble from his clamors, wherefore wee desire that in the future, if the Soobedar sends up any more goods on this account that you would be more cleare in your advices, and alsoe procure the Soobedarrs Letter declaring on whose account they are sent and how the charges of his servants must be borne. Alsoe, wee advise you to be very circumspect and cautious in your dealings and contracts with Savajees ministers, for wee experience them to be more subtle aud perfidious every day than other, this at present being the needfull we remaine."[2]

Rajapur factors are advised to be cautious with Shivaji's officers.

" Wee have yours of the 13th Aprill to which wee shall not now give answere: those alsoe doe accompany Abajee the man whome Savajees Soobedar sent up with coconutts, wee were a long time deafe to all his intreaties and earnest solicitations for money but he being, very ill himselfe, and one of his fellow servants dying, wee out of charity (or else they might have starved) have condescended to supply him with 35 Rupees on condition that if the Soobedarr will not allow it, he will make it good to you againe, wherefore wee desire you to charge it to the Soobedarr, and deduct it out of the coconutt account, wee formerly advised you, that the coconutts received by

Abaji was lent some money.

1. F. R. SuratVol. 107.Fols. 113. 15th July 1675. Bomb. to Surat.
2. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 120. To Rajapuur from Surat Pmo. May 1676.

Katch Salenuity were sold for 17½ Rupees, but when they were delivered to the Merchants, they proved so much broken and rotten that they would not stand to their bargaine, and wee could get noe more than 16½ Rupees per mille for them, and that the Company will be small gainers by this contract.

Rotten cocoa-nuts sent to Surat.

Your Groab, *the Lamb*, is anchored to the southward of Gundavee not knowing how to find this Rivers mouth and is not yett arrived to us. Wee have sent a Pilot boat to bring her hither when wee shall unlode her coconutts and dispose of them the best wee can, though wee feare they will come to a bad market, being soe late as the yeare, and this towne continually alarmed by Savaji's forces, noe merchants will looke upon them, and by what wee can yet judge at your new contract and of the Soobedarrs hard and unjust dealing with you, the Company are like to be very great sufferers, and unworthily cheated by them, which wee shall not passe by soe tamely as they apprehended. Wee require you therefore in our name to declare to the Soobedarr, that wee are unsattisffyed with his unjust dealings, and that he is mistaken if he thinks to treate us as he hathe done other merchants, by robbing them, and putting tricks upon them as they please, that he is in a great errour, if he thinkes the 10,000 Pagodas due to Company by contract at the making the peace, to be a *backshees* or donation from the Rajah, for the Company doe neither want, or desire any gift from him, but they demand it as a debt due to them, and doe expect to receive it, either in mony or in merchantable goods; what you have done hitherto therein, wee must be content therewith, because you have done it, but you have not done prudently, to send up coconutts, at the latter end of the yeare, when you know they are extreamely subject to damage, and the price halfe of what it was, and therefore if hereafter they will force coconutts upon you, do not receive any but at the beginning of the yeare, and at the markett price, not at the Rajahs Price and if they will not pay you soe, receive none.

Cocoanuts are of no good.

Rajapur Subedar to be warned.

Wee doe not consent that Mr. Child go up to Rayre to treate about any business, or make any demands of the Rajah Sewajee, for the Company have already been at great charge to treat with him, and give *peiscæshes* to him and his officers and noe good comes therefrom, though we conceive the Rajah himselfe doth not desire to breake friendship with us, but would grant us what is reasonable, yett his officers have so little regard to his orders, that they are not to be trusted. Wee therefore require you to make demand of the Subedarr there on the place, for whatsoever is due to the company either of the former Contract, or the goods lost at Hautanee, or, whatsoever you have sould him, which if he refuses to make good, or to satisfie or confirme the Priviledges granted us by the Rajah as to Customes or other wise, you may declare unto him that you have orders from us to leave the Port, for which alsoe wee would have you prepare, in the meanetime recover in what debts you can and get what Pànthacs and other goods you can procure ready with all speed possible, for wee are soe much dissatisfyed as well with the Rajah and Subedarrs, as other mens proceedings there, that wee may judge it necessary to manifest our resentment, in order to the better manadgement of the Companys affaires hereafter; this wee thought worthy your notice, and require you to act accordingly; we remaine.

No more envoy to Shivaji.

Subedar to be pressed for payment.

Preparations to withdraw the Rajapur factory

Abajee desires us to recommend him to you, who himselfe is weary of the Soobedarrs' service and their false dealings with him, and would gladly be entertained in the English imployment; but he is a stranger to us and therefore wee know not how he may be trusted." [1]

3. Envoys at the court of Shivaji

The Surat Council, being dissatisfied with the work done by Narain Shenwi, the envoy of the English at the court of Shivaji, enquired from the Bombay Government as to the merits of their ambassador at Rairi, and proposed that an Englishman would be better than an Indian as Resident there.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2, pp. 123–4. Suratt to Rajapore, 13 May 1676.

" Wee are now in answere to yours of the 30th Currant. Wee take notice that your endeavours have been carefully disposed for the recovering in of the money due from Savajee, and gladly doe understand the good opinion you have that he intends in the end to keepe fair with us; wee shall expect the successe, and desire you to inquire into the proceedings of Narran Sunay whether he be capable to mannadge such treatys with Sevajee and his ministers, for wee conceive one reason why Sevajees people doe not comply better in their contracts with us, is the slender regard they have to the persons employed with them. Now seeing there will be alwayes a necessity by reason of the Companys affaires on Sevajees country, to have an able, grave, intelligent person residing in Sevajees Court, for the dispach of such business, as wee shall have to be performed, relating to Bombay and other factories. Wee say wee would have you consider whether Narran Sunay be a person qualified for such an employ or whether it were not better, to keepe an Englishman, for the charge will be but little more. And wee are of the opinion, had you sent an Englishman at first and expostulated the matter a little roughly with him; or had sent Girder, for whome they have a farr greater respect than your Narran Sunay, they would sooner have complyed with you than now they are like to doe." [1]

A permanent envoy of the English is appointed at Shivaji's court.

A commission was given to Captain Robert Fisher, dated Surat 29 September 1676 to threaten the coast shipping with reprisals in case the English were not civilly treated.

"Wee have given you to understand the insolencies and injurious practices which the publique ministers and people of Deccan and the coast Mallabar have of late imposed upon the Honble. Company's servants and trade in those parts, for preventing in some measure and putting a stopp to which hereafter wee desire you during your short stay in Rajapore, Carwar and Callicutt; in case there are any ships or vessells there belonging to the said places to command the Nocquedahs and cheife pilotts on board

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 140, To Bombay from Surat, 14th June 1676.

your ship, and then in sharp and severe termes to expostulate with them the reason why the people on shore dare presume to goe to sea without the English passes and use bold and menaceing speeches toward them, declaring that if they doe not behave themselves with more honour and respect to the Company and their servants, and performe their contracts faithfully, pay whatever debts are due to the Company honestly, and keepe a more faire and just understanding with us hereafter then hitherto they have done, they must expect severe chastisement in the seizure and confiscating of their goods, shipps, and other effects of the Honble Companys justly provoked displeasure; for as wee doe noe injury nor offer any injustice or affront to any nation whatsoever, soe wee are resolved to suffer none from any, but to vindicate the Company's right and honour in the manner wee cann. And for that our factors at Callicutt have sent us a remonstrance, declaring the manyfold injuries imposed on the Honble. Company by the Governor of that place and Alle Rajah of Billiapatam, in case the said factors shall stand in need of your personal appearance on shore to expostulate with the Governor or any other ministers touching the said injuries, wee desire you and the rest of the Commanders to countenance them by your advice and councill in the best manner you can, wherein wee hope you will doe the Honble. Company acceptable service, which wee shall not faile to signifie unto them."

O. C. Vol. 37. No. 4225.

(The Factory at Rajapur was to be withdrawn, as the English merchants were being ill-treated by the Maratha ministers.)

"Touching your going up to Raire for the prosecuting our demands upon Sevajee for the loss of the Companys goods at Hattanee and Damgom and clearing the Customes up the Gaut, wee have already given you our opinions in our last from which wee shall not recede.

Recovery of losses from Shivaji.

Wee take notices of your meeting with Annajee Punditt, and

the kind promises he made you. It seemes somewhat strange to us that persons of such wisedome and experience of the world, as Savajees ministers seemes to be, should committ such grosse errors in policy as they do in the discouragement they give to trade, but they are of such a rapacious nature, soe false in the performances of their promises, soe tyranicall to their people and soe abusive to merchants, that wee beginn to consider whether the Companys estate, can be long safe in that country and therefore to procure what goods you can for the years, wee comfirme our orders to you to call in your debts, and keepe your selves in a posture ready to leave the factory at the first summons, though you have hitherto found excuses to contradict our order touching the sending up your Broker Jeevo. Wee doe now expect that you send him up by the first opportunity by sea or land when the season will permitt, for wee cannot take it well, that our directions have been soe long thwarted."[1]

The English plan to withdraw their factory on account of the rapacity of Maratha officers.

"Savajees Army under the Command of Moro Punditt having taken Pindolle from the Rajah of Ramnager (which is a considerable castle about 3 dayes Journey from Surratt), the Generall having left ahout 4000 men to defend itt, went back to Raire. Sundergee Pervooe finds but a could (cold) reception here. Which makes him threaten hard and foretell the miseryes of plunder and desolation to the citty. Wee desire you to have an eye to the proceedings of Shivajees Army, soe soon as they come out of their motion this way, faile not speedily to advice us per express."[2]

Capture of Pindolle by Shivaji's Army.

Shivaji's envoy demand money from Surat.

"As to the letters to Sevagee and Mora Punditt if not allready sent forward, wee leave it to you to consider whither they will require Captain Kegwinns going so farr as Rairy with them or whither it may not as well be donne by Coxcunay (Cox Shenwi) or some other person with far less charge to the Company

1. S. F. Owtward L. B. No. 2. P. 144. To Rojapore from Surat, 14th June 1676.
2. S. R. Surat Vol. 89. Surat 4th June 1676.

for when he was at first designed for that service, both the President and wee did suppose Mora Punditt has been at *Cullean Buinde.* (Kalyan—Bhiwande) or some of those places nearer to Bombay. "[1]

" Mr. John Child &c. factors at Rajapore, on their first settlement there, did give us great encouragement that said factory would prove advantagious to your generall trade, in the provision of considerable quantity of broad and narrow baftas, pautkas, &ca. Deccan cloth, cardamons at cheaper rates then they are procurable at Surat; as also in the vent of broadcloth, &ca. Europe manufactures, and in recovering of the 10000 Pagodas which Sevagee contracted to make good to your Honors &ca. loss at the plunder of Rajapore. But it hath fallen out quite contrary to expectation, for by reason of the lamentable devastation which Sevagee hath made in Raybag, Hautenee, Collapure, &ca. marts of trade, and the excessive price and want of cotton in those parts, noe callicoes have bin procurable this yeare, not will any Europe goods sell, soe that the stock consigned them hath in a manner layen dead all this yeare; and wee have bin totally disappointed of the pautkaes and other goods they promised us, excepting some parcells they have sent us, but they are soe bad and deare that wee can noe way approve them; and to this a most cheate and abuse which the Governour of Rajapore hath put upon them in a bargaine of coconutts which were to be delivered on account of the 10000 pagodas above mentioned, wherein wee compute there will bee at least 12000 Rupees losse, the circumstances whereof wee entreate you to peruse in our Consultation and Coppy booke of letters being too tedious to be incerted here. These considerations together with severall roberys committed by Sevagees army on your estate at the plunder of Raybagg, Hautanee and other violencys and breach of contracts sustained from his ministers, and the unsettled condition of the Deccan country, by the means of the present warr there, hath

Prospects of trade at Rajapur not good.

The English cheated in the payment of compensation.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 47. Surat to Bombay. 14th July 1677.

caused us for the present to dissolve that factory and call your servants away soe soone as wee can, to the end that wee might the better bring Sevagee and his officers to a more just and punctual complyance with us hereafter; and our design hath soe farr succeeded that Sevagee, on the news of our leaving his country, hath sent his sone Sombagee to see justice done us in all our demands, and to perswade us to continue at Rajapore, promising us all faire and punctuall complyance here after. And the Governor of Rajapore would not permitt Mr. Child to come away on the Nathaniell as wee enordered, and hath wrote letters to us assuring us that he will make all reasonable satisfaction and in the future punctually comply with us. Wee have not yett had leizure to debate in councill what is most consistent with your interest, whether to continue the factory or dissolve it, but soe soone as your shipps are gone wee shall enter on this affaire; in the mean time wee shall only say that though some arguments may perswade us to continue our settlement there; yett wee shall not adventure much of your estate till that country is reduced to a more peaceable condition then at present it enjoys, being miserably exposed to the calamitys of warr. "[1]

Rajapur factory to be dissolved.

Shivaji anxious to continue the factory.

"Wee have observed Narran Sunay to be very dilatory in his proceedings, and tardy in his advices, and if you should find Sevagee to deferr payment of his debt after so many delays we would have you send up to him some discreet and (sober) Englishman together with Girderdas, earnestly to prosecute our demands, and not to returne till they have received full satisfaction for the said debt."[2]

Embassy proposed to be sent to Shivaji.

"Touching Captain Kegwine going to Rairy wee wrote you opinions in our last and seeing those letters the President

1. O. C. Vol. 37. No. 4258. Fols. 35-6. Surat to the Co. 22 Jan. 1677.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 52. Surat 19th July 1676.

wrote to Savagee and his ministers are not yet sent forward, wee doe not think it necessary they should, in regard the newes of the Presidents death will have reacht them before they now can, but there being a generall jealousie in towne that so soone as the raines are over, Sevagees forces will draw again this way, whereby wee shall be in continuall alarmes, wee could wish wee had those orders to the Commanders-in-Cheife of Sevagees armys that may come this way, which wrote for in those letters, for the better security of the Honourable Companys and servants which if you thinke they may be procured wee would have you use your endeavors to obtain them." [1]

Captain Kegwin's going to Rairi postponed on account of the death of the President.

4. Embassy of Lt. Adames.

"Wee wonder you have not heard of late from Narran Sunay about his negotiation with Sevajee and his rocovery of these debts. His last advices to the President gave him hopes of a speedy conclusion with him, but there is a great distance between faire words and faire payments; soe soon as the season will permitt, wee have thoughts of sending up a fitter person on that imploy, if before it be not ended."[2]

A fit person to be sent for recovery of money from Shivaji.

"Wee reade the ill success of Narran Sunays negotiation with Sevajee and that you have sent Lieut. Richard Adames to make demand of his debt; wee wish him better success, but should rather have approved of your sending Captain Adderton as a person more fitt for that employment."[3]

Lieut. Adames sent on that mission.

"The 20th Current came to hand yours of the 24th July, of which having taken due notice, wee proceed to let you understand that having had under consideration and due debate the present state of the Honourable Companys affaires in your factory by reason of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Part II. Fol. 50. Surat to Bomb. 31st July 1677.
2. Surat to Bombay Vol. 89. 14th August 1675. Forrest H. S. I, P. 99.
3. Surat to Bombay Vol. 89. 21st August 1676. Forrest H. S. I. P. 100.

the embroils in these countreys, that you can neither sell what goods wee send you without appparent hazzard and danger; nor procure such goods for England as the Company doe require, that they are at a great charge to maintaine that factory and reape little or noe benefitt thereby; nor any probability of the settlement of countreys in peace, moreover the unjust dealings wee receive from Sevajee Rajah and his Soobedarr, in breaking their contracts, not paying their debts, and imposing upon you on all occasions as in the business of the coconutts now remaining by you to the honourable Companys great loss, at least 8 or 9 thousand rupees; the insecurity of the Companys estate in his countreys, or where else hee or his ministers can find it, by the robbing our factories, notwithstanding the peace and articles agreed on betweene us, not valuing the *coles* he gives us for security, nor making us any satisfaction or restitution, for our losses, witness his robbing our ffactories of Hubely, Dungam, and lately your house in Haughtiny (Athani) and when appeals have been made to him for redresse, our people have been returned without any sattisfaction, and laught at for their paines, these things being well weighted by us, wee have concluded to withdraw the Companys estate thence and to call you away, and wee doe hereby require you Mr. John Child, Mr. Charles Ward etc. to prepare yourselves, and be in a readiness, to take your passage upon such ship or ships as wee shall appoint in their returne from the Mallabar Coast, or otherwise to receive you on board with what goods and estate you have there of the Companys and since wee find many of your goods unsold which wee desire you to turne into money soe soon as you can, in case they should not all be disposed of before your comming away, in such case wee doe appoint Mr. Geo. Robinson and Mr. Tho. Michell to remaine there and dispose thereof." [1]

Summary of grievances against Shivaji.

Rajapur Factory to be withdrawn.

"Wee are much abused by the proud ignorance of Sevagees ministers up Gautt, through which feare wee shall be able to procure little or noe goods this yeare, though noe point of our duty

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. Pp. 177-78. To Rajapore, Surat 23rd August 1676.

has been wanting; the newes wee advised in our former is still the same." [1]

5. The withdrawal of the English Factories

The English had several grievances against the Maratha officers stationed in the coast towns. As there was no prospect of getting these redressed, the English decided to withdraw their factories from Shivaji's territories.

Company's goods in danger at Carwar.

"Yett considering that they lye there exposed to the excursions and inroads of enemies after the Raines, wee hope you have given them your orders to dispose of them, rather then to adventure their hazard in a country imbroiled with instestine warrs and too subject to the invasion of enemys, especially of Sevajee who is alwayes hovering with an army where he finds such advantages.

Grievances against Shivaji. recounted.

You too truly conjecture that our factory of Rajapore is a like great charge to the Honourable Company occasioned by the same troubles, that they can neither sell our Europe goods, nor furnish us with any considerable returnes for Europe, for which reason, and the breach of contracts, and the abuses put upon us by Sevajee, and his ministers, in the robbing of our factories and undue payment of our debts, and giving noe satisfaction for our losses, wee cannot thinke our trade there can be secure, and for as much as wee find all faire and amicable addresses to Sevajee hath proved insuccessfull, wee have therefore determined to call out factors thence, and hence, given them orders accordingly to repaire unto us by the returne of our shipping from the Mallabarr Coast, leaving what goods they have up the country then undisposed of, to the charge of two young men, and shall write to the Rajah signifying our grievances to be the cause of our recalling our factors out of his country which in probability may be a meanes, to bring him to honest performances, and add to your peaceable and quiet settlement there, and be a further invitation to our resetting of Rajapore, when those countreys are at peace which wee

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 62, Rajapore 24th August 1676.

cannot expect or reasonably foresee can be settled in some yeares and this is all that wee are able to doe at present, or to assist you further in the complaints you have made unto him, of his Subedar exacting from you 1 per cent more for customes than you formerly paid to the King of Vizapores Ministers; in their demanding customes for the goods you landed there, and afterwards reshipt to Mirjee and sent up the country, and not sould in his territories; in their taking possession of the coconutt garden, that is a pawne to the company till Mamud Ckauns debt be discharged there from to which last aggrievance, as he is a conqueror, wee have not much to say nor indeed can wee doe more than insert them among our generall grievances when the President dothe write him.

As to what you write of not landing any goods there or not bringing any downe to that port but to drive your trade from Mirjee, which is in the territories of another Rajah, wee cannot foresee how that cann cause him to treat you civilly in the future nor at present but rather the contrary, for your factory being under his dominions and Power, they will be more aggravated to see the profit which should redound to them, be reaped by another, or whome you have noe dependance, soe that wee should rather thinke it prudence, both to land our goods there and to bring downe, what wee have above, to your owne ffactory, that they seeing the benefitt and advantage they receive from our customes, may have the more reason to treat you handsomely, and whereas the bringing downe your goods to another part, heretofore hath been occasioned, by the feares you have had of the Sunda Rajahs stopping your Caphilaes and collecting moneys from you on account of a contract formerly made with him, and your thoughts that hee may doe the like this yeare to the hindrance of your dispatch of the ships, that shall call for the goods, wee doe thinke this may be a fit time to make tryall of them when wee have soe few goods to expect downe from Hubely which can be noe great hindrance to our lading home the ships, and upon which you may make complaint to Sevajee or his subedarr, what injurie and prejudice he doth to the Company, and to his port by the loss of his customes and forceing us for the future, (as he hath already done for some yeares past) to bring downe our

Differences with Sunda Raja to be made up through Shivaji.

goods another way and carrying them to another port, which when they shall truely understand wee may reasonably believe that Sevajee by his Power and sovereignity, in those parts may bring the Sunda Rajah, to a good accomodation with us, obleiging him to lett our goods passe without molestation in the future, and to cleare them for the present in case he should act as formerly aud thus have tendered to you our sence of your affaires.

Since wee have permitted Mr. Oxinden to come up by the latter ships, wee desire that when he is on board, that he sends word to the Soobedarr, that the chiefest occasion of his leaving the factory is from the affronts and abuses that have been put upon the Honourable Company, which if they doe not speedily remedy, he believes the President and Councell will totally recall the factory, by which wee hope the Subedarr will be brought to use the Companys affaires more civilly in the future." [1]

Threat of withdrawing the Carwar factory.

"Wee have ordered the ships bound downe the Coast Mallabarr to touch at your Port, more for show and reputation then for any business they have there, for wee have noe reason to consigne you any more goods or treasure on your Masters accountt, seeing they both lye dead and unproffitable by you; by meanes of the wicked Government of Sevajees ministers and the destraction of these parts which is the reason that wee confirme our order that Mr. John Child and Mr. Charles Ward doe prepare themselves to leave that factory, and wee hereby give you notice that wee have appointed the ship *Nathaniell*, Capt Wm. Stainard, in his returne from Callicutt to call at Rajapore and receive on board Mr. John Child and Mr. Charles Ward with their families (and Madam Shaxton alsoe if with you), together with whatsoever treasure and goods of the Companys that you shall lade on board her, and to transport and put them on shore at Bombay, wherefore wee doe hereby require you to get in readiness with Decan goods you have procured and lade them off soe soon as the ship arrived," [2]

Further instructions for the Rajapore factory to be withdrawn.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No, 2. Pp. 181-3. To Carwarr, Surat 24th August 1676.
2. " " " Pp. 208-9. To Rajapore, Surat 28th September 1676.

"Wee take notice that you have not heard from Mr. Mauleverer nor Narran Sunay since their departure; however the President hath received a letter from Narran Sunay, which advises that Sevajee is willing to sattisfie the Honourable Companys debt and what due to other persons in Baratis or Batty (unhusked rice); wherefore if you cannot bring him to any better termes, wee must be forced to be content with these, and in such case you must be very carefull that his Soobedar doe not overrate the corne, but that it be delivered you at such reasonable rates, the Company may be noe sufferers; and in case the townes you are assigned to receive the said Batty in, be overrunn by the Mogulls army, the Company may not sustain any damage thereby, for that the Batty must not be esteemed as the Companys untill it be delivered to their servants."

The envoys agree to take rice in payment.

"On the 12th Current wee received yours of the 2nd and on the 14th your breife letter of the 7th. Wee take notice of Mr. Mauleverer and Narran Sunays proceedings with Sevajee; they did well not to receive the plate, in regard there would have been soe great a loss upon it, wee approve better of the receiving of it in brawts and therefore desire that you would give your directions accordingly. Wee had once great hopes that Sevajees country would have proved advantagious to the Honourable Companys trade, and did believe he would have been soe wise and understand his owne interest soe farr as to have kept a faire and just correspondence with us; but wee now find that soe long as that pirate and universall robber lives, that hath noe regard to friend nor foe, God nor man, there can be noe security in any trade in his country; wherefore wee have determined to dissolve the factory of Rojapore soe soone as wee can call in our debts; and have given order to Mr. John Child and Mr. Charles Ward to repair on ship *Nathaniell* to Bombay with what estate of the Companys they can bring away, and leave only Mr. Robinson and Mr. Michell to recover in the remaining debts. Wee have not consigned them any goods this yeare nor shall wee, till wee can bring Sevajee to a better understanding of us. The same intention

Even rice is not delivered by the universal robber.

Threat of the withdrawal of factories from Shivaji's territories.

also, wee have for Carwarr if it continues long under his jurisdiction, and wee would have you alsoe withdraw all trade and correspondence out of his country, as to matter of trusting him with any of the Companys concerns or estate, declare that you have express orders from us soe not to doe; in regard to the unworthinesse of his and his ministers dealings with us, were it not for our factors and the Companys estate yet remaining at Rojapore wee would take a more smart course with him and doe ourselves justice on the first vessells wee could meet with all belonging to his ports, but for this wee must take some more convenient opportunity. In the meanetime wee would have you give express orders to Narran Sunay, that if he cannot procure speedy sattisfaction paid in ready money or in brawts, but finds that they still continue to baffle him, that he come away and treat noe longer with such false people."[1]

Policy of reprisals untimely yet.

"Wee take notice of Narran Sunays arrivall unto you, and the termes Sevajee offers to sattisfie the Honourable Companys debt and other persons debts, which is in Plate at 28 Rupees (or thereabouts) per Ceere (seer), by which there will be 20 or 25 per cent losse. Wee have taken the matter into our serious consideration, and doe concurr with you that it is better to make sure of something then hold it out longer upon uncertainties, wherefore revoking all former orders touching Brawts (Varrats or Bhatty), wee doe require you to receive the Honourable Companys debts due from Sevajee in plate, on as cheape terms as you and he can best agree, taking an exact and particular Accountt of the loss sustained by his overrating the plate and our first contract with him, which you must send unto us here, that accordingly wee may make our further demands upon him when a convenient opportunity shall present."[2]

Shivaji consents to pay compensation to the English in plate.

"The coconutts you have consigned to us by the Rupatell

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fols. 69-70. Swally Marine 17th Oct. 1676.
2. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 237, Surat To Bombay 25th Oct. 1676. F. R. Surat, Vol. 89. P. 72.

on the Companys account are in a very bad condition—a fourth part of them not proving sound; wee have been forced to sell them at $6\frac{7}{8}$ per mille and glad to put them off soe, wee are much afflicted to see the Company soe abused for which wee would have you demand sattisfaction from your Subedar and of Sevajee himselfe if you chance to see him, representing to him the wrongs for which we have ordered the factory to be dissolved and to cease from further commerce in his country."[1]

Losses suffered by having rotten cocoanuts.

"Wee have lately seene Annagee Punditt whom wee failed not to press for our Buckshis and restitucion of what formerly robbed from us; he seemed very forward to make both good; but that we should take betlenutts at Decan rate and as according to our phyrmaund pay him the half vallue of these received on account (of) Buckshis in ready money. Wee urged our Phirmaund to have his goods at Bazar rate and instead of money profered him the choise of all our European goods among which he pitched on copper for the prize that Dutchmen sold it to him ar Vingerlah which is Rupees (—?) per maund. Wee have not as yett concluded with him, his urgent occasions carrying him immediately thence for Panalla. Wee daily expect him here. We shall endeavour to gett from him what betlenutts wee cann."[2]

Restitution of the loss suffered at Rajapur.

6. Miraculous victories of Shivaji and the growth of Bombay

The constant raids of Shivaji on Surat and other commercial cities of the Mogul Empire led the English to develop the trade and industries of their own Island of Bombay. Secondly, the perpetual wars on the coast and the obstacles put by the officers of the port towns in their free traffic, further made it necessary for the English to curtail their investments in the Konkan and Maharashtra and attract weavers and other artisans to their own colony.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. P. 255. To Rajapore, Surat 16th Nov. 1676.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 9. Rajapore 29th Nov. 1677.

" Notwithstanding wee wrote you long since to send us an account what calicoes and other Europe goods wee might expect from you, yett hitherto you have omitted it; wee must needs complaine of much neglect in the Callico investment; for wee are assured if you and your Brokers there would be as industrious as you ought in the inviting and encouraging weavers to settle with you, that manufacture of calicoes would be increased much more than it is, Wee desire you therefore seriously and earnestly to take this affaire into your consideration, and to use all just meanes possible to invite and encourage weavers of all sorts to inhabite on the Island, and it is our opinion that seeing the country of Sevajee and Decan is harrassed and much ruined by the warrs, if you did employ some persons to invite the weavers of those parts to come over to you, they would gladly accept it only for a secure livelyhood sake, wherefore use your endeavours herein; and wee give you notice, that it is the Companys particular directions to us to procure as many Dungaree weavers to settle on the Island as wee can in regard that commodity is in request, to whome alsoe wee would have you procure as many Pautkae weavers as you can, for they alsoe will be necessary; and assure yourselves that industrie and ingenuity you employ in this affaire will be well esteemed by our Honourable master and by ourselves." [1]

Settlement of Deccan weavers in Bombay to be zealously encouraged.

In reviewing the condition of Bombay in the beginning of the year 1677, the Bombay Council records the following remarks on the miraculous victories of Shivaji.

" This Island in matter of Trade by our observations continues in the same posture it hath done some passed years, noe considerable Augumentation being made therein, nor can it be expected it should, *soe long as the opposite Maine continues in the possession of soe grant a Destroyer of commerce as in the Rajah Sevagee, and termination of* his Government, for still *he continues victorious even to a miracle,* waging warr with the potent Kings of

Shivaji's miraculous victories.

1. Forrest H. S. I, P. 108. Surat to Bombay 4th Nov. 1676.

Hindoostan and Duccan, against which he hath hitherto proved very successful, and wee are fearfull will continue soe. Notwithstanding these grand impediments, your Customes were this year farmed for Xs. 3025; and your Tobaccoe rents for Zerapheens 20850; by which your Honours may perceive that there is a great concourse of people that resorts to your Island; though to undeceive you and not aggrandize either our owne or predecessors actions or the Fame of the place itself, wee must to our sorrow confess they are a miserable poore sorte of people, and the very rabble of all sects who fly from the Moores and Portuguese persecutions, and vallue themselves on your Honours protection, nevertheless wee use them with all civility and kindnesse that thereby others of more reputation and creditt may be induced to come and inhabit amongst us on this Island, and wee hope the moderation and lenity of your Government will in time produce the desired effects thereof." [1]

7. Mr. Child to treat with Shivaji and his officers.

Mr. John Child gave hopes of amicably settling the question of compensation and the removal of obstacles in their trade at Rajapur, and was consequently deputed to that port. Hence the factories were not withdrawn.

"Mr. John Child having made some motions to the President and Councill touching the affaires of Rajapore, which hath given them encouragement to order him downe thither againe to make his further demand from the Rajah, and his Subedars on account of his Backshes; and to advise the success; when they would consider of giving him such further orders and directions as should be necessary for his stay or removall." [2]

Mr. Child proposed to be sent back to Rajapur.

"Mr. John Child having made some motions to us in councill which hath given us reason to expect that if he returnes to Rajapore, wee shall finde a better complyance from Raja Sevagee and his Subedarr than hitherto wee have done; wherefore wee have

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII, p. 66. O. C. 4312. Bombay Letter 16th Jan. 1677 to London.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Fol. 14. Consultation Swally Marine 27th January 1677.

permitted him to voyage downe thither againe to try what faire meanes will doe; and shall hereafter thinke of continueing him or recalling him as wee finde he speedes, wee have ordered him to take his passage from your port on the *Phoenix*." [1]

Child could not leave for Rajapur.

" Wee are sorry Mr. John Child could not take his passage on the *Phoenix* for Rajapore, since he will be disappointed of the hoigh... (wee) desire him to take his passage by the first convenient opportunity that presents from your port. " [2]

Complaint against Narain Shenwi

" I am informed from Mr. John Child that Narran Sunay doth not manage the business with Sevagee as he ought, but is frightened out of his duty by their great words and is rather inclined to his (Shivaji's) side then to execute our orders; wherefore I would have you advise and discourse with Mr. Child concerning this affaire; and if Narran Senay hath played the rogue and abused us in his trust, I desire you to recall him and not employ him more in the companys service, but leave the businesse wholly to Mr. Child and such other Englishmen as wee shall hereafter order to be sent up." [3]

Shenwi's success in recovering debts.

" We doe prosecute the recovering of Sevagys debt what lies in our power, Narransunny has procured 100 Car. betlenuts, about 200 Mora Batty, and is promised a good quantity of coconuts. Wee are sensible he does not manage that affair to the best advantage, but seeing he has recovered something, wee had best stay and try the uttermost of what he can recover, and then let Mr. Child goe on to endevour to get in the rest, which if he cannot effect wee shall then have recourse to your last order of seizing upon what vessells wee can meet with belonging to his countrey." [4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, Part II, Fols 9–10. Surat 1st Feb. 1677.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol, 15. Swally Marine 12 March 1677.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 12. Surat 3rd February 1677.
4. Forrest H, S. 1. 124, Bombay 17th Febry. 1677.

30498

" Rajapore factory this yeare hath not proved so beneficiall unto you as was expected, having not received a piece of goods from thence towards lading home their ships, neither are they very forward in disposall of what Europe goods they have remaining in warehouse; all the reason Mr. Robinson etc., renders us is the disorder of the country, the Nabob Bulleall Chaune killed and his army destroyed and Deleil Ckaune is as bad a condition, those of Decan having beaten them, and Sevagee streightened up in the country and Dattajee Pundit one of his generalls roves and plunders about Hubely, and for Sevagees former debt they are forced to take bettlenutts as Savajees ministers will rate it at, and to pay them for the one halfe of it in ready money or goods that which bettle or else cocoanutts proves soe decayed that it hardly bears the charge of transportation of it up hither for sale; when President Rolt arrives, wee must consider whither or not to continue this factory, if that countreys troubles doth not cease. "[1]

Rajapur factory suffering from internecine wars.

" Wee are not without much reason concerned at the unhandsome usage received from the Rajahs ministers, they have not only deceived us in not complying with the agreement made with the Rajah, but our masters have received great damage by what robbed at Hattanee and other places, that wee would have you deale plainely with Annagee Punditt, and press him home either let him make us satisfaction, or let him know the factory shall be withdrawne and that you may be ready, wee would have you soe dispose affaires that upon order you may without faile embark with what belongs to the Honourable Companys. "[2]

Threat of withdrawing the Factory

8. Last days of the Raja

While Shivaji promised to pay the private losses of Samuel Austin, and the English agreed to accept the cocoanuts in payment of compensation, still the wars and tyrannous treatment of the local officers in all places, compelled the English to arrive at the

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 26. To the Company from Swally Marine 21st January 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 67. Surat to Rajapore 25th February 1678.

decision that their factories should be withdrawn from the coast towns. So orders were issued to the factors at Rajapur to quit the place, but the Governor of the town put an embargo on the English.

Shivaji promised to give compendsation to Austin

" Mr. Samuell Austin hath desired us to remind you of the 1000 rupees Rajah Sevagee hath given him on Cullean Buinde, that when you recover the Companys money, you would also seeke the recovery of his, which wee desire you to endeavour. " [1]

" Our Buckshis, we have formerly advised, upon what conditions Annagee Punditt has proffered us; wee now humbly beg your Honour's answere.

Compensation in commodities be accepted.

The Ballance of Sevagee Rajahs debt standing on balance if your honour etc. allow that wee may take ready money, will hardly be squeesed out of these Hindoo's hands and other commodityes wee shall finde few. " [2]

Trade dull by reason of wars.

" Your ffactories of Rajapore, Carwar (where Mr. Launds is lately dead) and Callicut, are at present under a very unsettled condition, the two first by the civill wars of Decan and the trouble of Sevagee, the last by the great abuses put upon your affaires and servants by the Rajahs and Governours under the Samorine (of Calicut)."[3]

Betelnuts to be accepted in payment.

" Seeing you declare it very difficult to procure ready money from the Rajah Sevagee for his debt to the honourable Company standing out at ballance of your last bookes, wee would have you accept of his proffer of bettlenuts on the best termes you can agree with him.

P. S. Here wee send you a copie of journall per Gell taken out of the Rajah's bookes, the better to informe you of what was robbed

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 23. Surat to Bombay 22 March 1677.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 60 Rajapore 28th February 1678.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 70. To the Company from Swally Marine 18th March 1678.

by Sevagee at Hattanee and Dungom, as well from the honourable Companys as their servants, all which wee would have you demand satisfaction for, as also what more you may find robbed in these books you have by you." [1]

Threat of withdrawing the factory.

" Wee well know the baseness of Sevagees ministers and doe intend to be deceived no longer by their faire promises, for this is certainly true, (and wee would have you take care accordingly to provide) that if wee see not some effects answerable to a reasonable expectation wee shall by our Europe shipping give orders for the withdrawing of our ffactory. In our last, whose copie is enclosed, wee consented that you take bettlenutts for what robbed at Huttanee, Donggaum and places belonging to the honourable Companys etc. their servants, soe that wee hope you may have done somewhat therein, and wee likewise consent to take beetlenutts for our Bucksiss, get them as cheap as you can, and soe neare as may be let us have Goolee and whitenutts, nor cheekanee they being dearer with you and cheaper here." [2]

Tyranny of the Governor of Rajapur.

" Now to give your honour a relacon of the honourable Companys affaires here in these parts wee must acquaint you that wee find our late Subedarr Vissages Comdue (who was before, came hither and turned out of the Suba of Rajapore by the merchants there for his insolency and tyrranny to them) take all occations to affront and abuse us endeavouring when possible to incroach upon our former privilledges, but hath effected nothing yett, thanks be to God for the zeale wee have for our honourable masters affaires and safeguard of ourselves here, wee shall not bate him an inch of what wee formerly injoyed, so long as abillity is in us.

The affaires upon the Generall in Hubely are to our noe

1, F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 79. Surat To Rajapore 5th Aprill 1678.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 92. Surat to Rajapore 24th Aprill 1678.

small griefe in a distracted condition there than here. The Governor Antuji Punditt having a long time together with that Manharor chief merchant in towne abused and affronted us; continually craving money and threatening the imprisoning the Banyan, if would not assist him therewith which hee still denying him by our order, the Governor 12 days since sent 20 of his peons and forced open the Companys warehouse being locked and tooke out 25 per cent of Broadcloth and putt them to saile (sale) in the Bazzarr though no merchants as yett hath brought it, declaring this was because wee would not lett him have 500 pagodas as tax putt on us as rich which wee never were brought into nor never will if possible: this hee says was partely to the payment of Sevagees ¼ part of the revenues of Hubely; Veliott, having made peace with him upon those termes and partely towards the payment of a regiment of souldiers maintained for the security of the towne; wee formerly writt him a letter to desire his civillity to the Banyans there, but hee slighted it and gave us no answere, upon this wee have thought fitt being the best remedy to dispatch Shamdash Banyan (who before putt this to Vizzapore with our letter and press to Sirjah Caune, Siddy Mussade, Jamsher Caune, Sillim Caune and Ahmeed Caune, the Chiefe Visiers of the kingdome with coppie of the late king Ally Eddull Shaws Phirmaund and deceased Bulloll Cauns Cole, laying before them the abuses received by the Governor and desiring satisfaction of what riffled from us and enjoyment of our former privilledges, which will we question not but be effected by their sending a new Governor and strickt orders to others in place round about Hubely where our commerce is, this wee thought fitt with advice of the Banyans to doe, having bin hindered from sale of our Europe goods by this Governor and if continued hinder our investment for Europe.....

Tyranny of the Bijapur Governor of Hubli.

The newes flying at present is that an army of the Duccanes is sett out of Vizzapore, but under whose command, hear not, against Sevagee who is at Panalah in person, the certaine truth hereof when comes to eares shall upon receipt be forwarded to you." [1]

Bijapur army against Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fols. 91-2. Carwar 5th May 1678.

On the receipt of the Karwar Letter of 5th May, the Surat Council made a reply on the 31st of May to this effect:

"Wee take good notice of the great abuses put upon you both by the ministers of Sevagee at Carwarr and those of Vizapore at Hubely which last is an attempt of soe strong a nature in breaking upon the Honourable Companys warehouse, takeing out their goods and then offering them to publike sale in the bazzar that wee cannot but highly resent, therefore doe enjoyne you speedily to dispose of all the Companys goods remaining both at Hubely and Carwarr; and if you cannot turne their proceeds into such goods wee inordered you to provide for the insueing yeare, wee would then have you keepe it ready in cash and with yourselves be fully prepared to receive such further orders by our Europe shipping as may be concluded most fit and convenient for the better security of the Honourable companys affaires there for the future." [1]

Winding up the business at Hubli and Karwar.

Your letter of the 23rd of May wee have received and therein take good notice of your applications to Sevagee upon his arrivall at Rajapur; whose answer seemes to be very slender to your demands, as likewise his referring you to Annajee to be but a meere pretence to put you off; therefore if upon his returne to Kilnah (Vishalgarh) you find no better satisfaction, frankly let them know, wee shall not continue you longer in a place where wee find soe little justice and soe much unsafe dealing; in order to which let no endeavour be wanting to get in as many of their debts standing out as possible before the coming downe of our Europe shipps and what goods you have made provision of, to be in readiness with yourselves, as you may be able without loss of time to observe such orders as wee shall give you further by them." [2]

Shivaji at Rajapur and Khelna.

The English do not get justice at Rajapur.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 104. Surat to Carwar 31st of May 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 112. Surat to Rajapore 12th July 1678.

Another communication of 13th August deplores "the ill posture Decan still remaines in and without any likelyhood of amendments," and urges the Carwar authorities to be in readiness to leave as soon as ordered. [1]

"Wee thank God wee are very quiett here living at amity with Sevagees ministers since our last renewing of friendship with the Subedarr, not in the least molested by them like vultures for money as formerly. Wee were once friendly solicitated by our Carwarr Governor to lend him 400 pagodas, but gave him a friendly and faire denyall as becomes merchants, laying before him the unsettledness of the times, that wee neither bought or sold any goods considerable and only lived upon the maine stock, to keepe up the honourable Companys and nations creditt in expectation of better times, with which hee was satisfied and have heard noe more from him since on that point.

Men quiet at Karwar.

They say that Hubly Governor was as insolent as before. He had returned the 25 parcels of Broad Cloth formerly taken from the warehouse by force, but he had in their stead taken, 775 pagodas with these words that what he soe tooke hee was constrained thereto to supply Sevagees Subedar: who would else have burnt and ransaked the towne. They were of opinion that no redress could be expected from Vizapore, because the king was a minor and the factious chiefs were all bidding for power: they therefore suggest that 2 vessels belonging to Bullol Ckaun lying al Barcelore should be seized and this would at once force redress long due." [2]

No recompense from Bijapur for Hubli losses.

"Wee take good notice what you write us that Annagee Punditt proffers you your Bucksis upon the conditions expressed in the first Phirmaund which hath beene made voyd in that perticular by one obteyned since from the Rajah by Mr. Child at his first goeing downe to Rajapore wherein it is granted that wee should have the beetenutts delivered us at the Bazzarr price

Phirmand secured by Mr. Child

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 116. Surat to Carwar 13th August 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107 Fols. 135-6. 24th Aug. 1678.

without the paymeut of any money downe, and which you are to demand and stand upon, and if it will not be agreed, to acquaint Sevagee Rajah and his ministers that the many abuses wee have received from his officers and the little justice from himselfe, forced us to call you away from Rajapore." [1]

Preparation of withdrawal from Rajapur.

"They (the Carwar Factors) likewise desire our directions how to govern themselves in case the king of Vizapore should send downe his Phirmaund and require them to assist him in recovering the castle from Sevagee; which they seeme to expect and therefore wee doe conclude to write them: that they forbeare assisting wither, but carry an equall hand towards both; behaving themselves like merchants whose sole designe is to seeke a trade in the country, being courteous and civill to both: but especially to that side in whose possession the country remaines."

Whether Bijapur is to be helped against Shivaji.

"Wee hear not as yett from Annagee Punditt neither doe wee know his reason for detaining our peons soe long: but am informed his speedy coming to Rajapore: when wee shall not faile to tell him our agrevances." [2]

They further resolved to order the Factors of Rajapur to be in readiness to come away on such a vessell as would be appointed to call upon them in March next. [3]

"We have received a letter from Mr. Thomas Michell etc., a factor at Rajapur of the 18th August last, advising that they have received Barratts from the Subedarr to the amount of 292 Candy's beetlenutts and 500 candys coconutts, which they hope to gett in by the latter end of this month and therefore desire us to order the Deputy Governor and Council in Bombay to send downe vessells to bring it up, not having any that they can safely ffreight on from thence, which affaire upon due consideration wee have concluded to leave

Some compensation received.

1. F. R, Surat Vol. 89. Fols. 142-3. Surat to Rajapore 18th October 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 177. Rajapore 19th November 1678.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Part II. Fols. 7-8. Consultation Swally Marine, 24th January 1678-9.

to the care of Mr. John Child and the Councill at Bombay; as alsoe to consider and put in execution the most effectuall meanes for dissolving that ffactory and bringing the ffactors from thence." [1]

Rajapur factory to be dissolved.

"The 28th past month came Annajee Punditt in towne on purpose to pay his devotion to Duplegh, a great pagoda, about a mile distance of this place where he had ordered victualls to be provided for the feeding 20,000 Bramanes; after which done he sent for us and asked the reason why wee did not follow our merchandizing as formerly, wee told him that the Soobedarr had put a stop to all our business and thought it has been with his order, he told us that he did once forbid it, but since he had better considered, and had given order to the Soobedarr not to molest us in anything more than our Buckshis and that lay not in his power to give us, since the Rajah had ordered to the countrary, but he would write to him in our behalfe and questioned not but leave would be granted him; moreover told us that he had once wrote to the Deputy Governour greatly desiring our friendship for which purpose he alsoe desired Narran Sinai might be sent to him but since he was not come, he was resolved to send an ambassader to treate with the Deputy Governour about peace and therefore desired that one of our men might be sent with him, as allsoe that wee would advise, how desirous the Rajah was to continue in friendship: wee replyed that our writing would signify nothing, wee being but servants and dare not doe anything contrary to your honours orders and therefore desired to be excused, nothing without which would satisfy him, soe that wee were obliged to give Sheek Mahmud along with them, but know not who he will send to Bombay that his worship etc. will advise." [2]

Annaji feeds 20000 Brahmines near Rajapur.

Annaji anxious to have the English factory at Rajapur.

"We have (given) advice of our meeting with Annajee Punditt who came on purpose to feede 20,000 bramines upon his owne

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Fols. 70-1. Consultation Swally Marine 15th September 1679.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 23 Rajapore 6 Dec. 1679.

cost and charge; He seemed to be very desirous of our ffriendship for which he hath sent to Bombay to treate with the Deputy Governour. He was very kind to us, as your honour etc. may please to reade in ours of the (6th) instant."[1]

The English Factors at Rajapur and Karwar not permitted to depart.

" As to your Factorys of Rajapore and Carwarr, wee have already advised you of our endeavours to withdraw your servants from Rajapore the last Monsoone, but was hindered by that Governors not permitting them to leave the shore, and this year the unhappy business of Hendry Kendry hath prevented us, soe that until wee can come to some good agreement with Sevagee in that business, there is noe getting them from thence: and for Carwarr when wee sent the *Ann* downe thither, wee wrote your Factors, positively to prepare themselves to dissolve that Factory, but if they could not doe it, soe as to embark upon the *Ann*, they should clear themselves as much as they could by her and when your Europe ships were dispatched should send downe a vessel on purpose to fetch them off, in the meane time they should endeavour to get in what debts were standing out, and such as could not be recovered in that time should leave to the care of some trusty Native as likewise the house, and the *Ann* returning to us the 15th December without your Factors, are much pressed by them to continue their residence there one yeare more, otherwise many of your debts in that Country before thought good will now prove desperate, like wise your house be forever lost, none of your servants or others of those Country People daring to take charge thereof, nor such as have any dependencies upon your Factorie remaine after it is withdrawne and therefore have desired they may be brought away with their families which we shall consider of at our returne to Surat, when wee shall be more at leizure to review all your order and which God willing wee shall put into a faithful execution as far as wee are able, making that Divine precept our rule, To obey is better than sacrifice."[2]

" On the 15th instant Everage desired leave to goe to Carrapatan, having there some business as pretended, at which place

1. F, R. Surat Vol. 108, Fol, 24, Rajapore 8th Dec. 1679.
2. O. C, 4691, 24th January 1679-80, Swally Marine.

continued 2 days, the 3rd day tooke his horse and went to Vingulah, not meeting with his expectations there went from thence to Goa, where was the 22th instant and had hired a small vessell, to transport him to Bombay, what his intentions are God knows, since when the Soobedarr sent to us for the key of our warehouse as alsoe that wee would returne him the beetlenutt which wee received on account of Bucksis-the which wee refused to doe and sent him word that for the which getting in, wee had been at noe small charge, notwithstanding, if his resolutions were soe bent as to take them they were still in warehouse, he might doe what he pleased, after which desired onely to take an account of them, which wee let them doe and when done, he sealed up the door with the Rajahs seale, all this was occasioned through Everagees going away, as what elce may befall us God knows, he hath done very well in going away, which if had not, believe it would not have been long ere he had been stoned in the streets by the Bannians, for the merchants all cry out shame on him, not one of them will hardly come where he is or hath anything to doe, your honour etc. may please to see a little of his roguery when he strived to take our lives, which he did when betrayed us to the Hoveldar etc. informing him our being ready to goe away the following night, which wee had certainly done, had wee not been advised by one of the Freinch (?) peons of the Hoveldarrs having sent souldiers downe the river to watch for us, which if wee had gone, question whether any of us had ever come back alive, this he did to us, therefore your honour etc. may please to judge his honesty."[1]

"What bettlenutts etc. you may receive on account what robbed at Hattanee, be carefull have a marke that may be known from what you receive on account (of) Bucksis."[2]

"This gentleman (John Gape) is commissioned' to go to Rajapore and remove the factory thence for it was improfitable and the factors, inspite of repeated instructions to that effect, had contrived on some excuse or other to (ignore) its execution.

Continue on board till you shall heare from, or that you are assured of all civillity and safety from Sevagees ministers, of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 52, Rajapur 28th January 1679-80.
2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 108. Fols, 70-71, March 1680.

which wee have noe reason to doubt, but desire to act cautiously and possibly you may arrive there before the Rahahs ministers there may have notice of the peace lately made between us, but that you may be able to satisfy them therein if need requires wee have delivered you a Redd paper that is our articles of peace signed by the Rajah and a white paper that is a letter from Annageè Punditt to the Deputy-Governor, both which you may show them and will fully satisfy all people concerned, which two papers we would have you be carefull and returne unto us...be continually pressing the soobedarr for what robbed at Hattanee and the honourable companys Bucksis which you will find due to them by the articles and Phyrmaunds in Mr. Michells hands." [1] (Mr. Michel was in charge of Rajapur Factory.)

9. Negotiations with Sambhaji

In a few months Shivaji breathed his last, so that the English opened negotiations with his son and successor on the vexed question of the Rajapur losses and the freedom of trade in port towns. Mr. Henry Smith was deputed as an envoy to Sambhaji.

"This being a very busy time with us and therefore shall only reply to what is most materiall in your letter of the 27th, except as to that clause in yours concerning the 10000 Pagothers and coconuts at Rajapore which wee believe will not be fully satisfactory to the Company; wee meane not as to who they may properly belong, but as to the circumstances and present state of that business, which here we are not able to give a fitt account of, having noe books of Rajapore in our office that relate there too." [2]

Attempt of securing compensation from Sambhaji.

"Wee send you the ballance of Mr. Mitchells books according to your desires with a coppy of Sevagyees account as it stands, in the Rajapore books, which wee wish you may have, the good successse to cleare with his sonne." [3]

1. F. R, Surat Vol, 69, Bombay 27th Feb, 1679-80
2. F. R, Surat. Vol. 90. Part II. Fol. 4 Surat to Bombay 28th Dec. 1680.
3. F. R. Surat. Vol. 90. Part II. Fol. 46 Surat to Bombay 25th June 1681.

Finally, when no redress could be had from the Maratha Rajas, the Rajapur Factory was withdrawn as is intimated to the Company by the Surat Council. "Your ffactory of Rajapore, wee have at last (though not without great difficulty) wholly withdrawne."[1] The dissolution of the Factory was not liked by the Governor and merchants of Rajapur, and consequently fresh attempts were made to persuade the English to resettle there.

Rajapur factory withdrawn in 1682.

"Suncur Soonay, an old servant to the Hon'ble Company both at Bombay and Rajapore (from whence hee is newly arrived brought severall letters with him from the Soobedarr and Chiefe merchants of Rajapore to the Agent, wherein they press much for our resettlement of a factory with them and promise to recover our long standing debts which the Soonay gives us soe greate incouragement of effecting, if wee would employ him in the management of the affaire that wee were induced after serious consideration to make a trial of him and concluded to returne him to Rajapore with the Agents answers to the severall letters paying him onely 100 rupees in hand for his charges; and according to his successe shall hereafter governe ourselves, hoping our adventuring the losse of soe small a matter upon soe considerable an account will not be disapproved of."[2]

The English are invited to resettle the Rajapur Factory.

"The Soobedars unhandsomenesse towards you wee take notice of, and if noe hopes of better to be had of from him, advize us that wee may consider what is fitt to be done to secure the honourable Companys estate and your persons from falling into his hands. Wee think you were a little too cautious and give them a cause of discontent in shewing you had soe ill an opinion of the Sar Soobedar, who although ever soe much a rogue, dared not have medled with you without the Rajahs order, and if he

Quarrel with the Subedar at Carwar.

1. F. R, Surat Vol, 90, Part III, Fol. 13, Surat to the Company 23rd January 1681–2.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Part. III. Fol. 32. Surat Consultation. 1st April 1682.

had that your continuousnesse would have done you but little good, wee desire you will endeavour a faire correspondence with all Governours and officers; let them not want for good words and civill behaviour towards them which will best become you, our businesse being trade, wee are merchants not warriors. " [1]

" Wee are now come to your last letter occationed wholly from an Embassadour of Sombajee Rajahs being come to the island, wee observe what you write he tould you and his desires to have an Englishman sent with him to his master, praye doe not you trust the Rajah; anything the more for this, but be vigilant and carefull there is noe trust in his words nor letters but from this pretended kindnesse, reape what good you cann; furnish yourselves with stores of firewood etc. and see if you cann procure from the Rajah or his ministers a parsell of Batty, and that wee may keepe in his good esteeme, the President hath wrote the Rajah; its coppy is enclosed for your perusall; you will see in it it is wrote that he hath ordered you to send an Englishman to him, which wee would have you put of; till you heare further from us; and lett the Deputy Governour send answer to the severall letters wrote him, what their contents are wee cannot tell being in Moratty; wee have none (who) serves us that can reade them, hereafter lett such letters when you receive them be put into Persian, Banian or Portuguese and be carefull you remitt them by neare conveyance: the severall Moratty letters are now returned. Wee shall direct in few dayes more about sending over to Sombajee an Englishman and present, till then send nothing but letters and whilst the Ambassadour is with you, use him with kindnesse. The Rajahs letter to the President was in Persian; its only a compliment and invitation to settle a ffactory at Rajapore." [2]

Sambhaji's ambassador at Bombay.

An English envoy to be sent to Sambhaji

Another letter speaks of " this kings fleete lying in our port

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. Part III. Fol. 131. Surat To Carwar 29th August 1682.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Part III. Fols. 181-2. Surat to Bombay, 6th November 1682.

(Surat), as it makes all provisions scarce and deare." It was obviously meant to be used against Sambhaji.[1]

"Wee have yours of the 21st instant received the 27th current; coppy of the Presidents letter to the Rajah that you could not finde out, now goes. Wee have made choice of Mr. Henry Smith to goe to the Rajah as in ours of the 17th present, pray observe what wrote therein concerning this, and use your utmost to comply with the agent and councill of Fort St. George, desires out the Soobedarr of Carwar; and procure satisfaction for what the inhabitants of the island have been robd of by his people, be very urgent for satisfaction for what robbed and forced away by his people from the Rajapore ffactor; and for recovery of the debts standing out there, as per account sent you with these".[2]

Mr. Smith sent to Sambhaji to claim damages.

10. An Embassy with presents to Sambhaji

"A present to Sombajee Raja wee have agreed to but desire it must not be extravagant; but just what is fitt, and absolutely necessary by which meanes he may be perswaded into a good oppinion of us; and wee effect our businesse; which is to gett his Phirmaund for the honourable Companys settling in his ports in the Chengie Country, which the agent and Councill of ffort St. George have wrote us about, coppy of the Phirmaund they desire is enclosed, and coppy of which they wrote us concerning it; of which pray take due notice; but lett the Phirmaund be put into the Moratty language; for fitt person to be sent to the Rajah to mannage this affaire wee looke on Mr. Henry Smith; if he may be spared, with him you may send any one more that you see fitting. When he goes lett him complaine against the Soobedar of Carwarr, who is verry unhandsome towards our friends there; and desire he may be removed, or the Rajahs order to him to be more civill towards our masters concernes. Wee leave the management of the affaire to you, bespeaking your care that all finyeallity be used both in the present made and the expenses of those

Phirmand for settling in Jinjee country.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Part III. Fol. 108. Surat 17th November 1682.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. Part. III. Fol. 202. Surat to Bombay 30th Nov. 1682.

that goe; and that wee may not be at a certaine charge, and noe certain attaining our ends; wee think you will doe well first to send the Phirmaund as desired for the settling in the Chenjee country; and our complaint against the Carwarr Soobedar, by some ingenious Purvoo, which will cost but little and by that meanes may know how farr the Rajah will gratifie our desires, which if you finde may be on fitt tearms then send the Englishmen; with the present accordingly, or otherwise, as your occations may require to persuade him to be ffriendly towards you; Wee would send you some served gunns and pistolls; but have none; and you may well excuse that for want of our ships arrivall; its likely the Rajah may move to have a ffactory settled at Rajapore againe, in such a case lett Mr. Smith answer him that wee have had great losses by that place allready; and have severall debts standing out there; and by the ill usage of Annagee Punditt etc. were wholly discouraged from continueing; but wee shall consider on that if he will please to order us sattisfaction for what past, and passe such orders to his subjects in the Chenjee country; and on this coast, that wee may receive some assurance for the future, of better usage from their respects towards us, in whatever place of his wee shall send either people or vessells; for our dammages and losses at Rajapore wee shall see to drawe it out and send it soe soone as cann".[1]

Some ingenious Prabhu as ambassador to Sambhaji.

Rajapur factory to be resettled.

Finally, it will be seen that even by the end of the year 1682, full compensation of the losses at Rajapur had not been paid by Shivaji and his successor.

" Drawing out the lossess of Rajapore; wee finde wee cannot finish it for want of Mr. Gapes account not to be found here; therefore goes open for you to add, what in his account appeares fitt to be put in, and on account the agreement with Sevagee at settling Rajapore, wee finde by all the accounts with us received but to the amount pagos 3358:01½ jetts what more in Mr. Gapes account

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 90. Part III. Fols, 195-6. Surat to Bombay 17th November 1682.

lett be added, and then deduct it from the first agreement, and the rest demand." [1]

To put an end to a long-drawn dispute, an important embassy was sent to Sambhaji in 1684. It succeeded in bringing the matter to a satisfactory termination. The result was reported by Sambhaji himself to his Subedar of Rajapur.

"Captain Henry Gary and Thomas Wilkins, ambassadors, and Ram Shenvi, interpreter, on behalf of the English, came to me earnestly desiring peace with me, intimating that my father Shivaji Rajah did contract to pay them 10,000 pagodas Padshahi on account of goods taken from them, of which account 3367 being paid, there remains 6633, requesting me to pay the same... I have promised them to satisfy what remains unpaid of the said 10,000 pagodas." [2]

1. F. R, Surat, Vol, 90, Part III, 203, Surat to Bombay 30th November 1682.
2. F. R, Surat Vol. 109. Sarkar, p. 352,

CHAPTER XVII

The Seven Years' Offensive

1. Shivaji's chances of success

For four years from 1669 to 1672, Shivaji carried on an uninterrupted war against the greatest Moslem Empire of the world and the most powerful Moslem Kingdom of the Deccan. All his campaigns were marked with conspicuous success. He recovered his lost forts and captured new territories from Aurangzeb who bore the proud title of Alamgir—'the conqueror of the world.' In the numerous sieges and operations of the war fought against the two powers on a front of more than two thousand miles, he and his generals showed remarkable valour, strategy and versatility. They were inspired by the noble idea of delivering their motherland from the foreign rule. It was also a holy war against the oppressors of their religion. The fervour and glamour of a crusade made the Maratha soldiers perform deeds of superhuman energy.

Aurangzeb was tired of the failures of his generals in their campaigns against Shivaji. It has been seen that Mahabat Khan and Prince Muazzam were recalled and replaced by Bahadur Khan who was not at all feared by the Marathas. Then changes of Government at Bijapur and Golcondah ushered in favourable conditions for the success of Shivaji.

2. Illness and death of Ali Adil Shah

The Sultan went out of Bijapur with all his court to receive Muzaffar Khan, the conqueror of Bednur. On his return from these festivities, he had a sudden stroke of paralysis. His serious illness caused panic at Bijapur, as his death was sure to be followed by a revolution. The king succumbed to the disease on 24th November 1672.[1] and was succeeded by Sikandar Shah, a child of four years only. The minority of the ruler intensified the factions at court and resulted in wars among the nobles. The earliest news of the King's death was conveyed in a letter of 27 July, 1672 from Carwar to Surat.

1. Duff is wrong in saying that the Sultan had a paralytic stroke on the 15th of Dec, 1672.

"Wee are pretty quiett here as yett since the Peace made by this Governor, though we were put in some feares per Mahmud Ckaune, who was formerly Governor here, for he being invited underhand by some of the Naikewherries of these places, and having gott 4 to 500 men together, thought to have surprized some one of these castles hereabouts, and to have sett up for himselfe: but he was routed, before his designe could take effect by this Governor (s) forces, and being wounded was taken prisoner and remaines now in this castle as prisoner awaiting the Kings order how he shall be desposed off. Here hath been for upwards of 10 dayes together a great rumour that the King is dead, but as yett no letters from Vizapore to confirme it." [1]

The Bijapur King rumoured to be dead.

"The[2] King being upon recovery, after a great fitt of sickness which was soe violent that this Citty gates and shops of Vizapore was 3 dayes kept shutt up, most suspecting that he would have dyed, which occationed that report, at this distance, that he was really dead, but God be thanked, he is now upon the mending hand, he hath since he is come a little to himselfe againe, gave away this countrey and as much as amounts to 9,00,000 Pagodas yearly revenue, to an Eunuch that was (?) great in Favour with him, and at present rules the King's whole kingdome, by name Jaffar Ckaune[3] who was Generall of the Army in the last expedition against Carnatick, where meeting with good success it hath much increased his reputation, wee heare a very good Carrector (character) of him; and hope to see a better Government then what lately hath bin here, he being of that power that none will dare to rebell against him, and we hope by keeping a good correspondency with him, to remove all obstructions, that we may meet with all in our affaires, his Governours are not as yet arrived, but are dayly expected."

Muzaffar Khan in favour.

The king is reported to be still ailing and past recovery in another letter of 8th October 1672 from Karwar. [4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 28a
2. S. F. Outward L. B. No. I. A. Pp. 392-3. Carwarr 10th August 1672. F. Records Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 59.
3. It ought to be Muzaffar Khan.
4. S. F. Outward L. B. No. I. A, P. 413.

"Wee have newly received letters from your Factors at Carwarr which advise your concernes there to be in a fair State, but they are apprehensive of some disturbance in the country by reason of the death of the King of Vizapore, which hath made some alteration in the Government of these Provinces and the Mogulls Army designing some incursion into those parts may cause some disquiet of Trade, but your affairs we hope will not suffer much thereby." [1]

"It is confirmed to us from Choule and other parts that overtures of peace are closely prosecuted, betwixt the King of Vizapore and Sevagee who hath a considerable Army ready of horse and foote and thither to maintaine his Frontiers against the Mogull and Bullose Choune and is generally concluded that the Kings of Bijapore and Golocondah do covertly furnish him with men and money, and that he also covertly fees the Generall and Commanders of the Mogulls Army which hath qualified their heat against him, soe its thought that noe great action will be performed between them this yeare, yet the preparation that Sevagee makes causeth us to believe that either he expects to be assaulted, or designes to make some notable attempt in the Kings Country." [2]

3. Demise of the King of Golconda and Vyankoji's new opportunities

"The Moores upon the decease of the old King, old Nabob and most of the old Counsellors all about the same tyme in April last, and succession of the younger Mirza, husband to the King's youngest of 3 daughters, but something of the blood royall, are it's likely the less active at present out of feare of the Mogull whose eldest sonn, having married with the late King's eldest daughter, and the agreement the best title to this crowne, will not easily bee satisfied; he has, its said, some diversions at present, his army on the frontiers having been defeated by the Usbegues, Sevagees revolt, his second sonn brigneing for the crowne, and his said eldest long a prisoner, but its reported he means to sett him att liberty to claime his right here and punish his brother at once.

1. B. Paper Unav. Vol. V. P. 53. O. C. 3741. Bombay to London, 11th Jan. 1673.
2. B. Paper Unav. O. C. 3870. 23rd October 1673. Bombay to London.

This storme, its like(ly), takes up their thoughts, making what provision they can, but more relying on arts then armes.

Another cloud begins to gather towards the mountaines where the old Gentue King of Cornatta, whose harsh carriage to his great ones was the losse of this countrey, being newly dead, a brothers sonn succeeds in his rights, a descent has long been waited for Sevagees brother; a subject of Visiapores has given him his daughter and the considerable Naigues of Maysour, Madure and Tangiour, the onely entire remaines of that kingdome, are thought to bee no ill-willers to the cause when oppertunity shall present, which, if soe, were it not for the greater concerne Visiapore has in the late conquest, who interposes between the said Naigues and this part, they need not tarry long for it, if danger from the Mogull, unsettlement, dissention and disorder in tbe Government, and a fearfullness to punish State offenders, be evill symptomes; the new Nabob Vice Roy of this countrey, of Gentue parents, but circumsised young, putting all thinges into the handes of Centues and Braminyes, and discountenancing the Persians everywhere else in command."[1]

4. Dissensions among Bijapur nobles

The leading nobles of the Bijapur court at the time of the king's death were the prime minister Abdul Muhammad, Khawas Khan, Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan and Muzaffar Khan. Abdul Muhammad shrank from the onerous task of administering the state during the minority of the new king and proposed Khawas Khan to be the regent. It was also decided that Khawas Khan should stem the tide of the Mogul invasions by stationing himself at Gulburga, Bahlol Khan was to be given Miraj, Panhala, Dharwar, Sunda and Bednur for keeping Shivaji in check; the rest of the Karnatic was to be placed in charge of Muzaffar Khan. The new prime minister, contrary to the agreement arrived at before the death of the king, refused to give charge of the territories assigned to the other three nobles. The violation of this agreement generated suspicion, quarrels and factions. Dissension

1. O. C. Vol. 33. No. 3721. Fort St. George to the Company, 16 Dec. 1672.

and disunion among the nobles, with a minor on the throne, weakened the kingdom, and made it a prey to Shivaji and Aurangzeb. [1] It is on record that Shivaji by this time had radically changed his policy. He began to pay more attention to conquest for annexation or increase of territory than to the plunder of the enemy's country.[2]

5. The capture of Panhala

Shivaji had long been cherishing the desire of recapturing the impregnable fortress of Panhala. The death of Ali Adil Shah and the rise of the factions at Bijapur afforded him a golden opportunity. He despatched an army to Rajapur, but it soon had a resort to his usual feints. The army under Annaji Datto and Kondaji Farzand was ordered to press on with utmost rapidity, under cover of night towards Panhala. On Wednesday night, dated 6th March 1673, a part of the army under Annaji invested the hill castle and a few dare-devil Mavlees under the leadership of Kondaji boldly scaled the precipitous and giddy rocks of the inaccessible fort. They cut down the guards and surprised several captains in their beds. The commander awoke in consternation to a sense of peril. But the very news of the arrival of the army of the dreaded Shivaji had unnerved the bravest of the brave. The confused hand-to-hand fight was soon over. The Marathas had under Annaji forced their way into the fort through the gates flung open by their comrades inside [3] or by some one of the besieged who had been won over to the cause. The commander was slain by Kondaji himself; other officers were made prisoners and the castle was captured. The remarkable daring and singular contempt of death place this exploit high in the annals of Maratha history. The happy news of the victory was carried to Shivaji Raja in Raigad. He soon arrived there and adopted schemes for defending it against any sudden surprise by the foe. This success was followed by the

1. B. S. and Bijapur History by B. A.; Parnala P. G. A. Ch. III.
2. F. R. Surat I06. Fol. 126. 26th Aug. 1672. Fort St, George to Surat.
3. It seems that there was some treachery, because the Sabhasad, Jedhe Shak., and Parnala P. G. A. say that the fort was secured through treachery and treason.

capture of other forts like Parali, Satara, Chandan, Wandan, Pandavagad, Nandgiri, Tathwada and the line of forts between Satara and Phaltan.[1]

6. The battle of Umrani

The Bijapur government once more concentrated all their resources to avenge the loss of Panhala. Bahlol Khan was appointed to lead a campaign against Shivaji. All the great nobles like Muzaffar Khan, Sarja Khan, Siddi Masood, and Khizar Khan were ordered to bring their forces under Bahlol Khan. Even the Mogul general Diler Khan was approached for help. While Bahlol Khan was, with his army at Umrani, awaiting the approach of the allied armies, Shivaji ordered Pratap Rao Gujar and Anand Rao to surprize Bahlol Khan and inflict a crushing defeat on him. The Maratha general made a forced march and surrounded the Pathan army before it was conscious of the approach of the enemy. Umrani is situated midway between Jath and Athani and is eleven miles from each. The place is well situated for a big battle in a dry and rocky plain. Terrible fighting lasted on all sides throughout the day; thousands of Pathans fell down in their attempt to cut through the besieging lines; and the rest were in danger of being cut down by the triumphant Marathas. Fight and retreat were impossible. The Khan's army was at the mercy of Pratap Rao Gujar; but the general lost this brilliant victory through a generous impulse.[2]

Bahlol Khan is said to have sent some friendly message and begged the general to release him from this terrible situation. Pratap Rao magnanimously permitted the Muslim army to get out of this snare. This suicidal action naturally called forth a sharp censure from the Raja who ordered the general not be show his

1. Sabhasad 106; Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 241: Parnala P. G. A. Chapters III and IV.

2. Sarkar surmises that Pratap Rao Gujar probably took a bribe. This view is not supported by Bakhars nor by the Parnala P. G. A. The whole career of the general is against such a disgraceful act. It was more likely the result of a generous impulse of a noble heart to give quarter to a supplicant foe.

face to him till he had retrieved his lost prestige. Pratap Rao had to pay very dear with his life for this chivalry.[1]

During the succeeding months, numerous actions were fought between the Maratha rovers and the Bijapur armies under Bahlol Khan and Muzaffar Khan. Even the Moguls joined hands with Bijapur to crush Shivaji.

7. Pratap Rao's campaigns.

Pratap Rao fell upon the rich town of Hubli and carried away a vast plunder, but had to retire before Muzaffar Khan.[2]

Shivaji hard pressed by Bahlol Khan.

" Bullull Ckaune, Generall of this kings army against Sevagy doth very much prevaile, having beaten his forces in severall incounters; soe that all they that roved up and downe and pillaged the country are all now retired and as soone as the raines are over, he intends to bring his army downe to Rajapore and those parts, they being now incamped at Callapore and there abouts: Sevagy its said supplicates for peace, being very fearfull of his owne condition, but as yet Bullull Ckaune seemes resolute against it.

Wee hope affaires are upon turning againe and will now to a good settlement at length, specially seeing the king's forces are soe victorious against Sevagy, who being once brought into better order, those others will faile of themselves."[3]

The Maratha army retires from Karwar.

" Sevagys forces had undoubtedly invaded these partes, had not Bullull Ckaune pressed soe hard upon them, 5 or 6000 men being gott to gether upon the ffrontiers for that intent, but now they are all returned to defend their owne. For the future we hope your honour will be pleased to allow some few English soldiers here, and some small Gunns to mount upon the house that wee may be able to defend ourselves upon any occasion that may happen." [4]

1. Sabhasad 78; Panhala P. G. A. Chapter V.
2. See Vol. I.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P. 142. Carwarr 14th June 1673.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 144. Carwarr 18th June 1673.

In August, the Surat council expressed the common belief that Shivaji was hard pressed by Bahlol Khan, though the Nabab had not much succeeded in clearing the country from the Maratha forces. It was feared that he might accept a bribe from Shivaji and retire from the field.[1] In a letter from Madras on the 3rd of September 1673, the situation on the Malabar coast is thus described:

"And partly by reason of cruel war and confusion in the Decan and Mallabar factorys from whence we expect our pepper, for the factorys of Callicut and Biliapatam being so near the enemy, the natives are so overawed by their great power, that we expect but little assistance from them, and the factorys of Carwar have been besieged, and reduced to great necessity by some rebells who have raised arms against the King of Viziapore and plundered most of those towns and robbed the merchants. Sevagees army also hath ransacked Hubelly, Callapore, and many other towns thereabouts, and we are not yet assured whether our friends at Carwar are safe or no, to whose succour wee have sent one of our frigates well-manned, and hoped she arrived time enough for their succour though the confusion have been so great as to trade.

Shivaji plunders rich towns.

The war " is sharply continued between the Mogull and Sevagee, for the Mogull having peace with the King of Viziapore and Golcondah and having lately quelled the tumults raised by the Patanns near Cabull will be at leisure to prosecute the war against Sevagee; to which end it is reported that Bauder Caun and Deleel Cawn are coming with designs to enter Sevagees country and besiege him in his strongholds and by sea he has sent down Siddy Sambole with a fleet of small frigates to infest his parts, part of which fleet hath wintered in Bombay all this year, which Sevagee took very ill at first of us, but we gave him such reasons that he is well satisfied, with our proceedings."[2]

War with the Mogul.

According to some chronicles, secret treaties were made with

1. O. C. Vol. 34, No. 3832. 2. Orme Mss. 114. II, 133.

the Sultans of Bijapur and Golcondah by which they agreed to pay Shivaji an annual tribute of three and four lacks of pagodas respectively.[1] After the rains, the situation was suddenly changed. Bahlol Khan was taken ill at Miraj and the two Deccan monarchies, being threatened with a Mogul invasion under Bahadur Khan, begged the assistance of Shivaji against their common enemy. "Naran Sinay bringeth certain newes that the king of Vizapore is upon termes of peace with Sevagee and that hee and the king of Golcondah doe furnish him with great summs of money to maintayne the warr against the Mogull and that Bullull Chaun is very sick at Mergee and that there is little feare of the Mogull doeing any mischiefe to Sevagee this yeare, he having now raised a great army in designe of some notable attempt against the Mogull. This is Naran Sinay's newes and this is allsoe confirmed by other persons but the truth in that one will discover."[2]

Secret alliance of the Deccan kingdoms with Shivaji.

" Sevagee hath fallen into the king of Vizapores country (who deceased this yeare) and robbed divers places of consequence and *taken some castles, among other places Hubely*, that mart of our Carwarr ffactory, where wee sell and buy most of the goods that port affords us. There the Hon'ble Company have lost to the amount of about 3500 sterling: robbed by Sevajees souldiers, since which inrodes the Vizapore king hath sent an army against him and on this side lives the Mogulls fforces, against both which hee hath raised a potent army and hath soe well fenced the avenues into his country, that hee hopes to deale with them both, though wee believe the Vizapore army may withdraw, it not being the interest of the king to destroy Sevagee, who is the only bulworke between him and the Mogull, and notwithstanding hee is thus besett, yet upon any rumour of an army being within 60 miles of Surratt, the towne is allarmed and ready to fly, as they were the passed

New conquests of Shivaji.

Shivaji, a bulwark between Bijapur and the Mogul.

1. Scott II, 22.
2. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 204. Bombay September 29th 1673. This is confirmed by O. C. 3779 of 8th Oct. 1673.

month, when the gates were shutt up for sometime to keep the people in." [1]

It was to arrive at some understanding with Shivaji that there was a little lull in the war. The English at Surat reported in October that Bijapur was likely to withdraw the forces sent against Shivaji, but it ought not to be done in the interests of trade. There was peace at Surat on account of the expedition of Shivaji towards the Malabar coast. [2]

No such pact was actually made by the three powers against the Mogul. War continued to be waged, so that in December Shivaji's forces were twice defeated.

Maratha forces twice defeated.

"The 8th instant wee wrote to your Honour by foure Pattamars wherein wee acquainted you of Sevajees coming to Cuddera, which proved very true, his forces were by report 4000 foote and 2000 horse, and himselfe in person he stayed not above foure days, most of his forces were up the Hill hard by Hubelly which caused the merchants to forsake the towne, and that wee heare some of our lead stolen away, how much and by whom as yet wee are uncertaine of, when wee know the certainty, wee shall further advise Your Honour. Wee heare likewise that Sevagees forces hath had two grate overthrows by Bulloul Ckaune and Serja Ckaun, and the other at Chandagurra; which is thought was the occasion of his retiring so soone from these parts."[3]

8. Routs of Dilir Khan and Bahadur Khan in 1673

The year 1673 ended with a brilliant success for Shivaji who had captured several strong castles like Panhala and Satara, carried his plundering expeditions up to Sunda and Hospet near Vijayanagar on the south, and in the north to Ahmadabad and Burhanpur as well as into the provinces of Khandesh and Baglana. The rapidity of the movements of the Maratha light cavalry was so

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Part II. Fol. 5. Surat to Persia 1st November 1673.
2. Orme 114. 16 Oct 1673; O. C. 3784. 25 Oct. 1673.
3. F. R. Surat Vol 88. Fol. 32. Carwar 17th December 1673.

harassing to the Mogul pursuers that they always lagged behind some 30 to 40 miles, so that the Marathas returned home safe with their rich booty.[1] Diler Khan's rout in January 1674 has been noted in the Surat Records.

"Dillell Ckaun hath lately received a rout by Shivajee and lost 1000 of his Pattans and Shivajee about 4 or 500 of his men, and this is all the newes stirring at present."[2]

Even Bahadur Khan was repulsed in an attempt to descend into the Konkan.

"By other conveighances Your Honour will have received newse of the proceedings of Sevajees army; never the less I cannot be excused without giving you some account. Bhadur Caun desired to descend into Concan. But understanding that the Rajah Sevajee hath stopt the passages by breaking the wayes, and advances twixt the hille, and keeping a constant guard there where the passages were most difficult; he returned from whence he came."[3]

9. The battle of Jesri or Nivati.

The continuance of the war with Bijapur is evident from two extracts of the months of January and February.

"Sevagee, haveing lately employed his armies in the Vizapore country, hath not disturbed us."[4]

"Wee heare that the merchants who contracted for it have upon Savagees late entering into those parts, declyned the bargaine, but wee hope you have brought them on again."[5]

These triumphs were followed by the disastrous defeat and death of Pratap Rao Gujar in an attack on Bahlol Khan at Jesari or Nivati on 24th February 1674. It is strange that this cautious general should have thrown prudence and tactics to the winds and in a passion fallen upon the enemy's forces with six men only. He could not be supported by his army in time and the small band of heroes was simply hacked to pieces.

1. Sabhasad 81,
2. Sabhasad 81. Surat Vol. 88. p. 50. Surat to Bombay, 6th February 1674.
3. N. Shenawi letter of 4th April 1674.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 93. 19th January 1674.
5. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 100. Surat to Carwar 2nd February 1674.

"The Rajah Sevajee intended to proceed for Currall (Kudal) to give new orders to his army, and to create a new generall of his horse in the roome of Partab Ray who fell in the encounter of Sevajees army with Bullooll Ckann in a narrow passage betwixt two hills who with six horsemen more were slaine being not succoured by the rest of the Army, so that Bullooll Ckaun remained victorious."[1]

10. Achievements of Anand Rao

The disaster was soon retrieved by the achievements of Anand Rao, described by Narayan Shenvi in a letter written from Raigarh.

"But Annand Ray his Lieutenant sent Sevajee word that he should not resent his Generalls death he remayning in his stead, on which Sevajee enordered Anand Ray to succeed him in quallity and pay; and not to returne alive without being victorious against his enemys and Anand Ray being a Valliant person on his Masters order moved with the whole body of his horse farr into the enemys country in search of Bullooll Ckaun. But it happened that Dilleel Ckaun understanding of Partap Ray's death fell in with his army to succour Bullooll Ckaun; makeing great part to fight with Anand Ray but he seeing two such valliant enemys before him durst not fight them and thereupon tooke his way towards Cannara journeying 15 leagues per diem, he before and the two nobles following him, but after many days march not dareing to effect any thing, Dillell Ckaun went under Parnalla to besiege it but stayd there but five days and returned to his former station, and Bulloll Ckaun went to Coolpore; Anand Ray passing much inland robbed a city called Pench, eight leagues

Anandrao's plundering expedition into Canara.

Diler Khan besieges Panhala unsuccesfully.

1. Sarker thinks that it is Nesri and not Jesri. Nesri is an important village in the Kolhapur State. It is beyond the hill fortress of Samangad which defends the rich valleys on both sides. There is no tradition at Nesri that Pratap Rao was killed here. (2) If the hero of a hundred fights had really died here, his heroic daughter Tarabai, the founder of the Kolhapur State, must have raised a chhatri there. Therefore Sarkar's suggestion cannot be accepted. According to Jedhe Shaka, the place of battle was Nivati in the Panhala Peta.

from Bancapore, which citty belongs to Bullollo Ckauns jageheere, from whence he returned well laden with 3000 oxen laden with goods, which Bullooll Ckaun and Quider Ckaun (Khizar Khan) understanding, they intended to intercept him with their whole army encountering neare Bancapore, where happened a desperate Battell, but Anand Ray gott the victory. In said battell fell a brother of Quider Cans, cousen of Bullooll Ckauns, and Anand Ray robbed the whole army and brought 500 horse and two ellephants and other things, Bullooll Ckaun, and Quider Ckaun flying away;[1] Anand Ray on his returne leaving his booty with Sevagee is gone againe to Ballagatte (Balaghat--plateau) to robbe more townes.

Anandrao plunders Pench.

Anandrao defeats Bahlol Khan at Bankapur.

I have discoursed with Narragy Punditt concerning the peace you desired might be concluded with the Sidy Foote (Fath) Ckaun. He answered with many comparisons shewing that Sevagee had no inclination thereunto; where upon I never talkt more about that affaire of which Naragy Punditt will himself write you.

No peace with Siddi.

I shall give Your Honour what news I have heard of Siddy Sambole in a few words. He engaged with Doulett Ckaunes navy in Satouly (Satavli.) River where there was slaine above one hundred men of the Siddys and 44 of Daulett Cauns who gaines the victory, but is wounded with an arrow and it is reported that Siddy Sambole is likewise wounded, and his hands burnt, he not meeting with good success in the aforesaid river is gone to Hearsser (Harihareshwar) neare Gessing; this news Sevagee told me himselfe. Now I desire Your Honour not to licence the Siddy to enter into Your port, nor his men to come on shore; for if you should not thinke convenient to refuse him, it would cause great differences to arrise betwixt us. and Sevajee, for soe much he declared to me at ffirst meeting."

Naval fight between Siddi Sambol and Daulat Khan at Satavli.

Siddi's fleet should not be allowed in Bombay.

1. Sabhasad and Chitnis wrongly ascribe these victories to Hambir Rao Mohite. Jedhe Sh. supports the English accounts.

11. Bahadur Khan's camp plundered

We learn from Oxinden's letter written from Rairi on 21st May that Diler Khan who was feared most by the Marathas was gone to court and thus Bahadur Khan alone remained in command. Shivaji was preparing to inflict a serious defeat on him after the rains. Later on, it was rumoured that the veteran Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur was coming as commander-in-chief in the Decean.

" For newes in these parts; The King is gone in person against the Pattans, who have taken the province and citty of Cabull from him and cutt off one of his armies that hee sent against them under command of Rajundan Ckaun, who with 12 more Umbraws and many thousand men are slayne."[1]

" Your newes of the Pattans being risen against the Mogull and their success in cutting off part of his armie, wee have received some monthes since and likewise called all his Umbrawes to his assistance. The sonn of Rajah Jessin is on his way to supply the roomes of Dellelcaun and Badder Caun, and wee hope will prevent Sevagee of makeing any inroades hither, especially wee shall have noe cause of fearing him during the raines. " [2]

In the very height of the rainy season in July when Bahadur Khan was lulled with a sense of security, Shivaji's army surprised him and thoroughly plundered his camp. This remarkable triumph in strategy replenished the Raja's treasury that had been emptied on June on the occasion of the coronation.

" It is wrote hither from Orangabaud that Sevajee had spoiled and distroyed Bawder Ckawnes camp, and besides 200 brave horses collected for the king, hath carryed away a crore of Ruppees and burnt all his tents. Tis said he decoyed Bauder Ckawne and his army with 2000 horses who drawed him 20 to 30 Course from his camp, while Sevajee sent 7000 horse another way that did the feat; but this we cannot confirm untill wee have further advises.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, P. 152. Calicut to Surat. 25 April 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 176. Surat to Dungum. 2 June 1674.

Wee desire your advise in case Sevajee should send forces against this place, (Surat) either by land or sea. What confidence we may repose in the articles of peace lately made betweene you and him, or if you could procure his cole and send us, whither it would protect us and the Honble. Companys estate in their house. " [1]

12. The Mogul and Maratha armies against each other

A Bombay letter of 15 August sent to Surat records the lines of policy likely to be adopted by Shivaji. As he had now become a sovereign prince, he was determined to perform an extraordinary deed to win fame for himself. He was enthusiastically preparing for the war, but it was surmised by the English that he would not fall upon the camp of Bahadur Khan, because both were on terms of friendship. They would not break off the peace for some ordinary reasons. Both were ripe politicians and subtle commanders, hence they could not be easily deceived by each other.[2]

In September Shivaji's armies were stationed between Junner and Kalyan--Bhiwandi on the one side, and between Raibag and Rajapur on the other. Hence the English merchants were trying to secure cawls from Shivaji, the Sultan of Bijapur and the Mogul general.[3]

In October, Bahadur Khan issued an order prohibiting the export of provision from Surat and Broach, as Shivaji was being supplied with these.[4] Two days later Bombay sent to Surat the news that Shivaji had arrived at Kalyan with a large army. He was likely to fall on Surat or on Bahadur Khan's camp.[5]

But in the succeeding letter of 10th October the Surat Residency was informed by Bombay that Shivaji, leaving a small detachment at Kalyan—Bhiwandi, marched away with the rest of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 187. Surat to Bombay. 1 Aug, 1674,
2. Orme Mss. 114. Part III. P. 159.
3. F. R. Bombay I, 92. Bombay Cons. 16th Sept. 1674.
4. 4th Oct. 1674,
5. Orme Mss. 114, III. P. 264. 6th Oct. 1674.

his army, but he was expected to return all of a sudden. His design could not be forestalled.[1]

This news was confirmed from Dabhol letter to Surat dated 14th October 1674 that "Shivaji is on some action."[2]

It appears from another letter of the same date that Shivaji was lying with his army in view of Bahadur Khan near Junner and that he was fully equipped with all the means of executing plunder. His designs were kept completely secret.[3] In the letter of 25th October President Aungier informed the Surat Council that Shivaji had probably gone to Satara which he had captured last year.[4]

13. Shivaji twice disappointed in capturing Shivneri

Shivaji had long cherished the desire of recapturing Shivneri, the castle of his birth, that he had ceded to the Moguls in 1666. But he was not destined to realise his object even by the end of 1674. He had to court disappointment in 1670 and then in 1674. The concentration of his forces at Kalyan was probably for deflecting strong detachments for Junner. Dr. Fryer was fortunate in being invited by the Mogul Governor of Junner to treat one of his wives. He started from Bombay in April 1675, gave an interesting account of his visit to Junner and Shivneri and described the two ruinous disasters met by the Maratha forces there.

Shivneri described.

Shivneri "whose Top we are endeavouring to gain, is inaccessible, unless by Seven winding Gates which are very strong, and able to cleare one another as they rise, the way being lined with Murtherers, and they themselves defended with good Pieces of Ordnance: The last is a Piece of excellent work and strength, and the Place filled with Soldiers.

The *choultry* was hung with Green and Read Velvet checkered;

1. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 207. 2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. P. 218.
3. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 209. Cf. the letter of 23rd Oct. on P. 214.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. P. 1.

his Pawn Boxes were large, and of Massy Gold; his Retinue grave, his Carriage affable; he gave me a Bow Ring off his Thumb, of Cashnmire (of equal value as Vertue, being a charm against Thunder) and the libertly to take a Round about the castle, never before granted any not listed in his Service: A *Portuguez* Mestizo, Chief Gunner of the castle, was very officious, though I was entrusted to the charge of his Prime Eunuch.

Permitted the Freedom of the castle.

The first Object busied me, was a Place *Seva Gi's* Men had attempted to scale, by me esteemed a desperate Design, and very improbable; yet two Men got up, and a Stone casually tumbling deterred their Accomplices, leaving them a sacrifice to the Governor and Women, who being left alone to the defence of the castle (all the Men deserting on the approach of a vast Army of *Sevagi's*) hurled them down the Mountain for their rash Adventure; confirming to me by a great stone let fall, the unavoidableness of their destruction; it running with that force where-ever it came, that it beat all afore, till it rested in the middle of the Valley.

A bold attempt to capture Shivneri.

It is stored with Granaries hewed out of stone, I suppose for Religion's sake at first, being too delicately engraved for the present use; though there be several *Tanks* filled with Butter of 400 years standing, prized by the *Gentiles* as high as Gold, prevalent in Old Aches, and Sore Eyes, one of which was opened for my sake and a present made me of its black stinking and viscous Balsom. There are other *Tanks*, or Cisterns for Water, which look nastily, Green, Yellow and Red, being distilled in the Rains and in the Heats evaporated to a Consistency; in some of these *Gurs* the water is so bad, that they use onions to correct its unsavoriness. (Garlick indeed with us is called the Countryman's Treacle.)

Granaries for stores now, formerly religious cells.

They have Provisions for a Seven Years siege for a Thousand Families, but no other Ammunition than Stones, excepting two unshapen *Sakers* of Two and Twenty Foot long, with narrow Bore of Brass of *Gentu* Mould, at each end one, on huge winding Carriages; one of which at random killed a

Great guns.

Rajah some four Months ago when *Seva* was encamped about *Jeneah* flinging a Bullet two Course off; which shott caused a Bonfire of a couple of his Ladies, beside other domesticks, one of each sort to attend him in another World, as his Chief Physician, Barber, Washerman, House-keeper, and the like, to the number of twenty odd; a thing as customary at the death of any great Rajah, as 'tis for the Wife of every *Gentue* of note at the death of her husband.

Second defeat of Shivaji.

Here are a Thousand Sword-men in pay, no Horse or Elephant being able to climb it. It was never fairly taken, the Governor is one of approved Fidelity; the *Mogul* having not the like Fort in all his Kingdoms, and is of main concern to the Frontiers: putting a stop to *Sevagi's* progress, otherwise likely to overrun Duccan. His name is Hagiess Caun originally a *Brachmin*, now a Strict *Musleman*, some years past Governor of the City, when oppressing the Poor, their cries reaching the Kings Ears, he was translated hither, in consideration of his good Service: where he receives a liberal Pension, and is at no Expence, which agrees well enough with his covetous Humour: which Humour of his Sevagi being informed of left no means unattempted to gain the Surrender of his Trust: promising Mountains of Gold in exchange of this, which he Scrupled not to receive: appointing a day for the delivery of it to *Sevagi*, if he sent 7000 to take possession; who keeping touch, met with the same measure he had meated to others, they being all surprised by an Ambuscado from *Badur Caun*, whom the Governor had advertised of all the Transactions.

That which makes *Sevaji*, so intent on this more than the forementioned Advantages, is because it was his Birth-place; to whom that of *Virgil* is applicable,

> *Non tibi diva parens generis, nec Dardanus author*
> *Perfide: Sed duris genuit te cautibus ingens*
> *Jenneah; Duccanœque admorunt ubera tigres.*

Importance of Shivneri.

What makes it more famous, it was anciently the Seat Royal of the *Duccan* Kings, under whom *Sevagi's* Father was keeper but *Aurenzeeb* in his conquest of this Kingdom (after he had fled hither for Protection) had it surrendred unto him. It is reckoned two

Course and an half in height: is surrounded, though a good way off, with Hills, all but towards the *North*, where it seems to stand Captian of the Mountains."[1]

The position of Shivaji at the end of 1674 is summarised by the Dutch Governor General, Joan Maatsuyker, in a letter sent to the Dutch East India Company from Batavia on 17th Nov. 1674.

"As to the affairs of the rebel Sawagie, such different and uncertain reports reach us that we hardly know what to believe, the events of the war appearing at one time to be in his favour and at another to his disadvantage. He goes on all the time with his plundering and pillage in the old way, to the ruin of many poor natives, and will continue doing so, unless some one, either the Mogul or the King of Viziapore, can subdue him."[2]

14. The events at Bijapur

The Carwar letter of 27th October 1674 to Surat gives news about the events at Bijapur.

"As for news in these parts, Abboo Ckun Rustum Jemmah is departed for Visapore, being sent for by Cauos Ckun, everyone suspecting that this country will be given to another. Their reason is that before his departure he robbed all persons he could lay hands of that was worth anything, sending first for some whom he knew to be moneyed men, which when they came desired that they would lend him noe small summe of money, which they denying, he kept them in prison untill they were constrained to yield to smaller conditions then at first. On a Sunday he came to give us a visitt on purpose, as we heard afterwards, to borrow more money of us or elce to seize us as prisoners, but being jealous of his former actions and coming at an unseasonable time, we shutt our doors, telling him as he drew nigh, by one of our servants who went to him, that wee were going to prayers, and so craved his pardon. Likewise it was not our custome to receive visitts on that day, which when he heard, he returned (?) without seeing in the least to be displeased. Wee heare that at Visapore the great Chauns are at difference the event of which time will discover."[3]

1. Fryer, pp, 135–139. 1698 Edition.
2. Dutch Records Vol. 31. No. 806.
3. F. R. Surat. Vol, 88. p. 240.

15. The Fall of Phonda in 1675

Early in 1675 Dattaji Panditt led an expeditionary force to ravage Kolhapur and Annaji started for laying siege to Phonda, a Bijapur stronghold on the pass of the same name. It commanded one of the chief routes into North Kanara and might be called a key to unlock the gates of Goa.

"The newes here is that some of Sevagees forces have bin att Callapore which redeemed itselfe from their fury by giveing a present of 1500 pagodas, thence they went to a place called Songam (Songaon) which gave them 500 pagodas, and thence is gone aroving these forces about 3000 horse commanded by Dattajee Punditt.

Kolhapur and Songaon redeemed from Shivaji's forces.

Annagee Punditt this night (6th Feb.) or tomorrow morning intends to sett forward for Foundah, a strong castle seated betweene Hubily and Carwar with very great forces which if he gaines, it's reported that Savagee will be soon master of Vizapore".[1]

Annaji against Phonda.

Shivaji himself followed with a large army in March. His preparations are described by the English factors of Rajapur in their letter of 1st April, 1675.

"The Rajah hath been here, used us with all expressions of kindnesse, he is now gone to a place of his owne called Corroall, within a dayes journey of ffundah before he went hence he ordered about 40 small vessells to be gott ready, the biggest not above 4 gunns which are to goe to Vengerlah with all speed, there to wait his orders, he hath an army with him of 15000 horse, 14000 ffoote and 10000 Mesures, with pickaxes, crowes, hatchets etc. His designes are not knowne, some are of the opinion he designes against Fundah, others that he intends to plunder Goa, others that he is going against Surrup Nogues (Naik's) countrey; And others that he designes against Vizapore, he hath taken Collapore and report speakes hee will soone have Raybag."[2]

At the approach of Shivaji, the Portuguese were so much cowed down that they were obliged to observe neutrality during the siege.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols, 15-20. Rajapore 6th February 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Part II. Fol. 33.

" People were all running away by reason of the approach of Sevagges horse, and till the noyse of Sevagee is gone; wee have no hopes of doeing any till people are returned and settled a little. Sevagee hath laid siege to Punda castle with about 2000 horse and 7000 ffoott these six dayes, and tis thought by all that he will carry itt, for he is providing against the raines and designes to stay to starve them out, for wee heare that Mamud Ckaune hath not above 4 monthes provision in the castle, and he hath noe great expectations from Vizapore; the Portuguese at his first coming saluted him very roughly, but doe begin now to be a little calmer, soe that wee thinke the Portuguese will not molest Sevagee nor assist Mamud Ckaune. Wee desire to know your honours orders how to carry ourselves towards Sevagees forces if they should chance to come this way. " [1]

Shivaji besieges Phonda.

The Portuguese neutral.

" Sevagee Rajah with all his forces is sett downe against Fundah, he hath lost already a great many men but is now in likelyhood to carry it. He undermined it 4 times, but as countermined by the defendants he hath have up a Banke against it that his souldiers lye underwhich is within 12 foot of the castle wall, and its said he will not rise there hence till he carried it. The Portuguese are in great feare of him at Goa. They doe not stick here to say that when he hath Fundah: Goa he counts his owne: he will by all reportes when master of this castle, soone be possest of all the king Visapoores dominions. He hath some forces neare Raybagg, but wee have noe newes certaine that its taken. He hath his embassadore with Viceroy of Goa who hath promised to stand neuter. But privately the Portuguese assist Fundah what they can, and indeed it concernes them soe to doe, for they will undoubtedly if Sevagee takes it find him a bad neighbour; the Portuguese sent for its releife 10 Shibars laden with provitions of all sortes, and some men but itt fell all into Sevagees handes who

Adventurous operations of the siege of Phonda by Shivaji.

The Portuguese assist the besieged, but disavow the act.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88, Fort II, Fols. 36-7. Carwarr 14th Aprill 1675.

sent to the Viceroy about it, but he denied to have any knowledge of it, and excused himselfe soe well as he could, but its reported was done by his order. "[1]

The Bijapur Government sent down Bahlol Khan with a large army for the relief of Phonda, but the general was bought up by Shivaji. The brave commandant of the fort continued the fight, till he fell a prisoner into the hands of the victor.

"Wee hear newes that Rustum Jemah, lord of this country, is upon his way with about 1500 horse and some foot, this force is coming to the succor of Punda, wee shall be not a little glad if our Balloone returnes before he comes hither."[2]

Shivaji made complete arrangements to scale the walls of the fort and offered gold bracelets to the storming party. It was rumoured that the Raja would beat retreat at the approach of a formidable force under Bahlol Khan, but it was a false rumour.

"Pundah hath been closely beseiged by the Rajah; newes here was that he had possession of two outworkes and had filled up the ditch; made 500 Ladders and 500 shackels of Gold, of ½ seare weight each shackle, which was to give those as would adventure to ascend the ladders to scale the walls; he hath lost abundance of men and we hourly expected to hear he had taken it. But this morning newes came that he hath raised his seige and is marching away. Boulleel Caun being come downe against him with 8000 horse and 5000 foot besides many forces joyned to him, since he is come downe."[3]

" By advice lately from Rajapore wee understand that Sevagee hath closely beseiged Punda against which place hee hath already lost a great many men; but it is thought, hee being there in person with soe considerable an army will make him sole master of that place; which if hee doth, that country will lye open to his forces and hee may overrunne and take the greatest part of Conquon."[4]

Hopes of the fall of Phonda.

1. F. R. Surat Vol, 88. Fols. 48–9. 20th April 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 37. Carwar 22nd April 1675.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 88, Fol. 53. Rajapore 3rd May 1675.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 88–9. Bombay to Surat 5th May 1675.

" Sevagee hath taken Punda castle and hath put Mahmud Ckaune (Muhammad Khan) in irons, with fforceing him he hath writ to the adjacent castles to surrender to Sevagee, but none of them will adheare to him. In Simimiseer there is about 3000 horse besides foot which have laid seige to the castle for this 15 dayes." [1]

Phonda falls.

16. Sweeping conquests on the coast in 1675

The capture of Phonda released a large part of the Maratha army. It was sent down to conquer new places. These soon fell into the hands of the Marathas, as the Bijapur officers took to heels at the approach of the enemy.

" 12 dayes agoe one of Sevagees Generalls came and visited Carwar to burne it which he did effectually for he hath not left an house standing; he pitched his tent at Carwar where the desie formerly dwelt. While he was here, there was some letters past betwixt us. In his first he desired us to send some great men, but we did suppose it was to welcome him to Carwarr rather then out of any great secret he had to reveale, and when wee desired to be excused considering the inconveniency that might happen seeing he did not come to fight against that castle but to plunder and away. He when he perused our answer writ a little hastily wee might say rashly for he showed more passion then witt, yet for all that he had soe much civility to goe away without attempting anything against us, wee was prepared as well as could be expected in such hard times that if he should have proved otherwise then a friend might be able to give him such a salutation as would not be kindly taken. " [2]

Carwar burnt down.

The English Factory at Carwar not molested.

When the Bombay Government learnt that their factors at Karwar had not paid a visit to the Commander of Shivaji's forces, they sharply reprimanded them on their conduct and instructed them to civilly treat all the commanders and ministers of Shivaji.[3]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 40-1. Carwar 8th May 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 40-1. Carwar 8th May 1675.
3. Orme Mss. 114. IV, P. 110. 13th May 1675.

"Pundah was taken by the Rajah some dayes since he putt all he found in it to the sword except the Governour Mahmud Ckaun who saved his owne life and four or five more by promising to bring into the Rajahs subjection all those partes belonging to the king; Ounkelelah (Ankola) and Semaseer (Shiveshwar) castles are likewise taken; Cuddarah only stands out, but its daily expected newes will come of its being likewise taken. He is now master of Carwarr.....they here threaten Goa very much and its taulked that the Rajah will next sett upon itt." [1]

Sweeping conquests on the coast.

"Sevagee hath made a thorough conquest of the country hereabouts."[2]

"Wee are come now to acquaint your honour etc. of the great successe Sevagee hath had in these parts, *for he is master of all as far as Anchola*, which he did not gett by his vallour but for his money (except Punda). Robert Jones and Edward Austin went and gave him a visit after he was in possession of Carwar (when he had taken Punda castle, Natt Ckaune, Governor of Anchola, made himselfe chiefe of all these places, Mahmud Cka being in Irons. Sallick Mahmud, Governor of Carwarr placed by Mahmud Cka, Nath Cka displaced and put in a Colle Cka, when Sevagee had taken Pundah, wee concluded in a short time he would be master of all the rest; therefore desired Natt Cka to order this Governor to deliver us up a ship that lay under the castles; with some Gunns for the money that was lent Abne Cka and Goindrom on account of Customes. Wee had some Gunnes in pawne for debt which Mahmd Cka forced from us, this he would not heare of, soe that wee are in great likelyhood to loose our money, for they discoursed with the Rajah about it and he gave us little encouragement to believe that he would discount it in our costumes; they acquainted him of the perticular sumes.

Shivaji's conquests up to Ankola.

"Wee desired to know of the Rajah what customes we must

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 61. Rajapore 21st May 1675.
2. Carwar to Surat. 25th May 1675.

pay here for wee did acquaint him what wee paid under the Moores but was answered the same which the honour etc, made with him at the settling of Rajapore and that wee must live under the same privilidges."[1]

The English given Rajapur privileges at Carwar.

"*Sevagee Rajah hath now taken all belonging to the King of Veesapore in Cunkron (Konkan).* He was very kind to our friends at Carwarr. Balleill Caun continues att Mirgy, his strength reported to be 8000 horse and 7000 foote; he endeavoured to come downe to releive Fundah. But the Rajah had filled up the passages with trees cut down for the perpose, and lined them with men, soe that he could not passe without certaine expectation of great losse, and great fear of being wholly overthrowne. This is the news wee have here, but from Carwar they write us that the Rajah stopped his intentions to releive Phundah with a very large present."[2]

All Konkan conquered by Shivaji.

How Bahlol was kept away by Shivaji.

"Wee are sorry to see your Portuguese neighbours are so ill natured to you as to incommode you both by sea and lands, but seeing your new friend Sevagee coasts (costs) them further then they coast you, wee doubt not you will find meanes enough to be even with them hereafter."[3]

Shivaji, a friend of the English and enemy of the Portuguese.

"Bulliel Caun hath left the greatest part of his forces in and about Mergy and hee is gone to winter at Veezapore. Sevagee Rajah the last newes wee had of him, he was att Oncelah (Ankola), but was designed to winter in a castle neere the Rajah of Sandaha country. Annagee Punditt is left in Pundah to see that repaired and made in a defenceable condition."[4]

Bahlol retires and Shivaji continues his conquests.

"Wee crave your honours etc. pardon in not explaining about Sevagees Generall that came to Carwar, but now shall acquaint

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 58. Carwar 25th May 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fols. 62-3. Rajapore 31st May 1675.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 115. Fort St. George to Surat, 31st May 1675
4. F. R. Snrat V9l. 88. Fols. 63-4. Rajapore 3rd June 1675.

your hon. etc. to your more fuller satisfaction and then shall referr ourselves to your more charitable censure. When his generall visited Carwarr, which was about 5 dayes before Punda was taken, wee had certaine newes that, Balleille Ckaune was within 2 days journey of Punda and that Sidde Mursudes sonne to whome the country was given, did follow with a very formidable army, soe that to all outward appearance, itt seemed very probable that Sevagee would have broke up his seige. Upon this report wee was very circumspect whatt wee did, and that if wee should have visited his generall, the Mores would have resented it to our honourable masters prejudice. But Bullelle Chaun contrary to all peoples expectation received a present from the Rajah of 50 thousand pagodas not to impeed his proceedings and that Sevagee should not molest his territoryes, soe wee suppose the Rajah will favour his treason soe farr, as to reserve him for his last and sweetest morsell. These were the reasons which did prompt us to doe what wee did, but wee hope your honour etc. will not judge of our actions according to the event of thinges, for wee shall doe nothing which in all probability may not consist with our honourable masters interest. Wee acquainted your honour etc. in our former letters that in all likelyhood Sevagee would take Punda castle, our reason was because noe hopes of succour was expected before the raines were over and wee could have no certaine newes of Balleile Ckaunes coming till he was soe neere as is above mentioned with forces sufficient to have frustrated his designe...The two letters one to Sevagee and the other to the Semidar (Zimindar) of Phonda wee have received and shall keep them by us till wee have occasion to make use of them."[1]

Bahlol Khan bribed by Shivaji.

" Within this 3 dayes the Rajah passed by this place bound for Rayree. Its reported for a certaine truth that Balleil Caun was bribed by him, its now thought that he will make peace with the young king of Vizapore and next summer goe against Carnatte being Sarrup Nagues country, if soe wee shall be in quiett and then there will begin great trade here. " [2]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 71. Carwarr 9th June 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 65. Rajapore 14th June 1675.

17. Dr. Fryer's account of Shivaji's conquest

This famous physician and traveller who went from Bombay to Karwar just after these new conquests of Shivaji, has left a most reliable contemporary account of the same. His observations on the conseqences of Shivaji's victories are highly interesting.

"In our Passage at Serapatan [1] the South of Dan de Rajapore, a Strong castle of Seva Gi's defended a deep Bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 Small Ships and vessels, the Admiral (Flag—Ship) wearing a White Flag aloft.

Arriving at Carwar, and the Chief going ashore, he was met on the River by the Governor with two Barges: and landing, was Welcomed by the Ordnance of the English House.

Carwar, [2] What remains of it, is under the New Conquest of Seva Gi, being lately, with Anchola,[3] Pundit (Phonda), Cuderah and Semissar, brought under (though all of them very Strong Places); At which time the English were moulding a Fortification, or House of Defence, for their own safety, when by the Assistance, of a Small Pink they defended themselves from all Hostile Mischances and though their Town was whollye laid in Ashes, yet they built this their stately Mansion Four-square, guarded by two Bulwarks at the Commanding Corners of the House; In the mean while Seva Gi made himself Master of Carwar Castle, together with the rest, the Inhabitants flying to the woods and Hills for shelter. Thus it continues not without daily disturbance from these Sylvans and Mountaineers, the commiserated Subjects of Visiapour, who often make an Head and fall upon them, by which means the Covernment is unsetled, and the Governors shift from place to Place. "

18. Reflections on Shivaji's Government

Seva in his Government imitates the Moors in this, appointing

1. Shriwardhan, 12 miles south of Janjira.
2. J. Fryer. Vol, 11. pp. 2-3.
3. *Ankola*, 15 miles S. E. of Carwar; *Kadra* on the Kalindi river, about 20 miles N. E. of Karwar; *Shiveshwar* or Halekot, 4 miles N. of Sadashivagad, a little N. of Carwar.

a distinct Governor here for Town and Castle, and over all these a Commander with a Flying Army, who is Superintendent. Into Places of Trust and Authority he puts only Brachmins, or their Substitutes, viz. Pundits, (a mean cast) for Physicians, Sfosdars or Centurions, Subidars, Havaldars, Civil Governors, Generals or Fighting Bishops, of whom truly may be said, *Privata cuique stimulatio vile decus publicum.* They are neither for Publick Good or Common Honesty, but their own private Interest only, They refuse no Base Offices for their own Commodity, inviting Merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of Customs, always in a corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's Dues. So that Trade is unlikely to settle where he hath any thing to do, notwithstanding his Country lies all along on the Sea-shore, and no Goods can be transported without his Permission, unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do.

Shivaji governs by Brahmins.

It is a General Calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the Complaints of the poor people that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the Slavery of Seva Gi; The Desies have Land imposed upon them at double the former Rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if Monied Men) they are carried to Prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is; they have now in Limbo several Brachmins; whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red-hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish, (though according to their Law it is forbidden to strike a Brachmin). This is the accustomed Sawce all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their Offices, to squeeze their ill-got Estates out of them; which when they have done; it may be they may be employ'd again; And after this fashion the Desies deal with the Combies; so that the Great Fish prey on the Little, as well by Land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage."[1]

The hard usage of the subjects.

1. John Fryer. Vol. II. Pp. 3-5.

"Early in the morning came Delvi's Men, 500 in Company-whereupon Seva Gi's Men being but 100 Foot, and 25 Horse, retired into the Castle; miserable Souls for souldiers on both sides; they look'd like our old Britains, half naked, and as fierce where all lies open before them; They had a loud Noise of Musick, and a tumultuous Throng of People, and thus they marched on without any Order, till they encamped near our House; Their Leader was a Man of a good Presence, but a Rogue, an Hindu by Birth, a Soldier by Education; making this his Maxim, Ibi Fas ubi Maxima merces: there is the greatest Right where is the best Pay."[1]

Condition of the army.

19. Vingurla under Shivaji

" Wee went next day to the Governor, who Complimented us highly, he is under the Tyrannical Government of Seva Gi, where all Barbarous Customs are exercised, and here it is permitted the women not only to burn with their dead Husbands, but here are many Monuments raised in honour of them. "[2]

Sati at Vingurla.

" Goa,[3] where the Industry of tbe Portugueze Ancestry is worthy of our commendation, in securing their Land both from water and their Enemies, by strong Banks and necessary Block-Houses, Seva Gi possessing all against it called Norway,[4] famous for Curtisans. "

20. Effect of the new conquest on Goa

" On whom Seva Gi minds them to invocate, having but just now wrested Pundit (Phonda), the chief strength of Visiapour from that king, on the surrender of which followed the Conquest of the Low Country beyond Carwar. And by this means the

1. John Fryer, Vol. II. P. 6.
2. John Fryer, Vol. II. Pp. 18-19.
3. John Fryer, Vol. II. Pp. 18-19.
4. Narora or Narva on Piedade or Divar island, about 2½ Miles N. E. of Goa city. Another settlement of these women was at Saroda or Siridao, on the coast, 6 miles S. W. of Goa (Campbell, My Indian Journal, 211; Burton's Goa, 117 ff.). See Manucci, iv, 451; Fonseca, 49; P. della Valle, i, 186; ii, 436; Linschoten, i, 181; Crose, 225. " Goa is compact with a strong and beautiful wall, proud in her aspiring Turrets, dreadfull in many sorts of tormenting Cannons." (Herbert, 33.)

Diamond-Trade is intercepted, this being the greatest Mart tor small Diamonds, before these Incursions, And not only so, but they are straitned for Butchers Meat, which used to come down plentifully that way, for these had rather kill a Man, than suffer a Beast to be led to the Stall, and not only for Meat but Firing, they being beholden to that Country for Fuel, as well as Timber for Building. These Calamities, besides the Approach of Seva-Gi's Army, make no small Distractions, especially having small Recruits of Europe--Men: so that the Padres must not only Pray but Fight, there being in the Convents more than in the Garrison." [1]

"Seva Gi spared not this Town Ankola when he took the Castle, so that it is almost down or deserted: the Soldiers by that means disfurnishing themselves of all Necessaries, but what they seize by Violence abroad; the Castle is a fine place and of good force, bearing Fifty Brass Guns, the Moors had got out of a Portugueze Shipwreck: it commands as far as the River Gongola, the utmost extent of Seva Gi's Dominions South: Two or Three Miles out of the Town we met with some Game, and made Prey of it, walking by the strength of it to Gangol River." [2]

"Seva Gi is reckoned also as a diseased Limb of Duccan, impostumated and swoln too big for the Body; in some respects benefiting, in others discommoding it; beneficial, by opposing the Mogul's Entry into the Kingdom; but prejudicial in being his own Paymaster, rewarding himself most unconscionably; all Conchon (Konkan) being little enough for him, extending in Length along the Sea--Coasts, 250 Leagues, that is, from Balsore Hills to the River Gangole (Gangavaly); where neither is he limited in his extravagant Desires, expecting only opportunity to gain further. Inland he hath not much, the Goat (the western Ghat range) seeming to be a Natural Line of Circumvallation to the Up-Country, where it is Campaign, though below Hilly; so that you ascend to it by Mountains piled on one another, over which Seva Gi hath total Dominion, the Duccanees not striving to retake any thing, for all he hath blocked up their Ports, which may prejudice them

1. John Fryer, Vol. II. P. 25.
2. John Fryer, Vol. II. P. 32.

for the future; an irreparable Damage. (Arab Steeds being the Life of their Cavalry); they having only Porto Novo beyond Tutticaree left them free."[1]

21. The revolt of the rulers of Bednur and Sunda (1672)

The disturbances in the districts of North Canara from June 1672 onwards offered another opportunity to Shivaji to extend his conquests there. The ruler of Bednur captured Mirji castle and that of Sunda besieged Ancola. The Bijapur Governor, Muzaffar Khan, hastened to punish them.

"Wee cannot yet informe you, what is like to be the issue of Govend Naikes business, he one while putting us in hopes of accomodacon, when againe at other times, he will not heare of any without we obliedge ourselves to a yearly contract, which we having no order from your Honours etc. to doe, have utterly refused; we had hoped we should have had Batticola for our last refuge for the provision of pepper this yeare, but now that likewise is become doubtfull, that countrey (Sunda) being at present divided into two maine factions, which cannot agree, about setting up a new Rajah.

Narran Malla is head of one of them, the countrary Party have lately sett up a child for Rajah, without the others consent, soe that they at present are in some feare, for themselves and its thought will bring the Kings Army to back their own party, it lying still upon their confines, which will put all things in combustion there againe, the Dutch House at Bassalore was robbed in the last embroyle, when the Kings Army advanced against that country, but Narran Malla hath since made them satisfaction, the combustions and distrubances round about us, doth make us fearfull, we shall not be able to supply you with the quantitye of Pepper enordered this yeare, thongh we know not what 2 or 3 months, may bring forth, affaires being now just upon the point of changing here, and wee hope for the better.

1. John Fryer, Vol II. P. 66.

"They (the Dutch) have landed noe goods here nor at Vingurla, being at a difference with Sevagee, and alsoe disgusted here by reasons of some moneys of theirs that hath been lost in this Governors Dominions, and their servants killed; and although the Governor hath obliged himselfe to find out the thiefe or else allow them their money in their customes, yet they are not satisfied, but have defferred medling further in it till Rickloff returne with his fleete. Wee have been in a double feare here, what with the Dutch on the one side and the Rajah of Cannarah and Sundas forces on the other, but wee hope in God, now shall suddenly heare of a peace which may secure us from the one, and the arrivall of some forces from Vizapore here wee hope will secure us from the other. The Rajah of Cannarahs forces hath taken Mirjee Castle and are retired back to their owne country againe, and the Rajah of Sundas forces now lye in seige of Anchola Castle. Govendanaick being their Commander in Cheife, but it is thought now that these forces are arrived here they will not be able to doe anything. Muzaffer Ckaun, the Lord of this country, is likewise sent out of Vizapore, Generall of an army against the Rajah of Cannarah, and both intend to take Sunda in his way, to chastize both the Rajahs for invading his towne and it is generally believed it will goe very hard with the Sunda Rajah, he being not able to resist soe great forces."[1]

22. Shivaji's expedition to Sunda in 1673

"Five Mallabars Vessells lyes neer Bassean who have done great mischief to the Salt Fleete, and hinders boates from adventuring out to sea to the great prejudice of trade. We have therefore sent this Pattamar on purpose to desire you to send out the Hunter Frigott (if you can spare her) well manned to cruise after the said Mallabars, and to give Captain Minchin instructions that whatever Mallabar Pirates hee meets with, all to seize and make Prize of them or else destroy them. Wee suppose Sevagees Army will not trouble your parts for some tyme, for wee have certaine intelligenee that himselfe in person with his Army of 15,000 men is gone to Sunda, a Castle near Goa, to

The Malabars against the English.

Shivaji against Sunda and Carnatic.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 106. P. 100, (2d set). Carwar 17 Feb. 1673.

take it from the Vizapore king and alsoe to attempt the conquest of the Carnatick Country, where they are fallen into civill warr amongst themselves, and the late Rajah's wife hath called in Sevagee to her assistance and promised him a great treasure."[1]

" At present our designes for Pepper looks towards Sunda, the merchants of which place having been much discouraged from sending that commodity, up aloft by reason of Sevagee, a good cropp of this yeares remaines yet there.....We intend to send Thoms Sherlock to Sunda to treate with him (Govind Naik) to buy up what Pepper he can, from whence he may conveniently goe up to Hubely if their be a cessation of armes between Sevajee and this king for the time of the raines." [2]

23. Disturbances in 1674

Though Shivaji returned after plundering several places in Canara, the rebellion continued, and this time Rustam Zaman tried to put it down with a high hand.

"Wee...should be very glad...that without any interruption wee might proceed on the management of our Honble. Masters affaires. As yet wee can enjoy noe peace here, our Governour and the rebells men often skirmishing with various success, and although the rebell hath lost one of the best castles he possessed, which is Sunda and in it his wife taken, yet notwithstanding holds out the rest obstinately, soe that wee can see but little reason to hope for peace yett."[3]

"God be praisad that at length there is a period put to all our long and tedious rebellion here by the arrival of Aboo Chaun Rustum Jeamah, to whom all these countrys are given. Upon notice of his coming Measaub made noe great account of him, supposeing that he would not be able to keepe his men together any long time for want of money; but it pleased the Divine Providence to dispose it that at his approach to Cuddera the Governour of that

1. O. C. 3881. 31st Oct. 1673.
2. Cf. 14 May 1673; 14 and 18 June 1673.
3. Surat, Vol. 88. P. 55. Carwar to Surat. 14 Feb. 1674.

place being deserted by his men (upon what account wee know not) and thinking himselfe too weake to oppose, went out to meete him, contrary to the expectation of all. After this Carwarr was yeilded and Measaube himselfe hath, without stricking a stroke, surrendered Anchola and promiseth Simeseer (to which castle he is now agone) upon the delivering up to him his wife who is now a prisoner in Sunda castle, soe that wee shall have a lasting peace. Yet some trouble we have mett with from these new comers who being very needy of money have much sollicited us to lend them some; which after much dispute, and importunity we have done, judging it our Honoble. Masters interest not to anger this new Lord; he promiseth ever to cherish that love and respect for us which his father always bore to the English...Wee are very willing to bee ridd of our souldiers...Wee have only reserved five English men to play our great gunns upon any occasion; which wee should not have done but that wee cannot thinke the Honble. Companies house or estate at any time secure without them in this ill-governed country where the Governours themselves are apt to play the rogue. And besides, wee heare that Sevajee is about a days journey hence, goeing to build a castle upon a very high hill, from whence if he be not prevented, he may very much annoy these parts."[1]

24. Shivaji against Bednur and Sunda in 1675-76

The factions in the court of Bednur from the beginning of 1675 offered a golden opportunity to Shivaji to extend his conquests there. He was invited by the queen regent to assist her against her minister who had usurped her authority.

The information given by Dr. Fryer on the intestine quarrels at Sunda, will clear up the issues.

" Before I left Mirja I received this Information from the Natives, that the Carnatick Country reaches from Gongola to the Zamerhin's country of the Malabars, along the Sea, and Inland up to the Pepper-Mountains of Sunda and the Precinct of Sergi Caun. Bednure, four Days Journey hence, is the Capital

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 88, pp. 129-131. Carwar to Surat, 22 April 1574.

City, the Residence of the Ranna, the Relict of Sham Shanker Naig, (murdered by his Nobles) Raja of Canora; who now Rules in her Son's Minority, Bassepae Naig, the young Raja, by and with the Authority of one Timi Naig, that from a Toddy-man has by his cunning Policy, more than by true Prowess and Valour raised himself to be General and Protector. Sergi Caun, a Prince of the Kingdom of Visiapur, and he, have lately entred into an amicable League and firm Confederacy, who have already Eat together, whereupon it is bruited Timi Naig is about to embrace the Mahometan Faith." [1]

"Tymmana and the Ranna of Cannara hath bin at warrs for this three monthes, he being the chiefe man in that couutry and of a very mean parentage did insult too much over all people, but more especially the Bramins, which they could not brooke, soe that this warr was begunn by their instigation. Narran and Ventice Malla of the Rannas side have had some light scirmiges with him but have bin worsted; they will never leave off the enmity betwixt them till Sevajee goes and parts them which wee heare will not be long after he hath taken Punda. About this and newes of Sevagee wee shall acquaint your honours etc. via Goa."[2]

After the capture of Phonda and Carwar, some Maratha force was despatched to raid the territory of Sunda.

Shivaji captures a part of Sunda territory.

"When Sevajee had conquered these countryes as far as Anchola, he sent some of his forces into Sunda Rajas country. They finding no great opposition seized upon Sufa and Whurwa[3] belonging to the Rajah. Sevagee set a watch at Burbulle to take custome of the goods that passed that way; of which wee acquainted your honour etc. of in our last and the impediment wee should meet with in our goods comeing downe if noe speedy remedy was applied, but wee have heard since that Kidderchamme Phunny's

1. Fryer P. 162. Ed. 1698 London.
2. F, R. Surat Vol. 88 Part II. Fol. 37 Carwar 14th April 1675.
3. Supa and Ulavi; Sarkar, 252.

(Khizar Khan Pani's) men with the desys (Desais) joyning together hath retaken both these places againe with killing 300 of Sevagee's men, so that it hath made the (Maratha) watch at Burbulle (Varhulli) to rise and be gone to give the other place. Here is news likewise that Sevagee hath sent word that he cannot come this way by reason of the Mogulls army encamping so nigh him, which makes our new masters looke about them.

But is soon obliged to retire

Timmana and the Ranni hath made peace which she was compelled to doe, as being not able to withstand him and as far as wee can perceive, she stands for a cypher for he Governes all and doth what he please. Narran Malla, Vinctice Malla with other great merchants confederates together against him was included in the peace, but he finding occasion by Sevagees approach so near Merjah to take satisfaction of them (upon pretence of want of money to keep his men together if Sevagee should come against the countrey) hath imprisoned them all and demands great sums to assist him in this warr.

Factions at Sunda.

Wee acquainted your honour etc. in our last that wee thought it insecure bringing our goods down the Gatte (Ghat) by reason of the Decans army and Sevagees, therefore wrote to Rannah for a pass to carry our goods that way if occasion serves; the answer wee have received with the pass at 2½ per cent custome, soe shall behave ourselves as the time will permitt us." [1]

The English Council at Surat predicted that the Sunda Ruler would be the earliest morsel of Shivaji.

"As to the apprehension you have of the Sunda Rajahs stopping the goods coming downe from Hubely and exacting money from you, on pretence of the contract for pepper and your thoughts of bringing your goods another way downe Onore, wee say though the charge of oxen be greater, yet had wee rather

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 136–7. Carwar, 18th August 1675. Cf. O. C. 4122 of 16 Oct. 1675.

submitt to that than to the continuall exactions of said Rajah, since as you thinke his loosing the Customes of our goods by not passing downe through his country, will soon bring him, to permitt our goods, to pass quickly for the future. But wee conceive your carrying the goods to another part in another Rajahs Dominion, must needs give distaste of Sevajees ministers in Carwarr where you reside, and cause them to disrespect, slight and affrout you when they see the Port receives noe benefit from us. And how will you cleare the moneys lent to Sevajee's officers when you owe nought for Customes; wee propound to you alsoe that if you should advice Anantagee Pundit that you are necessitated to carry your goods to another part, whereby his Master Sevajee looseth his customes and this occasioned by the Sunda Rajahs stopping these goods comming downe, whether the said Punditt for his Masters benefit may not be prevailed with to write a letter and forbid the said Rajah to put a stopp to your goods, to the hindrance, and prejudice of his Masters parte, wee know the authority of Annatgee Punditt and the feare of Sevajees Arms may prevaile much upon said Rajah, who lyes in his way for the next morsell, wee may alsoe motion your sending up some goods by way of Cuddera and through his country to make tryall, if he will stop them which will not be soe great a hindrance, as the stoppage of our Goods coming downe for England when our ships cannot stay longer than their limited time for them but these things are only offered to your considerations, for in conclusion the imbroils of the country are such at present, and what other alterations and revolutions may dayly happen fresh, that wee can give you noe positive order, which way to bring downe your goods, but doe referr it you on the place, who will be best able, to judge as you shall find the face of affaires, and what you shall doe therein, wee shall approve, knowing you will act for the Honoble Companys benefitt to the best of your judgements.

English differences with Sunda Raja to be made up through Shivaji

Sunda Raja, the next morsel of Shivaji.

Wee shall take care to send our declaration to severall parts in the Canara and Carnatack Countryes signifying that if any of

their vessells (after a limited tyme) sail without a pass taken either from us or your factory, they shall be lawfull prize, if our shipps take them, and thus wee have answered your several letters and have not more to add, but in expectation to heare how your investment goes forward at Hubely, wee commend you to the Almighties protection, etc."[1]

Country ships to be a lawful prize without an English pass.

Besides these instructions, the Surat Factory soon sent to Karwar Shivaji's cowl to be made use of when any of his Governors or Generals should molest them.[2]

The ruler of Sunda put down the court factions and began to muster strength againest Shivaji.

"Wee take notice what you adviced about Sevajees attempts on the Sunda Rajah countrey, and by the prudent accomodation made by Timona and the Ranah, and their resolution to defend themselves against Savajee. Wee also observe the disturbance and ill treatment you have received from Savajees officers, which you have represented to Savajee, and wee doubt not but hereafter they will beh (ave) themselves more civilly toward you. In the meane time wee would have you be very dilligent over the Companys affai(res) and use all prudent meanes to preserve our privilidges and keep a faire understanding with the Governor and all the officers that the company's businesse may receive noe prejudice; and withall be wary in your proceedings and doe not trust those needy officers more than necessity forceth you unto."[3]

The Sunda ruler preparing to resist Shivaji

You desire our advice how you are to Act in case the King of Vizapoore shouid require your assistance against his enemyes. To which wee answer that you are by noe meanes to concerne yourselves in the warrs of either field, but to keepe yourselves close and unconcerned with them, declaring to the king of Visapoores officers and ministers that you are strangers and

The English not to help Bijapur.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2. 170-2. Surat to H. Mindan at Karwar, 5th Aug. 1675.
2. O. C. Vol. 36. No. 4127. 9 Nov. 1675.
3. O. C. Vol. 36. No. 4122. Surat to Carwar. 16th Oct. 1675.

merchants and have nothing to doe with their differences, but only mind your honest trade and if they will not permitt you to live in their country on those termes, you are ready to depart." [1]

The Bijapur army inflicted a serious defeat on the turbulent Chief of Bednur.

[2]"It is certain from a letter written by our Canara Resident dated May 11th to the Hon. von Rheede from Barseloor that the usurper of that country Timmena Neyck was defeated in a furious battle on Visiapour soil by the famous general Ballechan, (Bahlol Kahn) and not only he, but that also two other important chiefs of his army, Seyechan and Vieraponeyck were killed in the battle, Seyechan being the son to Sarechan, tutor of the infant Visiapour King; he had joined Timmena and urged him to use his army, as he was anxious to avenge on Bullechan, the treacherous murderer of his father Sarechan perpetrated as one presumes, at the instigation of Sivagie Radja, accompanied by 150,000 pagodas, by him and the old Brahman Cassi pandit and because this is a certain information, it is obvious that the news in the Wingurla letter dated April 29 by Resident Le Febre about a defeat of the above-mentioned. Bullechan had its origin in bare rumours. Now, by that gained victory this Bullechan, whose brother kept the town of Visiapour with a sufficient force of 10,000 soldiers and 3,000 horsemen during his (Bullechan's) expedition against Timmene, will have in his power both the countrey and the rule of the young Prince. In course of time we will learn whether he uses his power for good or for evil, and what will be the attitude of the Mogul grand Duke Badurchan (Bahadur Khan) with his army of 40,000 horsemen, directed to fight Sivagie, against Bullechan, when he will learn for certain Charachan's (Khawas Khan's) death. At first they said he was a prisoner in jail, for he Bullechan) sent a special ambassador claiming in solemn terms his release; the answer was that he had been punished for his treachery, and had added that Bullechan, as being a "pattander" was unfit to rule the Visiapour empire; however, it is evident that he

Bahlol Khan defeats Timmana.

This victory strengthens the position of Bahlol Khan.

1. S. F. Outward L. B. No. 2, P. 112. 12 April 1676.
2. Batavia Letter Book 1676-77. 3 October 1676. bls. 94-5.

cannot be expelled from office without using violence, which erquires a strong army, especially if it be true that he sides with Sivagie and does take with a little spoon the presents sent to him (he is addicted to being bribed). It is a pity that this beautiful country is spoiled in such a way and that the young King has no more trustworthy generals."

It appears that Shivaji did not annex either Sunda or Bednur into his kingdom, as the existence of their rulers is testified by a letter of 29th July 1679. "The Rajah of Sunda and Bednur have had sharp wars, but the former by the assistance of Jemshett Khan (Jamshid Khan) hath had the advantage of compelling the Rani of Bidnoor, on conclusion of the peace, to deliver up to him his castles of Sirsy and Sera, formorly possessed by him, as likewise the port and castle of Mirgy, a little to the southward of Karwar. [1]

25. The Dutch and Shivaji in Malabar 1675-1680

The Dutch trade was adversely affected by the conquests of Shivaji up to Karwar and consequently there are frequent references to their relations with the Maratha Governors at Vingurla and Karwar in the archives of Batavia and the Hague. The Dutch were inclined to withdraw their factory from Vingurla to Condawar, but as the latter too was annexed by Shivaji, they had perforce to continue their residence at Vingurla.

"Since long the disturbances caused by the vehement robber Sewajie lamed our trade there, and we are not assured that large sums of money can be trusted there; the revivification of that trade must be slow and careful. Siwagie, however, seems to be well disposed to restore the trade as before, promising to assist us as much as possible to our profit; if the results were like his words, we should dare to venture more in that trade." [2]

Vehement robber of Shivaji.

"About Siwagie's position we get various reports, so that

1. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 8, p. 25. Cf. Pp. 94, 142-3 supra.
2. Letter Book of 1674-75. 8 October 1674, Bl. 31.

we do not know what to think of it; sometimes the result of the war being favourable to him, sometimes adverse. He continues robbing and looting wherever he comes as usual to the perdition of many of the unlucky inhabitants, neither the Mogul nor the Visiapur king being able to tame him. Sivasi's actions are of a marvellous insight and rather difficult to be traced. "[1]

Shivaji of marvellous insight.

"The people at Condewaer and also Coudael tried to persuade us to remove to them from Wingurla, but it seemed that Siwagie's people were anxious to keep us there at Wingurla; but the merchant Polpotneyk is against this, as he knows very well the vexations of the robber."[2]

The Dutch thinking of removing from Vingurla.

Joan Maatsuyker, Dutch Governor-General, to the Dutch East India Company, Dated Batavia, 31 January 1675:—

" There is little news by letter of the robber Sywagie and the only verbal report is that he was in the fortress of Rairy. His ministers in Wingurla treat our people in friendly wise and buoy themselves up with the hope that the Honble. Company will re-establish its trade there, but this we cannot advise your Honours. Condewaer, a place 8 miles from Goa beyond the range of Sywagie's molestations had been recommended, and the Dutch had recently had friendly letters from the regent of the country. The well-known great native merchant Polpotneijck seemed more disposed to settle there than to returne to Wingurla, since it is nowhere considered safe to live under Sywagie's dominion."[3]

" By the robberies and bad rule of the well-known robber Suasy, our trade has fallen to the ground, so that we must think over to go to a more southern port in the dominion of the Visiapour king, named Condewaer on a good river."[4]

"Via England Your Honours will have learned from our letters of Auguest 29 the Portuguese state of affairs at Goa, also

1. 17 November 1674. Bl. 149.
2. Jan. 1675. Bl. 425.
3. Dutch Records, Vol. 31. No. 836,
4. Letter Book of 1675-76. 29 August 1675. Bl. 13.

that we were afraid to leave goods on shore at Wingurla and that on account of the bad Government of the heathen robber Siwasy we were compelled to look for a port for our trade, south to Goa in the Visiapour district named Condewaer."[1]

"From various letters from Wingurla dated Sept. 17 till Oct. 7 written to Ceylon and Malabar and received here by the yacht de Zyp in copy, we have seen how the robber Siwasy proceeds successfully, and already has captured Condewaer and other towns in the Visiapour district till the frontier of Canara, up to Miesie. So it is to be feared that our trade at Condewaer will not be verv profitable, and also that this robber will infest the whole Canara coast in such a degree that Merchant Lafer (Le Fibre) will find difficulty in selling the rice, sent to him in two ships."[2]

The diary of 26th August 1676 refers to the placing of the factories at Vingurla, Condewar etc. as also that of Canara under the command of the General of Malabar on account of the disturbances caused by Shivaji's inroads.[3]

"Sivasi and his regents appeared anxions that the company should re-open trade at Vingurla, so that the place might begin to flourish again. With that object in view they have made various proposals and promises on behalf of Dutch residents, provided that Siwasi alone shall receive all the goods which are brought there."[4]

Treaty between Shivaji and the Dutch.

" We received from our Residents a letter dated 9-9, and enclosed in copy some translations of letters from Siwasi Ragia and his chancellor Annaji Pandits, sent via Golconda to Massulipatnam, to be forwarded to us, the contents dealing with the trade of the Company at Wingurla, which they wanted re-instituted to this aim the articles moved by Merchant Rombout Lefer (Le Febre) and inserted in the general Register among the Wingurla papers had been agreed to in writing by Sivasi. From two private letters from Siwasi and his Chancellor to Resident

1. 23 November 1675, bl, 159.
2. 7 February 1676. Bl. 445.
3. Dagh-Register 1676. P. 207.
4. Dagh-Register. P. 300. 16 Dec. 1676.

Lefer it appears that the real intention was to deliver the goods imported there to them at the (usual) Surat price and that from the profits they were willing to hand over every year 1,000 pagodas to the said Resident and the great governor of the province of Koudal, in which Wingurla is situated called Balasi Siro had orally assured us that payment would follow on delivery of the goods, before they were unshipped. In this manner there is no risk. It seems they are keen to get the copper as they want it badly for coinage, which will be to our profits, without sticking to the Surat price. From the pre-mentioned promise it is obvious that we may charge a higher price, and we will attend to this. The Visiapour empire is still in disturbance as before and Bullechan has both town and court in his power. Badurchan, the Mogul general, approached the town at a distance of half a day's journey, but he retired with the loss of more than 4,000 men, much baggage and four distinguished generals, to the town of Solapour, one day's journey from Visiapour, where a splendid ambassador, with valuable presents and great promises, especially to attack Siwagie, begged seriously and humbly for peace, which would have been made but for the arrival of Mr. Dillerchan with 10,000 horsemen to the assistance of Badurchan. Then they declared that after such a serious loss no peace could be made, and that they had first of all to write about it to the Mogol and wait for his orders. In the meantime Siwagi is not disturbed and Suratta is fested with his marauding troops and bothered by the extension of his dominions."[1]

Defeat of Bahadur Khan.

Treaty between Bijapur and the Mogul.

"Abont Canara we feel uneasy by the approach and the invasion of Sewagie or his son Sambagie in this district, Condewaer being already in his power and he having advanced already up to Onor. It would be desirable if this band of robbers melted away (like wax) and disappeared; but this cannot be done by the Company which must remain an interested spectator."[2]

Shivaji advanced up to Onore.

1. 28 Nov. 1676. Bl. 271. Cf. Dagh-Reg. 1676. P. 300.
2. 13 February 1677. Bl. 596.

"The Wingurla factory, now belonging to the Malabar department could not be visited by the Chief Merchant Oosterwich on account of the late season and is now by the robber-bands of Siwagie in such a degree deprived of all trade and traffic that it is practically of no use to the Honble Company, but for keeping an eye on the Portuguese."[1]

"The Hon. Commissioner Volger sends a report to us, stating that a certain Abassi Pandit, Siwagie's Governor in that district, proposed to pay down in cash the sum of 200,000 pagodas to our Resident at Golconda on condition that the Company's ships arriving at Wingurla with the goods would deliver them at the Suratte price, and that the copper would bring in higher price than at Suratte."[2]

Shivaji advances money to the Dutch for purchase of goods.

"In payment of the money, which might have been paid on behalf of Siwagie at Golconda for continuing the Malabar trade, we shipped in the flute Beemster from here (Malacca) 2,000 lbs sandalwood, etc. "[3]

"Sawagie Ragia had again shown to be disposed to pay the amount of 50,000 pagodas to the Hon. Comp. at Golconda so as to receive copper for this amount at Wingurla, which would mean good business, but one cannot rely on his statements."[4]

More trade-contracts.

"At Wingurla and Canara the trade is very much disturbed by the war in those districts and has declined from the previous position. Any how we do our best to keep up trade as much as possible."[5]

"At Wingurla and Canara the trade is satisfactory and there is hope that in future there will be an improvement, especially if the wars and quarrels between the governors in those countries cease, which might happen if Sambhagie Ragia, Sawagie's son, were of a more quiet nature and not so boisterous as his deceased father. So the future remains uncertain."[6]

1. 13 Feb. 1677. Bl. 596.
2. Letter Book of 1677-78. 5 July 1677. Bl. 29.
3. Ibid 24 November 1677. Bl. 128.
4. Letter Book of 1679. 30 November 1679 Bl. 468.
5. Letter Book of 1680. 13 March 1680, Bl. 252.
6. Letter Book of 1681. 29 April 1681. Bls. 575-6.

CHAPTER XVIII

Seven Years' Offensive (Cont.)

1 Peace parley with the Mogul in 1675

Shivaji began talks of peace with Bahadur Khan to secure himself from Mogul hostilities and to concentrate his strength on the reduction of Phonda and the conquest of the coast of Kanara. The Surat letter of 13th February 1675 conveyed to the Company the news of such a peace.

"Here hath of late bin a current report that the King hath made peace with Sevajee on certaine conditions of delivering up some castles to the King and sending his son into the Kings service, who was to give him the command of 5 or 6000 horse, and that the King had graunted Sevajee all the countrey on this side the river Bimra for his confines, which runs neer Orungabaud. Butt wee hear further that Sevajee demurs and will not send his sonn to the Kings Generall untill hee hath better security. Wee should be very glad that this treaty take effect, that wee may live in peace after so many years continued troubles and fears for the securing your estates and our owne libertys; but yet there is another rebell, or theife, more remote, Rajah Chumpnek, that hath of late robbed divers Caphilaes, going and coming from Agra-Brampore which putts us to greater charge and customs in bringing downe your indico and other goods from Agra by the way of Ahmadavad which wee have lately concluded on in regard of the great danger the other way."[1]

Conditions of peace with the Mogul.

In another letter of 15 June 1675 it was reported that the Raja's ambassador had secured the signature of the Mogul general on the articles of peace.[2]

"Here hath been a very great report of peace settled between the Mogoll and Sevagee and it continues still much creditted and

1. O. C. Vol. 35. No. 4077.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 67. Surat to Bombay. Confirmed by Bundella Mem. Scott. II. 36.

it is said that Sevagee is to deliver up all his castles and country which hee hath taken from the Mogull, reserving only Sallera (Salhir) and Mawlee (Mahuli) and that hee is to be the king's desy of all the countryes in Decan and that the present Governor of Junear is to come downe to be Governor of Callian Brimberly (Bhiwandi), but to this wee give noe certain creditt till wee heare further of it."[1]

The same news of the existence of peace is confirmed by another letter of 15 July 1675.[2]

Bahadur Khan was awarded by the Emperor the title of Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash for his signal services of reducing Shivaji to submission, but both the General and the Emperor were soon disillusioned.

The Raja had gained the necessary respite for the conquest of Phonda and the adjacent territories. He had further collected a large amount of money and provisions by the plunder of rich cities in Canara. So he gave up the ruse and turned out the Mogul envoy from his court.

"The Governor now declares there is noe peace betweene Sevagee and the king, though the articles were signed by the king and (he) sent an elliphant to Bander Cawne, and raised his Munsub for the good service he had done in making the conditions, but Sevagee hath baffled him, will stand to noe such articles, contrived the deceit, only to prosecute his conquest in the Vizapore territoryes....."[3]

Shivaji's overtures for peace were deceptive.

"Here is uncertaine newes and therefore we know not what may be done after the raines. But if the Moores should come to conquer these partes and that Sevagee should come here in September, as it is bruited, wee desire your Honour etc. as there may be occasion to order the Captaines accordingly. For if this kings army and Sevagees lies hereabouts, wee thinke it will be insecure bringing any goods downe the gautes but Mergee way."[4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 109. Bombay (?) July 1675. Fols 109-10 for Aurangzeb's Campaign in Afghanistan. See letters from Abdul Hasan.
2. Fol. 113; of 17 July 1675.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 79. Suratt 22nd July 1675.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. P. 89. Carwar 28th July 1675.

"The newes of these parts are altogther uncertain and vary dayly. The most credibly believed and reported is, viz. that Oramzeeb, the king of India, hath taken great displeasure against Sevagee Rajah who had offered him 17 castles to make peace, which after the king had agreed to and signed the articles, the Rajah refused to deliver the castles, upon which the king of India hath wrote to the king of Vizapore, and the Nabab Buleel Caun offering to lett goe a usuall tribute, that this king used to pay him annually, provided he will with all his forces goe against the Rajah on this side and he intends against him on the other side, with resolutions, if possible, to utterly destroy Sevagee. This proffer is accepted by the kings ministers and the Nabob hath ordered baskets to be made to passe his men over the rivers (caused by the great raines that have fallen) intending against Parnoalla soe soon as the moon changes, its given out he will sett forward, but the rivers and deepe wayes will certainly hinder his putting his resolutions so suddainly in practice; but against Parnoalla its undoubtedly reported he will, which if he doth, will not or cannot bee before Duelle (Diwali), soe that till that time Callopore and all thereabout will be in quiet and our businesse by then will be neare done; only wee fear much that it will be hinderance to us in getting our goods whited, for which wee shall not much concerne ourselves." [1]

Aurangzeb exasperated against Shivaji.

Bijapur egged on to make war on Shivaji.

2. Shivaji's wars with Bijapur and Golconda in 1675

While 30,000 troops were engaged in the siege of Phonda, another Maratha army extended its depredations into the Golconda and Portuguese territories.

"As to Sevagee he setts all wheeles att worke, for while he is a prosecuting his designe att Punda, his fforces that went aloft have plundered three great cittyes, one belonging to this kingdome named Etgerree (Atgiri), the other two hard by Bagnagurr which is in the limitts of the King of Gulcunda dominions; they have brought away a great deale of riches besides

Bahlol Khan coming to relieve Phonda.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Pp. 96-7. 7 Aug. 1675.

a many of rich persons which they have carried to Sevagee att Punda. His fforces have robbed Cucullee (Cuncolim) and Veruda (Veroda) in the Portuguese territories and its thought by all that he will winn Punda castle, for he makes preparations to take up his winter quarters there. Fame declares his army to consist of 30,000 men; wee expect some of them every day here (Karwar), for the people begin to come from Simisee (Shiveshwar) already which is not above two leagues of us. " [1]

Maratha forces plunder rich cities.

While he was beguiling Bahadur Khan by deceptive peace overtures, he struck a blow at Bijapur by capturing Kolhapur and taking away the Moslem Governor as a prisoner to Panhala.

" The 30th ditto (July) newes was brought us early in the morning that Sevagees party in Callapore had seized the Governor there for the king; many of the inhabitants were leaving the towne but Sevagees souldiers kept all in with promise of faire usage; soe that the townes people are preserved in quiet and some security, Sevagee having to guard it report speakes about 2000 men; and the Moore Governor that was in it is carried to Purnalla castle, where he has yet remained a prisoner; soone after wee had this newes wee sett forward for this place, our journey very troublesome and uncomfortable, in the high way wee passed by many dead bodyes of men and women that died for want of food.....such townes as wee passed much broken and decayed, few or no people in them, where one house had a dweller, 10 were empty, the people being run away for want and fear of Sevagee and oppression of their Governor. " [2]

Kolhapur captured from Bijapur in 1675.

The English see the misery of the people.

" We have been already much deceived by our informations that we are most afraid to write; however, for the newes that most credited is that the Nabob Bullol Caune within this 10 dayes leaves Meerige, his winter quarters, and intends for Vizapore, thither called by the young king or rather Cowas Caun

Rumoured alliance between Bijapur and the Mogul.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88, Fols. 37-8. Carwar 22nd April 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol, 88, P, 95.

etc. to advise about meeting Bauder Caun, the Mogulls Generall against Sevagee and the rumour is that they will agree together and utterly destroy Sevagee. " [1]

At the end of the year 1675, Shivaji had to face the three armies sent by the Mogul, the Bijapur king and the Siddee of Janjira. He tried to conciliate the English at Bombay, his fleet proceeded against the Siddee, while he himself got ready for the other two enemies.

Shivaji's diplomacy.

" Sevagee [2] keeps a very faire correspondence with us, but is not to be trusted, he totally governing himselfe by his Interest alone, not valueing the breach of any oath or promise, where he can imagine to be a gainer thereby, but he hath many Irons in the fire, which will find him employ a considerable time, soe have little reason to fear any disturbance from him. "

Mogul Army against Shivaji by land and sea.

The Mogull presseth hard upon him whose Army is come part downe to Cullian and its reported that Orang Zeeb hath soe ratled his General Bander Chaun which hath nettled him that he is resolved to doe something this summer considerable against him, the better to effect which he hath by matching one of his neer relations with one of Cowret Chauns, Protector of Decans nearest kindred, broke the peace between that kingdome and Sevagee which was just upon concluding, by which meanes there is another great Army brought upon him; the Siddy of Danda Rajapore being alsoe recruted from Surratt with 2000 fresh men, provisions, ammunitions, &ca.

Naval war with the Siddy.

With two large men of warr and severall Friggats (after he had put some recruits on shore) sayled downe the Coast to look out Sevajee's Fleete hoping to burn them in Port, but being by their vigilence prevented of that, they have burnt Vingurla and severall other Townes. At this alarm, Sevegees Fleete also put to sea, consisting of 57 small Frigatts well-manned, the East India Merchant

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 107. 15 Sept. 1675.
2. O. C. Vol. 36. 4139. 26th Nov. 1675. Bombay to the Co.

who put in here yesterday in her voiage up from the Mallabar Coast mett with both Fleets; wee wish they may meete and box it out stoutly, for they are both equally troublesome to us, and much hinder the Trade of our Port, by this your Honors will see Sevagee hath his hands full, how he will deale with them all, wee must leave to time to discover."

3. Serious illness of Shivaji in 1676

Some three months from January to March were spent by the Raja in a serious illness at Satara. There were wild rumours of his death. Some Bakhars have wrongly charged Sambhaji with the guilt of poisoning his father. Their statement is not confirmed by contemporary documents. The news of the Raja's death is reported in a letter of 24th January 1676 from the Swally Marine and even in a Surat letter of 8th February 1676.

"Here is a flying report that Sewagee is dead."[1]

"We take notice of Sevajee's death which is also confirmed here."[2]

"The news of Savajees death is also discoursed from Bombay and other parts, but yet there is noe certainty thereof; however wee would have you be cautious and circumspect in your proceedings and use your best endeavours to secure the Honourable Companys Estate from any Accident (that) may acrew by any alterations and as to the old debt, if you cannot prevaile with the Soobedarr to Confirme the bargaine which you have already made; you may receive the severall Payments in Coconutts at the best Rates you can agree for, for wee should be very glad that accounts were well cleared though it were of some loss to the Company, Which however wee refer to your prudent menadgement."[3]

"The report still continues of Sevajees death, but yet it is

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Swally Marine 24 Jan. 1676.
2. " " Surat 8 Feb. 1676.
3. S. F. Out. L. Bk. No. 2. P. 27. 12th Feb. 1676.

much doubted; he was poysoned by his barber, and for a long time hath not appeared abroad,"[1]

"The Mogul is returned from his war with the Pattans to Agra, but hath not brought them totally under subjection, for they keep his Army still in play; His Umbraws seeme to decline and murmur against him, which is supposed to be the greatest cause of his retreate to Agra; The Generall Vogue still speakes Sevajee Dead, but they keepe it soe close that as yet wee cannot be at any certainty, but there is the greater probability to believe, seeing wee heare not of any great designe or achievements he hath attained this Monozoone."[2]

The Dagh-Register of 1676 in its diary of 27th October (P. 278) refers to the acts of violence committed by the Portuguese and the capture by them of a ship belonging to the king of Golconda. Then the writer proceeds.

"It is rumoured that the well-known robber Siwagie is dead and that he has been succeeded by his son, who fought against the Portuguese of Goa on account of certain lands thereabouts, but as stated by the Portuguese, beat a retreat. This is difficult to believe."[3]

"The newes of these partes are all together uncertain, but this is too true that Sevagee Rajah is very well at Purnollah, hath robbed Hattanee, the merchants losse is vallued at 300,000 Pagodas and is taulked that he will march with all his fforces against Veezapore or Goa."[4]

On 146th page of the Dagh-Register (30 June, 1676), it is recorded that whilst the Muhammedans of Bijapur were fighting amongst themselves, Shivaji, having recovered from his illness,

1. Swally Marine to the Company 7th April 1676. Cf. Pp. 79 and 81 Supra of Vol. 2.
2. S. F. Out. L. Bk. No. 2. P. 94. Surat to Fort St. George. 25th March 1675.
3. For further correspondence on the point consult pp. 79-81 *supra*.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, Fol. 23. Rajapore 13th March 1675-6. Pp. 79-81 *supra*,

plundered their famous commercial town of Atheny,[1] taking away a booty worth 500,000 pagodas. The English also lost much money in this loot, and they had not been able to secure any compensation.

4 Revolution at Bijapur

At the end of the year 1675, a sudden change of Government happened at Bijapur. The Regent Khawas Khan had become unpopular on account of having made a dishonourable peace with the Moguls. Abdul Kareem Bahlol Khan, better known as Nawab Bahlol Khan, taking advantage of his unpopularity, treacherously imprisoned Khawas Khan in his own house, sent him a prisoner to Bancapur and boldly assumed the charge of regency on 12th November 1675.

"Report speakes Sevagee one while dead and another while very ill, and another while that he hath ordered all his forces to be ready under Pornallah, intending thence to march for Veezapore, called thither, report speakes, by the Nabob Buleil Caunn who now reigns lord of all, the young king in his possession, and it is likewise talked he keeps Cwas Caun in prison, but the better sort of people doe believe Cwas Caune is killed by him."[2]

While Khawas Khan was sent as a prisoner to Bancapur, attempt was made by the new Regent to win over his Deccani adherents. Khizar Khan[3] Panni, the Lieutenant of Nawab Bahlol Khan perfidiously offered terms of friendship to Shekh Minhaj, one of the leaders of the Deccani party. But the latter repaid Khizar Khan, in his own coins by treacherously stabbing him, killed many of his Pathans and routed the army of the murdered General. Bahlol Khan was exasperated by this counter

1. In 1639 the French traveller Mandelslo noticed Athani as one of the chief markets between Bijapur and Goa. *Ogilby* in 1670— a great trading town; *Fryer* in 1675— a mart town in Bijapnr.

2. Cf P. 156 *supra*. Surat Vol. 89, p. 10. Rajapore 11th Jan. 1676. Scott II, 39.

3. Khizar Khan was despatched with instructions to assassinate Sheikh Minhaj. The former for this purpose invited him to an entertainment, but the latter, learning the evil design of Khizar Khan, stabbed the treacherous nobleman (Scott II, 39).

blow and he issued orders for the murder of Khawas Khan. The internecine war gave an opportunity to Shivaji to renew his raids. Four extracts throw light on these incidents.

"The newes of these partes is that the Nabob (Bahlol Khan) had a bloody fight with the Decanns, they killed him about 1000 horse, many of his chiefest friends fell; himselfe much wounded, the Decanns are headed by Sheek Menass, (Shekh Minhaj) and assisted by Siddie Mazoude and Serjah Caun (Sharza Khan), and the Nabob hath none sticking to him but the Pattans; he hath sent to make ffriends, but the Decanns will not hear anything of it. Report speakes him in a great straight, whilst in these fights; Sevagee hath 4000 horse that rainges up and downe, plunders and robbs without any hinderance or danger, the troubles up the Gaut are soe greate that wee much feere being able to provide any goods for our masters this yeare.[1]

Fights between Deccani and Pathan factions.

"Bulla Cawn (Bahlol Khon) who rules Visapore since the imprisonment of Cabbash (Khawas) Cawn should have received a considerable defeat from the joint forces of Sidi Masud Jekery and Masour, so that if Sevajee be above ground, it is time to be doing"[2]

"We do observe what you write as to the troubles in Vizapore, which also we heare to be in a distracted miserable condition through the dissensions of the Umbraws in like manner the Sevajees people, through the frequent robberies and oppressions of his army, that all trade there is impeded."[3]

"Sunderjee Pervooe is arrived, but we have not thought good to shew him any outward countinance nor receive his visit as yet till wee heare how he is received by the Governor of the towne, for wee thinke, not good to give him any occasions of jealousie; from the beginning of this month, this towne of Surat hath been in continuall alarms, by meanes of Sevagees army under the command of Mora Punditt who haveing beaten the Rajah of Ramnagurr out of his country, and taken Pindolle and Painecah is

Shivaji's forces conquer the adjoining parts of Surat.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 37. Rajapore 2th May 1676.
2. F. R. Fort St. George, Vol. 18, p. 13. May 13 1676.
3. " " " " 28, p. 39. June 21 1676.

now within 3 days journey of us, and threatens to destroy the towne if the Governour doth not buy his peace with a good sum of money touching which they are now in treaty. It is said alsoe that Sevagee hath procured free passage for his army through the Portugall country, and liberty to settle his people at Vimbassaree and Daman, in order to make approaches to Surrat and returne the more secure by which proceedings, he seemes resolved wither to destroy this towne, or to bring it under contribution, wee pray God direct all things for the best but hitherto wee have melancholly apprehensions for the Companys trade in these parts." [1]

5. Peace between Shivaji and Bijapur

At last through the mediation of the King of Golconda, Bahlol Khan made peace with Shivaji to strengthen himself. But this treaty could not last long.

"The newes of these parts is very much uncertaine; the freshest is that Sevagee hath made peace with the king of Vazapore and has given 300,000 rupees pescas (Peshkash or present) and 100,000 pagods per Ann. in way of tribute, he to injoy all as farr as the river Cousona (Krishna) about 5 course beyond Callapore;[2] this peace was mediated by the king of Golkondah.

The terms of peace between Shivaji and Bahlol Khan.

Sevagee has lately ruturned to him a subtile fellow by name Nettagee who hath been 10 years in the Mogulls court turned Moreman, but now remade a Hindue, so that most thinke that doubtless Sevagee hath some great designe on foote which is not yet publickly discoursed."[3] Jedhe records that on 19th June 1676 Netaji performed Prayaskchitta and was re-admitted into his caste.

Netaji Palkar remade a Hindu

6. Bahadur Khan repulsed

After having come to terms with Shivaji, the Regent Bahlol Khan displayed much valour and resisting power against his internal and external enemies. He inflicted serious defeats on the Deccani party which had consolidated its power under Minhaj

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 38. Surat 27th May 1676.
2. It should be 15 kos. or thirty miles.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 60. Rajapore 24th July 1676.

after his victory over the Pathans. The routed leaders went over to Kutub Shah and the Mogul general, and sought their help to re-instate them in power.[1] The Moguls were, however, twice repulsed from Bijapur with heavy losses.

A Surat letter dated 5th August 1676 to H. Mindan at Karwar gives a bird's eye-view of the political affairs of Bijapur.

"By reason of the present government of your factory under Sevajees minsters, the often solicitations you have from the Soobedarr to lend him monys, and your expectation of their forcing more from you, should you bring your goods downe to your factory of Carwarr to be shiped off from thence. All which wee are sencible of, and must submitt to the inconveniences in hopes of better times, when our investments may be carried on as formerly these late embroils and stop of trade, in all those countries, as well in our factory of Rajapore, as with you, and there is more likelyhood that the troubles will encrease than diminish,[2] since the said Umbraws are engaged in a warr, to defend their kingdome, against the forces of the Mogull under his Generall Bander Ckaun who hath engaged twice and received notable overthrowes for (from?) the Vizapore on this hand and with the Pattans on the other, and in feare of an incursion and loss of Cabull from the bordering Tartars, Sevajee Rajah will have come to play his game and enlarge his territories, and preserve what he hath given in your Parts, to which probability, the ensuing yeare he may add a considerable conquest, without the least feare of the Vizapores forces disturbing him, soe that affaires being thus, you must endeavour to keepe a faire correspondence with his ministers (if it may be done without prejudice to the Honourable Company) especially with Anantge Pundit, who is his Vizier and hath the administration of affaires, in all those his conquests from Rajapore to

Bahadur Khan twice defeated near Bijapur.

Shivaji's opportunity for conquests.

1. Cf. Scott, II. 40. Bahadur Khan's designs were upset by the assassination of Khawas Khan. He was instructed by the Emperor to take Bahlol Khan prisoner or to put him to death, and to besiege Bijapur.

2. The same troubles in trade are complained of in a letter of 24 Aug. 1676. S. F. Rec. 89. Fol. 62.

the Southwards and hee is able to doe us prejudice at his pleasure, especially been exasperated by complaints against him to the Rajah, what Mr. Child hath done in this case wee are very sensible of to our noe small Greviance and Losse."[1]

Some of the events in this section are confirmed by a Dutch letter from Batavia to the East India Company in Holland.

" The kingdom of Visiapour is still disturbed and Bullechan holds the town and Court in his power. Badurchan, the Mogul General, approached the town within half a day's journey, but having lost fully 4000 men, much baggage and four distinguished generals,[2] retired to the town of Sholapur, one day's journey from Visiapour, where Bullechan sent him a considerable embassy with rich presents and great promises, especially to the prejudice of Sivasy. He begged seriously and humbly for peace. Apparently this effort would have been crowned with success, if Dillelchan had not come into Badurchan's camp with 10,000 cavalry, whereupon they declared that no peace could be made after such a serious loss, but that letters must be written to the Mogul and his orders awaited. Meanwhile Suasi remains undisturbed and Surat is infested with his marauding troops and bothered by the extension of his domain.....The Golconda militia is in motion to help the young prince of Visiaponr..... "

Bahadur Khan retires to Sholapur.

7. Sambhaji to Goa and Daman

" The freebooter Sivaji has been lording it in the neighbourhood of Goa, but his earlier designs are being diligently pursued by his eldest son Sambagie.[3] He is said to have demanded from the Portuguese in Goa the evacuation of 60 villages on the ground that they belonged to the castle of Ponda which had been taken

1. Surat F. Outward L. B. No. 2. Pp. 169–172.

2. More information in Fryer's account. P. 176 *infra*.

3. Sarkar (318) has wrongly placed this expedition in November 1677 when Shivaji was absent on the Karnatic expedition. The document is really dated November 1676 both at Batavia and in the India Office. Sarkar has also missed the words: " The castle of Phonda which had been taken by Shivaji the *previous year* " (1675). The Dagh-Register in its Diary of 27th. Oct. 1676 refers to Sambhaji's expedition. P. 168 *supra*.

by Shivaji the previous year. But the Portuguese are reported to have replied that this could not be done without the consent of the king of Visiapour, unless he had first made himself master of the Visiapour kingdom. Whereupon these marauders are said to have made a violent assault on the Portuguese who beat them off, so that they departed from Goa and took their way to the country of Daman not far from Surat, the Moor Governor of which had all the gates walled up, with exception of one, to guard against surprise." [1]

The Dagh-Register (p. 300) has the following diary on the 16th of December 1676: "Those of Visaipour inflicted a severe defeat on the Mogul army on the borders of Visiapour, but the latter was reinforced with several thousand men. It is therefore not likely that they will make peace with their neighbours in order to attack the robber Siwagie jointly. Siwasi is thus free to enlarge his dominions in the North round about Surat, and he has several times plundered (or attacked) the Portuguese in the country surrounding Goa."

8. Fryer's account of dissensions at Bijapur and Shivaji's opportunities (1675-77)

"All these are the disjoined members of Visiapour, neither trusting one another, nor uniting for the common Good of the Kingdom: Since Seva Gi has put all into a Ferment, they know not who to side with, being uncertain of his Intentions: though he tells them, his compeers the Duccanees, he is their Champion, and that none of them besides himself has the heart to stand up for their country: and therefore if he chance now and then to rob them, it is but to reward himself and Soldiers for his and their pains in endeavouring to free them from a more unnatural Slavery,

Shivaji foments factions.

The real reason for his plundering crusades.

This makes them begin to Cabal, not brooking the Perfidy

1. Batavia Records, Wingurla Reports Bl. 271. Dutch Records. Vol. 34. No 844. 28 Nov. 1676.

of this man on the one hand, or the Insolence of Bullul Caun, being a Foreigner, on the other; and to call in the Mogul to their Assistance; though still it is not resolved by a General Consent to be aiding to each other.

The Deccanies call in the Mogul.

In the mean while Seva taking advantage of their Irresolution, ranges where he lists, quite through Visiapur, as far as Bagnagur in Gulconda, with one Detachment led by his Son; with another he flies himself as far as the Walls of Surat, leaving the Main of his Army at Pundit (Phonda), before Goa; His son, after he had plundered and burnt Badnagur, having been observed in his Passage thither by Bullul Ckun, did no harm in Visiapour; but the Protector being to watch the Conspiracies of the Duccanees, could not be long out, for fear of being intercepted in his Return, and was therefore pressed to retreat to his Post; and Sambu Gi retiring, set upon Hubly, Raibag, and other Mart Towns and ransack'd them; And Seva Gi his Father being not wholly disappointed at Surat (which he calls his Treasury) by their shutting their Gates upon him proforma, but give him his usual Piscash; whither on his repeated Excursions being forced to ask leave of the Raja of Ramnagur, to carry his Army (by reason of the Mogul's Forces in the Plain Country) through his Country, over the Hills that reach within Thirty Miles of Surat; and having obtained leave of the Raja of Ramnagur, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Avenues, and in his last Return took it; giving only this Reason, That it was inconvenient for him to trust him with the Door of his Exchequer. The Inhabitants of Ramnagur are the Salvages called Coolies (Kolis).

Plundering campaigns of Shivaji and Sambhaji

Ramnagur captured by Shivaji.

Bullul Caun being at the Helm, thought fit, on these unaccountabie Pranks, to him, to be informed how he durst attempt the Robbery of these Places? O, quoth he to the Messenger, Go tell thy Master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any Great Man of Life or Place, without having advised first with me,

Shivaji's taunting reply to Bahlol Khan.

(reflecting on his usurping the Protectorship by the Death of Cowis Caun); I did this only to let him know, I, not he, am a member of Visiapour.

By which, Bullul Caun foreseeing the approaching Storms, was too wary to stay the breaking of them over his Head, but fairly steps forth to prevent them; Wherefore surprising Sergi Caun and Timi Naig, as they were moving to join with some of the forwardest of the Duccanees, the first fled, not without loss, the other was environ'd by Bullul Caun's Army,[1] and compelled to stand it out, till the Camels of War, who carry small Petareroes, slew the greatest part of them, and Timi Naig himself was trodden to Death under his Elephants Feet, whereupon an easy Victory ensued, the rest yielding when their General was slain; who is not much lamented by the Nobles of Canora, whose Greatness he diminished by cutting them off upon small Suspicions, and advancing in their steads inferior Persons to great Employments; confining the Princess-Mother with her Son to a Pension, and that but ordinary. Things now begin to return to the Royal Current and they confess him a Chastisement for their former Rebellions against their Natural Prince, vowing a perfect Allegiance to the Infant Prince, in whose Name since the Death of Timi Naig, all things are transacted.

Victory of Bahlol Khan over his enemies.

Timmena Nayak killed in battle.

The Rani and the Prince of Bednur released.

These were to have been seconded by Badur Caun, the Mogul's General, who has since appeared twice before Visiapour with a formidable Army pretending to right the Duccanees, and to call Bullul Caun to an account, but has been as often repulsed by Bullul Caun and 12,000 of his Patans, who the last time made them leave their Kosanna (Khazana) or Treasure, some Elephants, 1,000 Camels, several Pieces of Ordnance, and cut off the Bassa of Busserah with his Son, whese Heads were put on long

Bahadur Khan twice overthrown by Bahlol Khan

1. Cf. P. 170 supra. The battle took place near the fort of Shah Doneghur, twelve coss from Adoni. Scott. II. 39.

Poles on the walls of the City,[1] and slew of the common Soldiers Four or Five Thousand; not without great damage on their own Party; So that he must be distressed for all this Rout given; unless the stomachful Duccanees come to an Accommodation (from which they are averse as yet), if, as it is likely, the Mogul send fresh and more numerous Supplies.

So miserable is that State where the other Members grow too powerful for the Head, as in this constituted Government of Duccan, where the King's Munificence to the Grandees has instated them in Absolute Authority over their Provinces, that they are Potent enough to engage one another, and countermand the King's Commands, unless suitable to their Humours.

The cause of Bijapur factions.

By the fundamental Establishment of this Realm, every Lord in course was to come to Court once a year, and all to pay their Acknowledgment by doing Homage to their Sovereign, where he could demand their Heads, they becoming obnoxious to his Displeasure; but the present disturbances have found matter of excuse to release them from these Injuctions, and furnished Seva Gi in this bustle with encouragement to March up the Gaot again with 15,000 Horse and 30,000 Foot, knowing Bullul Caun neither to be at leisure from his Intestine nor Foreign Broils, to divert him from his wild Enterprises.

The ills of Bijapur.

And this is the sum of the present Tumults of this Kingdom, which at this juncture of time, in the face of a mighty Host of the Moguls, and the frequent Incursions of Seva Gi from the Mountains on the other side, beside the Civil Mutinies and Dissentions within to prevent ill consequences, calls for a skilful Pilot."[2]

1. Islam Khan Rumi, once Governor of Bussora on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey, came over to India and was well received by Aurangzeb. He was made a noble of six thousand horse and sent to assist Bahadur Khan in the Deccan. He was sitting with his son on an elephant and conducting the operations of the battle. The animal got out of control, rushed into the ranks of the Bijapur army and was cut into pieces there. The heads of both father and son were severed and hung on the walls of Bijapur. According to Jedhe, this battle was fought on 30th June 1676 at Hatgi (Ali Abad in B. S.). Ismail Khan fell on the Mogul side and Bahlol gained the victory. Cf. Scott, II. p. 41.

2. John Fryer, Vol. II. Pp. 43–7, 54.

9. The Marathas foiled in capturing Belgaum in 1676

On their way from Hubli, the Marathas plundered Belgaum in 1673 and began to take possession of the territory round about it. After his coronation Shivaji is said to have built 360 strong places to strengthen his hold on the Belgaum country. To realize his claims on the surrounding country, these forts were garrisoned, and under grants from Bijapur, a fort-cess or *gad-patti* was levied in the neighbouring villages.[1] The town and fort of Belgaum were, however, possessed by a Bijapur officer. The Maratha army, sent to take possession of them, met with a treacherous assault and heavy loss. The Dagh Register of 1676 records under 30th June the following account.

"But another Visiapore Lord Amunchan of a certain well-known castle Vulgam (Belgaum) had tricked Shivaji very badly. Ha had promised to surrender the castle for 40000 pagodas and would only raise a false alarm in order to justify himself. But after having received half the amount in advance, he greeted Shivaji's troops, who thought they could simply walk in, in such a way that over 600 were killed and the rest absolutely put to flight. All this can be read more fully in the book of letters from the said letters."

10. Rumoured peace between Shivaji and the Mogul

By the end of the year 1676, Shivaji began to beguile Bahadur Khan with proposals of submission. He desired to secure suspension of hostilities during his absence on the greatest campaign of his life, planned for new conquests in southern India.

" Wee can give noe creditt to the report that you have from the Subedarr of Choule, that the Mogull and Sevagee have made peace, since wee have often been deceived by the like rumours, and wee know alwayes at this time of yeare, Sevagee doth motion and give out such reports on purpose to hinder the Mogull, from falling into his country; and if a peace should be concluded betweene them (wee can never believe that it will last long), wherefore wee can have noe thoughts of setling a factory at Junire or in any other place in that part of the Decan country (which is at present the continuall seat of warr) untill such time as affaires

1. Bombay Gaz. XXI. 374-5; Stoke's Belgaum, 42.

are in a better posture there. In the interim wee would have you use all possible diligence to encourage merchants to bring downe a trade through those countreys to the island, though wee doe not thinke good to trust any of the Honourable Companys estate there." [1]

The peace made between the Mogul and Shivaji was not a Bazar news, but was mentioned by the Subedar of Chaul himself. Shivaji was to pay an annual tribute of 400,000 pagodas and to keep 5,000 horse in the Mogul service. It was reported that arrangements were being made to pay the first year's tribute and that 5,000 horse had already left with Niraji Pundit. However, the negotiations about peace were soon broken off. Some affirmed that Shivaji refused to send Sambhaji as a hostage to the Mogul camp. Others thought that Bahadur Khan alone was responsible for the peace talks. The negotiations were not approved by the Emperor.[2]

11. The recall of Bahadur Khan in 1677

Bahadur Khan had affected nothing against Bijapur or Shivaji, and had even entered into a truce for suspending hostilities against Shivaji during his absence in the Carnatic. He was consequently removed from his command in August-September and succeeded by Diler Khan as Viceroy of the Deccan in his place.

"Mr. Samuell Austen Cheife and factor in Dangom, advising the Councill in their generall (letter) of the 19th September that they have certain intelligence that Bhauder Ckaune (who hath the Chiefe command in those parts) is sent for up to court in great haste, the Mogull having sent an Eddy who promises to bring his answere in 16 days tyme; there may be much alteration in the Government there; and the ways not soe secure as formerly by reason of the many inroads that are made by the pilfering rajahs and coolys (kolis) residing thereabouts; soe that they are embaling what goods they have ready."[3]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. P. 91. Surat 5 Dec. 1676.
2. Orme Mss. 114. V. P. 74. 5th Dec. 1676, cf. P. 78. 20th Dec. 1676.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Fol. 85. Consultation Swally Marine, 1st October 1677. Cf. Sabh. 85.

A letter of 16/26 Jan. 1678 from Bombay to London records a brief review of the events of the Mogul Empire and the Deccan. As the war against Shivaji was ineffective, General Diler Khan was appointed to prosecute it with vigour.

" I [1] humbly conceive your Honrs &c have already heard of the untimely death of Sultan Mahamud, eldest son to Orangsha, poysoned by an Ennuch through his brother Sultan Mahazums (Muazzam's) contrivance and command who aspires at the Diadem of Hindustan as indeed both Sultan Azum and Eckbar, his brothers, doe the same. The Patans a warlike Nation bordering upon the Mogull's Dominions, give often allarmes to his Army, and hath killed him many men of late. *Shastackaum,*[2] the King's unkle, is marched from Bengala with a very formidable army to invade the Kingdome of Aracan, with orders from his nephew to advance as far as Pegu, and conquer it; that is, if he can. ? But it is feared by some of the more Politique; that he will in the Enterprize, confirme the Spanish Proverbes, *La lodi cia rompe el Sane, and Quiem todo lo quiere, todo lo pierde.* It is credibly reported that the said Omras Treasure imports 40 corors of Rupees, besides vast summes of Gold in Mores (Mohars) or Summes and jewells, and it is much more than the King has at present in his Casanna (treasury). Bahadur Chaun, the king's foster brother, who remayned in Deccan many yeares, attending Sevajee's motion, but effected little materially against him, by reason of being corrupted by him, feeding frequently his most

Death of Sultan Muhammad.

Shaista Khan against Aracan.

Vast wealth of Shaista Khan.

Ineffective wars against Shivaji.

1. O. C. 4314. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII. P. 71, Bombay to London.

2. It will be seen that the news of Shaistakhan being sent to the Deccan, as reported in the Dagh-Register on 1st Feb. 1678 (P. 53), is wrong.

" But now it was said and people believed that the old Nabab Chaestachan had been sent for by the Mogul to go to the Deccan and make war with the robber Siwagy and that the son of the Mogul, Prince Assem from Pattena, or an Asemekan would shortly come to Decca to take his place as Nabob of the Bengal suba.

insatiable Avarice with Gold, was about 4 months since sent for up to Court, reported either to be called to a strict Account or to be made Diwan, which latter I rather believe, the king having ever had an extraordinary kindnesse for him, but as I was actually writeing of this, on Aviso came from Court, that Orangsha had not only divested him of all his Titles and Honours and ejected him of his favour, but likewise deprived him of all his Treasure (which was very considerable) and commanded him to goe a Pilgrimage to Meca and Medina.

Bahadur Khan recalled and sent to Mecca.

"In his roome was sent Dellel Ckan, a stout Patan Omra, yet notwithstanding he joyned his army with Ballol Ckan his countryman, who hath the young King of Vizapore in his power, under pretence of being his Protector (which the Decanees will by noe meanes endure, but have him in their owne) gave them battel in the which they received a very considerable overthrow, the Decanies being the farr better souldiers and better mounted."

Diler Khan defeated by the Bijapuri army.

Manucci has given some details of the disgrace of Bahadur Khan, and of the inactivity of his successor against the powerful Shivaji.

"It was in this year that Aurangzeb, dissatisfied at the way in which Bahadur Khan was conducting the war against Shivaji and Bijapur, ordered him to be superseded by Diler Khan, and directed him to return to court.[1] He came, but with such ostentation that Aurangzeb was forced to show his displeasure. He took away his pay and rank, and paid no farther attention to him. He remained in this position for sometime, until Shah Alam interceded for him in such a way that in the end the king gave way to the prince's petitions, and restored his pay and rank. But this caused no improvement in Bahadur Khan, who remained as convinced as ever that king was under some obligation to allow him his pay and rank, or even greater than that he held."

Bahadur Khan disgraced.

1. Manucci II, 230.

"Meanwhile Diler Khan did what he could to defend himself from Shiva Ji, who did nothing but plunder, in every direction. It was not possible to attack his territories as they lay among hills very difficult of access, forming as it were a defence unto themselves. For if any force penetrated them, the passes were so easily closed behind them, that the greater portion of the invaders were kept there unable to do anything. The most that Diler Khan could do was to fight with Bijapur and Gulkandah."[1]

Diler Khan's impotence against Shivaji.

12. An allied army against Golconda in 1677

According to the treaty made between Shivaji and Abul Hasan Kutub Shah, both were to equally share the territories to be wrested by Shivaji from Bijapur in Southern India. As it meant an unholy alliance and an unprovoked war against Bijapur, it naturally exasperated Bahlol Khan and he soon prepared himself to wreak vengeance upon the aggressors. The Khan first made peace with the Mogul General who was ever ready to pounce upon Golconda, and the allied armies pressed forward by forced marches towards it, so that they might subvert Golconda before Shivaji returned from the south. But at Bijapur there was open rebellion against Bahlol's policy. The prominent leaders of the Deccani party went over with their troops to Golconda to fight for the defence of the Kutub Shahi against the Mogul. The Kutub Shahi army under the able administration of Madanna proved more than a match for the Moguls and Pathans. The events of the war are described in the following extracts.

"The letter from Masulipatnam (26th March 1678) mentions that the ferocious robber Suwagie with his flying army had gone through Hindustan past Orangabat and was not far away from Suratta. From all the countries he had passed through, he had levied one fourth (chouth) of all the incomes. But now the Mogul

1. Manucci Vol. II, 230.

and the Visiapore ruler had made an alliance in order to attack him together and if possible to destroy him completely."[1]

"It is reported from Paliacat that the King of Golconda had sent against Bijapur a large army consisting of 200000 foot, 20000 horse under his Royal Chanceller Madana and the Commander-in Chief Ibrahim Khan. They are awaiting on the frontiers of Golconda, as the Moguls have through selfishness joined hands wiih Bijapur."[2]

"The Court of Golconda was somewhat excited over some skirmishes that had taken place between Visiapur leaders and Siwasi. The Golconda army is still in the field under the command of General Muhammad Ibrahim."[3]

"By[4] severall great persons coming hither from divers countryes as Sevagee Raja, Skeck Minaju, Seddy Massood, Sekh Mocktom, Gasalacoty Timmaya, and others,[5] Brameny Madana having been very busy in goeing out to meet them and providing them comodations and other necessarys, and dispatching them from hence, hath been the cause of so long delay in remitting these things, and whereas business here at present is not as formerly, depending upon one person, but now we must depend upon all the great persons, which I suppose your Worship hath notice."

"Dilill Cawn,[6] Beder Cawn and Balball Cawn being now hard by Galubariga Fort, these people here have also sent their Captains thither, haveing allso enordered the Shallaskareen Mahomed Ibrahim who was there allready to be very watchfull.

1. D. Reg, 458. 28th August 1678.

2. Dagh-Register 1677, P. 98. 11 April 1677.

3. Dagh-Register 1677, P' 181, 2o June 1677.

4. Translate of a letter from our Bramny Vira Ragavaya from Golconda to the Honble Sir William Langhorne Governor. Dated the 16 June 1677. F. R. Fort St. George Vol. 27. Pp. 14–15 (3rd set.) Jedha Sh. notices this alliance and says that the battle was fought at Malkhed.

5. These were the nobles or war Lords of the Deccani party who had come there to make a common cause with the Golconda State.

6. Diler Khan, Bahadur Khan and Bahlol Khan.

Siddi Massood, Casalacoty, Timiraja and Saied Mocktem [1] are all gone thither to assist the king. " [2]

" There came a letter to Mirza Mahomed Omin that Badea Cawn and sonns of Idolsha Oluum Cawne, Sheck Minaju and Sarun Cawne are allready come this side of Krishna river with some seaven or eight thousand horse and it is reported the said persons are coming to assist Seavogee Raja. This allso reported that the king of Golconda has given Casolaccoty Timonague 6 lacks in country (Jaghir) to entertain 100000 foot men and sent him by way of Shirpy; Golconda and Vizapore [3] are joined together and its said that there comes 20000 horse of the Vizapores. [4]

" By letters received this day from Rajapure they mention for certain that the Mogul and Nabob (Bahlol Khan) have made peace, upon condition that the former forbear his Nolbunde for 8 years, and jointly bend their forces upon Cottubsha, and when he is brought under, then unanimouslie to goe against Shivagee, and not to desist untill he be totally subverted. They alsoe advise that Sevagee, with the Carnatucke and Deccan Rajas, and Cattubsha, joine with resolutions to come to battle. What the issue of this conjunction may be time must declare." [5]

While pourparlers of peace were going on between the Mogul General and the Regent of Bijapur, the former desired to impose a treaty on the latter by a show of force. A Mogul detachment was sent to capture Gulbarga from the Bijapur forces. Having

1. Siddi Masaud, Sayad Mukhdum Sharza Khan and the two others belonged to the party against Bahlol Khan. These were on the look out to turn out Bahlol Khan with the help of Kutab Shah. Hence they are reported to fight on his side.

2. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 27, P. 16, Translate of a letter from our Brameny Vira Ragavaya from Golconda to Sir William Langhorn, 3 July 1677.

3. It ought to be Bijapur nobles of the Deccani party.

4. Translate of a letter from our Brameny Nellor Raman from Sevagee Rajas army to Sir Wm. Langhorne. Dated 16 July 1677. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 27. Pp. 17–18.

It should be marked that a few leaders of the Deccani party went to the Karnatik to assist Shivaji in his conquests.

5. Occurances from Surat and the coast Malabar, 3 August 1677, Cf. O. C. Vol. 38. No. 4283. 3 August 1677.

succeeded in this enterprize in June, it procceeded to Naldurg which was also surprised in August. The loss of two impregnable fortresses induced Bahlol Khan to agree to the Mogul terms. But it appears that Gulbarga was soon captured by the Golconda army in the very beginning of the Mogul offensive.

13. The loss of Gulbarga

" Seeing Dilill Cawn and Badar Cawn had taken Gulbariga Fort, these two generals and Balball Cawn have joyned together and are come downe with their forces near the said Fort to fight against Golconda army, and the reason why thither is because the King of Golconda sent for Shivagee Raja, who is an enemy both to the Mogull and Vizapore and permitted him to pass through his country to the Cornett, and that he should lay hold of Sevagee Raja and dilliver him up to the Mogull and that he should likewise dilliver up Shecke Minaju (Shekh Minhaj) who is now entertained in his service, he having received great sums of money of the Moghul, promiseing to serve him, which if otherwise, they will come and fight with him, and whereas the Ollampana wrote to his Sharlashkareen at the frontiers towards Vizapore to be very carefull and watchfull in those parts, he remains there accordingly. The King wrote from hence to his Sharlaskareen and other great persons that they should one way or other endeavour to make peace with the Moghul, though they promise him large summs of money, about which they are now treating."[1]

"I have wrote in my former to your Worshipp of all what passed here, which I hope you have received before now, I doe allso give you notice hereby of what has passed since I wrote you last, which is as follows. When Dillill Cawn and Bedar Cawn wrote up to Mogull of their having taken Gulbargia Fort, the said Mogull answered them againe that Gulbargia Fort was a place of Phuckeers and belonging to the king of Vizapour, and that he being intended to assist him, how did they permitt Golconda people to

1. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 27, pp. 20–21. Translate of a letter from our Bramaney Vira Ragavaya from Golconda to Sir William Langhorne, dated 26 August 1677. Cf. Scott II: pp. 42–3.

take possession of the said Gulbargia when it belonged to Vizapour and that he was not pleased with the said newes, seeing that Golconda people had permitted the King of Vizapours Ennimy, Sevagee Raja, to pass through his country, and that they should cause the King of Golconda to send him 100 lacks of rupees and 10000 horse for soe doing, and that then he would be well pleased and not otherwise, whereupon the said Dillill Cawn and Badar Cawn sent an embassage to the King of Golconda, saying that the Mogull doth demand from him the summe of Rups. 200 lacks and 20000 horse. He having refused sending the same, they replyed him to pay rupees 100 lacks and 10000 horse, when said king not being willing neither to consent thereunto, but would only pay Rups. 5 lacks, which they would not accept, after which Dillill Cawn and Badar Cawne and Vizapour Balball Cawne joined together and brought their armies nearer Tivinico.

The Emperor reprimands the general for having lost Gulbarga.

Golconda people haveing notice thereof, allso joyned their forces hard by the said army, as the Shalaskareen, Siddi Massood, Sayd Mocktooms, Doolshaws, Saja Cawn and the Sherkell and some of Cornut Country's Forces-some 4 or 5000 horse of the Moghulls and Balball Cawn's being intended to fall upon the King of Golconda's army. The latter haveing notice thereof, went on with some 20 or 30000 horse to meet them, and fought very hard for a great while. Balball Cawn's forces not being able to stand against them any longer, being almost routed, then Dillill Cawn came and helped him, and saved his army from receiving further harm, after which every one retyred to their ground, and tis said that Golconda army came off victoriously and that the contrary party has a great loss haveing killed them 700 horse in the said engagement, and on the Golconda side some were wounded but few killed; likewise some 5 or 6 great captains were killed of the Moghull and Balball Cawn's side. The Ollumpana haveing notice of this, sent hither from thence a great many more of his horses and men to assist his army, haveing allso enordered Brameny Madana to march thither with his forces, who excused himself and sent Brameny Pallpel Yengana thither in his place. The king allso sent all the

The allies defeated by the Golconda army.

Greater preparations made.

horse and men that were under Mirza Sangier, Goodcharulo, Sheck Minaju and of many other great captains and tis said that there will be shortly a great engagement between the Moghull's forces and Golconda, and whereas the latter are come off victoriously at present, tis thought that they will have the best from both the Moghull and the Balbull Khan. They are now allso treating concerning a peace, but seeing Badar Khan had taken bribe at Golconda, he advised the said king (to) fight a little first, and then he will bring it to pass that peace should be concluded. Here they are furnishing Golconda's Fort as fast as they can with all manner of provisions. They have sent hither from the army 3 cammells laden with bloody clouts (?) to show the king what has happened in the last engagement."[1]

Peace talks.

Martin's agent at Bhaganagar sent the following account.

"The war continued in the kingdom of Visiapour, Baloulcam, joined with Delalcam, one of the generals of the Mogul, against the king of Golconda and the party of the Daquenis. There was a vigorous action, Delecam and Baloulcam with 14 to 15 thousand horse made a retreat for eight days fighting constantly before the army of their enemies consisting of more than 40,000 horse and 50,000 infantry they extricated themselves vigorously."[2]

14. A severe struggle

" Now I acquaint Your Worshipp with what newes as is here at present, the Shallaskareen Mahomed Hibraim with some 30,000 horse and severall other captains being about the frontiers of Vizapore at a place called Givini some 12 leagues off Gulconda, Dillill Cawn and Balball Cawn being allso 1½ leagues this side of Galubargia Fort, but since the Ollumpana enordered his army to go and fight with that of the Moghulls and Balball Cawn's, his army haveing accordingly drawed near to a place called Mangaligue, one Gentue league distant from the place where the Moghull's army was, after

The fitst engagement.

1. F. R. Fort St. George Vol. 27. Pp. 22-23. Translate of a latter from our Bramaney Vira Ragavaya from Golconda to Sir. Wm. Loughorne. 19 Sept. 1977.

2. Sen's Shivaji F. B. 313.

which Hidolsha and severall other Captains went with their men and have engaged with the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces and brought them with all their Elephants very neare to the place where Gulcondas forces were settled. And in the meantime there came one Captain of the Moghull side named Prohy Hassan Cawn with some 20,000 horse who fought very stoutly and courageously which caused both the armys to retire to their places whence they were before.

The second battle.

Three days after the first engagement Sidelor Yengana and severall other Captains being gone to fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawne's forces, who after a small engagement made Gulconda people believe as if they did run away and carryed those towards an embuscade which Moghulls people had made, where Gulconda people haveing lost a great many men and was sadly routed that they knew not what to do, and were put out of their witts, and at the same time the Moghulls people haveing joined more forces killed many more of Gulconda's people and took their great drums and flaggs. And when they were going to take the said Captains prisoners, there appeared the Shallaskareen and severall others of Gulcondas side, who all fought very stoutly with the Moghulls forces and made them to retire back, and so the said Captains were released, haveing allso brought with them severall persons that were killed and wounded in the said fight. Since which they have had severall other fightings, but neither of them have had the advantage one over the other.

The rout of the Golconda army.

Gulconda people being gone a great way within the Mughulls country and Balball Cawnes and brought away all their provisions that were bringing for their army, they seeing themselves in great want of it, the 20 currt. they came and fell upon Gulcondas army and killed every man and woman, even the very children that were at the market where they had all their graines, and carryed away all from thence, having allso routed the Shallaskareen and all the other Captains belonging to Gulconda and made them all leave their place where they were settled before, especially all the great Bramenys, that none can tell as yet where (they) are, nor none can tell whereabouts will Gul-

conda's people joyne againe to fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces.

"Golconda's people haveing ketched severall of the said Cawn's letters which he wrote to the Moghulls people, he was taken prisoner and kept in Gulconda Fort very strictly, and gave all his soldiers to be under the command of another Captain; the Devan allows 5 Rups. (per) day for his maintenance, seeing Serjam Olum Cawne, Hassawn Cawn, Hussen Cawn, Hiji Cawn, Masse Cawne and severall other of Pathan Cast Captains who had some 2000 horse under them, and by reason of their cast they would not fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces, wherefore the Devan kept watches about their houses."[1]

Treachery of a Pathan commander punished at Golconda.

The Dagh-Register also refers to the revolt of a captain.

"On the other side, a big army of the king of Golconda had been raised to resist the Mogul and Visiapore troops. And these troops had also fights amongst themselves, so that no end of the intestine troubles could be seen."[2]

"A certain colonel, in charge of 4000 horsemen had entered the service of the Visapores, because he had been set back in his position and prestige at the Court of Golconda, together with Seyd Massaadt (Masaud), baron of the district of Adony, which formerely belonged to the Visiapore State. They had at once been sent with a big army to the Carnatica countries and managed to capture there several forts and castles. The king of Golconda had therefore decided to send a strong army against them under the command of Miersa Sendjaer to stop them from proceeding further and to recapture the castles and fortresses that had fallen into their hands already and to bring them again under the rule and obediency of their former lord. The time will teach us what will be the result of his sudden invasion in the kingdom of Golconda."[3]

1. Translate of a letter from our Brameny Vira Raghavaya from Golconda to Sir Wm. Langhorne, dated 28th October 1677. F. R, Fort St. George Vol. 27. Pp, 24-25.

2. Page 231. 30th May 1678.

3. P. 642. 10th November 1678.

15. Retreat of the allied army

" It is very good news that the Golcondah forces &ca. have bin able (?) to make head against the Mogull and Visapores. We wish them well out of their imbroyle. Sevagee is yet in his new conquests, they talke of his goeing to Golcondah again, upon a supply of Pagodas 1000 maund, which would doe very well for the (his ?) poor country. "[1]

The defeat of the Golconda army was reported and contradicted in the letter of 10. Dec. 1677. It appears that some unsuccessful efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation between the Pathan and Deccani parties.[2]

"The Vizapur news at present is that Bullell Chaune and the Duccanes are upon articles of peace and to the purpose Bulleill Chaune hath sent his embassadour Hockim Shamashaw (Hakim Shamas Shah) to treat about it, soe that wee hope a few days will put an end to these civill warrs which when once thoroughly concluded wee with impatience expect that they will call Sevagee to an account, till then wee must never hope tradeing will flourish."[3]

"After the glorious retreat of Delelcam and Baloulcam before the Army of the king of Golconda supported by the Daqueni faction, their common friends interposed (mediated) to bring about peace. There was some difficulty in including interested (persons) to consent, however, the agreement was concluded on condition that the ministership of the kingdom of Visiapour would always remain with the Daquenis, of whom Sedimousour (Siddi Masaud) was at present the chief, and the office of generalissimo (would similarly belong to) with the Patans of whom Baloulcam was the leader, and endeavour should be made to restore the territories of the kingdom siezed by Sivagy."[4]

1. F. R. Masulipatam. Vol. 10. Fort St. George to Masulipatam. 23 October 1677. It was to assist Golconda to repel the Moguls.
2. F. R. Masulipatam Vol. 10.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 36 Carwar 18th December 1677. The details of the peace move are given in Scott. II, 44-45.
4. Sen's Shivaji F. B. 319.

" The newes of these parts is still the same, that the Nabbob is killed and his whole army in a manner distroyed; Dillell Caun in as bad a condition allmost as hee, that the Decans are resolved that not one of either of them shall escape alive, Sevagee either dead or in as bad a condition, the news that he had plundered Hubely with an army of 4000 horse and that he was coming hither is now falce, for it was Duttagee Punditt who now comes the country in the name of Sevagee. " [1]

Nabob Bahlol dead and his army destroyed by Diler Khan.

" Report speakes Bulleill Chaune to be dead, hee dying of the wounds given him in the fight betwixt Sirjee [2] Chaune and him at Gulburga. Likewise it is reported that the Duccannees are come to Vizapore. A few dayes will discover the certainty of it, which wee shall not faill to advise.

About a month agoe a new Subedar arrived here sent by AnnagePunditt whose name is Vissagee Cumbdu (Konddeva), a very morose man which makes us suspect his freindship, hee hath given us the honour of a vissit and promises very faire, but wee very much doubt his performance."[3]

Shivaji's new officer at Carwar.

" Wee have thought it convenient to keepe some 20 or 30 souldiers here by us for security of your goods to and fro by water or land, and of your house at Surat not knowing how soone Sevagees forces from Rammagur and Pindoll might assault this place (being castles of his not above 2 days march from the citty) of which the inhabitants are very jealous now, that a new Gover-

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 43, Rajapore 8th December. 1677.

2. Sayad Mukhdum Sharza Khan was the enemy of Bahlol Khan. However, the latter was not killed in a battle, but expired through illness. Scott II, 48. Bijapur Hist. 348.

3. F. R. Surat Vol, 137. Fol. 47. Carwar 16th January 1678.

"As Abd al Kerreem was so dangerously ill as to be pronounced past recovery, Dilleer Khan negotiated a peace between him, Seedee Masaooed and the other Dekkan chiefs, bringing them together for a conference. Mutual civilities and visits were exchanged between the chiefs of both armies, and it was agreed that Abd al Kerreem should deliver up the citadel of Beejapore to Seedee Masaood, who should then pay off the arrears to all the troops. Abdal Kerreem soon died. "

nor is here settled who totally refuseth to maintaine any amity with him by presents as the other covertly did. "[1]

The plunder of Hubli mentioned in a previous letter is described at length in the Swally letter of 21st Jan. 1678.

"Wee having received advices lately from Hubely how the Governor is very sollicitous to have the Companys goods and likewise our broker Samdas into the castle under callour of securing them and him from Sevagees forces who lye hovering thereabouts and have lately sent an embassadour to him to demand a quarter of the revenue which hee resolutely denyes them. Our broker knowing him to be in great want of money to defend his castle, if those forces should come and beseige it, will not consent to hazzard the Companys goods and person into his custody, which the Governor resents very much, soe that he suspects him and is forced to absent himselfe in the adjacent townes for feare of his Tiranny; Our zeale to our honourable masters concernes did prompt us after very serious debate to enorder Natha. Lownds repaire thither as fearing the Governor mallice in taking advantage of our brokers absence, likewise if Sevagees forces should beseige and take Hubelly the Companys goods would be very much from the citty, of which the inhabitants are very jealous now, that a new Governor is here settled who totally refuseth to maintaine any amity with him by presents as the other overtly did."[2]

Shivaji's forces hovering about Hubli.

Precautions taken by the English.

16. Masaud supreme at Bijapur

In the Swally letter of 21st Jan. 1678, the Company is informed that Bahlol Khan had died and Diler Khan had met with an overthrow near Gulbarga. The Deccani party under Siddi Masaud implored the help of Shivaji for men and money in capturing Bijapur from Bahlol's party.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Part III.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Part III. Fol. 23. to the Company from Swally Marine 21st January 1678.

In a Rajapur letter of 24 February 1678, the affairs of Bijapur after the death of Bahlol Khan (23rd Dec. 1677) are briefly related. His demise once more plunged Bijapur into the throes of a revolution. Jamshed, the lieutenant of Bahlol Khan, refused to hand over the city to the leaders of the Deccani party which had invited Shivaji to help them in taking possession of the city.

" The certainest information that wee have of this country's transaccons is that the Nobob (Bahlol Khan) is certainly dead. Dillell Caun returned and the Decans in an army of 50000 horse approached Vizapore under the command of Serjee Caun and Sedde Masute demanding the surrender of it from Jemseere Caun (Jamshed Khan), the Nabob's slave who then putt them to the new moone before date hereof for delivery; they have likewise sent for Sevagee to be in person at their solemn entrance for that as they stiled him to be their head, otherwise to send 80,00,000 pagodas towards expences."[1]

It appears that both the parties had approached Shivaji for help, while he was still in the Carnatic. As the terms of the Pathan party were favourable, Shivaji first consented to assist it. Being disappointed of the help from Shivaji, Siddi Masaud, the leader of the Deccani party, had recourse to a subtle stratagem.[2] His plot saved Bijapur from the Pathans and the Marathas. But for it, the Raja's victorious campaign in the Carnatic would have been crowned by the possession of Bijapur itself. However, his stroke of diplomacy failed and changed the whole course of Bijapur history. Masaud became the regent on 21st February, 1678. The news of this revolution was conveyed in the Karwar letter of 27 February and the Rajapur letter of 3rd April.

A report was just received from Hubli that Siddi Murshid (Masaud) had obtained the possession of Bijapur on behalf of the Deccani party, but it was not yet certain.

" Since our last the fort of Vizapore is in possession of the

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 60.
2. This account is not confirmed by B. S.

Deccans, taken by a wide stratagem of Sidde Masute; thus Jemseer Caun (Jamshed Khan) who since the death of his master the Nabob (Bahlol Khan) found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Sevagee to deliver up to him (Fort of Bijapur) for 600,000 pagodas, Sidde Mosute, having intelligence of this, faines (feigns) a sickness, at last death, and causes a handole publickly to be sent away, with part of the army to Addone (Adoni, the fort of his Jagir), the residue about 4000 sent to Jemseere, pretending that since the leader was dead, if he would entertaine them, would serve him and receives them into the ffort who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Sidde in alive. Sevagee upon his march hearing this news returnes and is expected at Panallah in a short time.

Masaud captures Bijapur by stratagem.

Shivaji foiled in his design on Bijapur.

"At the time the ffort was taken, Serjee Caun [1] was gone to Cotobshaw to consult about further proceedure; who upon hearing the news forgave the Decanns a corore of pagodas which he had lent them to maintaine the charge of the warr and that hee should goe against Sevagee either by faire meanes or foule to confine him to Cancan, wee humbly beg a favourable sensure on our information, for wee give best wee can learne."[2]

Sultan of Golconda pleased by the change.

17. Masaud makes friendship with Shivaji

Inspite of the threats and persuasions of Diler Khan, Musaud was forced to ask for the help of Shivaji against the Mogul general, because the people of Bijapur rightly condemned Masaud for selling away the Bijapur monarchy to the Moguls. The triple alliance amongst Adil Shah, Kutub Shah and Shivaji, was the greatest stroke of the Raja's genius and hence he has been compared to Sertorius and Hannibal.

1. Sharza Khan was then on friendly terms with Masaud and might have done something to obtain a contribution from Golconda. According to the B. S., Sultan Abdul Hasan sent his minister Akanna, the brother of Dewan Madanna, to Bijapur for assisting Siddi Masaud with money and counsel.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. P. 80. Rajapore 3rd April 1678.

"From Rajapore I lately received a letter that advises of Nabob Bullell Ckauns death,[1] who departed this life in a Castle whilst it was beseidged by the Deccanies. Not long before hee closed up his eyes, he putt his two sons in thc tuition of Serja Ckaun, who gladly seemed to accept them, forgetting all differences formerly between him and their father. Soe soone as he was interred and news thereof brought to Vijapur, Jemshett. Ckaun delivered up the Castle and Citty into the hands of Siddy Mussud in company with Serja Ckaun and Delil Ckaun, the Great Mogulls Generall, intends to march against Sevagee with 80,000 horse, with resolution to destroy him utterly. But 'tis too well known that Sevagee is a second Sertorius and comes not short of Hanniball for stratagems. And no longer than this very day, arrived news from the Lascarr or Army that the King of Golconda, Deccanies and Sevagee have very lately made a confederacy against the Mogull and are now resolved to beat Dilil Kaun out of Deccan. Sevagee having gotten 10,000 horse togeather to come upon the back of him and was the only politician that deverted the Deccanies and Cuttub Shaw from joyning with Delil Ckaun against him."[2]

Change of ministry at Bijapur.

Shivaji, a Hannibal.

"The news current in these parts is that Dilleell Caun the Mogulls Generall against Duccan is come to Nassick Trumback which place Sevagees army plundered not long since, but his army is soe broke by a fight with the Duccany Viziers, that Sevagee vallues him little who its reported is joyned with the kings of Viziapore, and are designed to retake some castles now in the Mogulls possession belonging formerly to Duccan."

"This is what wee heare which wee affirme not for a truth, but as what is noysed abroad which wee thinke in part incumbant on us to advise."[3]

1. Bahlol died at Hirapur, situated at a distance of two miles from Gulbarga. Bijapur History 328.

2. O. C. Vol. 38, No. 4314. Bomb. to the Co. 14 Feb. 1678.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 49. Bombay 21st February 1678.

18. Grand preparations at Bijapur against Shivaji

It appears that the above-mentioned triple alliance soon broke off. At the intermediation of the Sultan of Golconda, the rival nobles of Bijapur gave up their quarrels and promised to help Siddi Masaud for crushing the common enemy, Shivaji. Various chiefs brought in their forces, and Panhala seemed to be the point of attack. The Raja had returned to this castle in April from his Carnatic campaign, and he immediately took all precautions to strengthen it.

"News at present stirring is that Sirjah Caun (Sharza Khan) with an army of 25 or 30000 horse lyes ready in Vizapore to march towards Sevagee, soe soone as the raines are over. The Rajah, wee hear, lately departed from Rajapore (after a vissitt given our ffriends there) with intentions for Punnalah."[1]

Even in September Shivaji is talked of being at Panhala for a grand review of his troops. These were assembled to hurl back the forces of Diler Khan.

Shivaji meets his army at Panhalla.

"News here is none worthy of your honours knowledge, more than what Mr. Robinson hath already advised, only that Sevagee is coming to Pornollah, where he hath ordered all his forces to meete him."[2]

Jamshed and Salim Khans against Shivaji.

"Jemsheer Caune (Jamshed Khan) is now on the road to Bancapore with 3000 horse, daily taking more as he comes, intending to fight Sevagee. Salim Caun is expected in Hubely with 200 horse the owner of the towne in ten days, as yett cannot tell who will winn the country, though the Duccanees at present being seated in Vizapore. Sevagee having 1500 horse in these parts is reported hath as money more coming; soe soon as the Dually is over they intend to fight, who will carry that day God knowes."[3]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 109. Carwar 14th June 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 145. Rajapore 12th September 1678.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 138. Hubley 19th August 1678.

"The news of these parts cannot with any certainty be wrote, but what I can gather to be most true is that within a month or two the Decans will downe upon Sevagee; Serja Caun and Sidde Mosute Conn have both pitched their tents that way and the only thing that impeeds their proceedure is their difference about the Seere Suba (Commander-in-Chief) which both of them pretend to; which agreed on, their army will consist of about 15000 horse besides foote, and Jemseer Caun on Carnatuck side with 10 or 12000 horse besides ffoote likwise; that the Mogull is powerfully coming to their assistance. What the upshot will be, by Daullee wee shall know." [1]

Dissention among the chiefs about the command of the army.

In the Rajapur [2] letter to Surat, dated 6th Nov. 1678, it was reported that ten days back a great battle took place between Shivaji and Jamshed Khan. The former sustained a severe reverse by the loss of 2000 horse and 4 to 5000 foot. The news was contradicted after a week.

"The news of these parts be pleased to accept as related, Jemshere Caun lyes at a castle called Buncapore with 8000 horse and 20 field peices, but dares not encounter with Sevagee (who hath att Parnallah ready 15000 horse and 20,000 ffoote), but stays the coming of Serjah Caun from Vizapore who commands 30000 horse." [3]

Jamshed Khan afraid of Shivaji.

19. Shivaji Maharaja's plundering expedition in 1678

Even during the rainy season, Shivaji could not give rest to his army, but sent a part of it for pillage in the Bijapur districts.

"Surgee Caune hath turned out Sevagees ministers out of Hattanee and Raybagg and settled his owne forces in both places." [4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol, 107, Fol, 144-5. Hattaney. George Robinson 31st August 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. P, 170.
3. F. R. Surat Vol, 107, Fol, 179, Carwarr the 12th November 1678.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 107, Fol, III, Rajapore 20th June 1678.

" By what wee understand in the brokers letters there is little likelyhood of procuring any quantity of goods this yeare or vending much of our Europe goods, Sevagees forces being robbing and plundering all over these parts in the chiefe townes of note where our cloth is made, as Moolgund, Luckmiseer, Gudduck and soe they dare not as yett give out a fartheing of moneys to the weavers, for feare of it being plundered from them, there remaining little else more than plundering and robbing one from another, every one seeking the fresh opportunity in these distracted tymes; that is the strongest to enrich himselfe by impoverishing them of less force, making the old proverb good that (the) weakest must goe to the wall. Wee heartily wish the forces of that grand rebell and great disturber of the felicity of Duccan, which formerly soe famously flourished in all manner of trade, may retire to their strongholds, or be once totally routed by the Duccan armys which are reported ready in Visapore but thinke besotted, for whilst they lie effiminately at house feareful of wetting their tender skinns, our Mahrajah playes his game soe wisely as to destroy, robb, plunder, devastate and ruine the major and best part of their kingdome. " [1]

Chief towns of Carnatic plundered.

Shivaji has brought chaos in the Carnatic.

" The Carwar merchants were asked to dispose of their goods and Hubely stores quickly; they say that the major portion is at Hubely and "what remaines below with us cannot sell a pie worth, here being not a merchant in these parts that dare be seen to buy anything considerable; if he should, Sevagee would soone empty his coffers."[2]

Trade at a standstill.

"The king of Gollcondahs progress to Metchelepatam and these parts is laid aside for the present and wee hope will not be thought upon againe, it appearing hazardous to his estate and to his chiefe minister and confident Madana, the Braman, to leave Golcondah."[3]

The King of Golconda afraid of Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 118. Carwar 29th June 1678. Oxinden's letter of 29th June 1677 makes mention of the sack of Gadag and Lakhameshwar. That was done during Shivaji's absence in the Carnatic.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 119. Carwar 3rd July 1678.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 124. Fort St. George 8th July 1678.

"We shall be glad to heare that Mr. Robinsons journey up the Gaute prove successfull, though wee cannot see how well to expect it, seeing our friends att Carwar (who are under the same Government give us noe encouragement to expect a peece of goods from them this yeare detaining the countrys about Hubely and to be still under the tyranicall oppressions of Sevagees officers, and in as great confusions as ever and therefore untill you are certaine of making any considerable investment and shall be in want of money for the management thereof, wee doe againe forbid your drawing any more bills on us."[1]

Tyranny of Shivaji's officers.

Shivaji forcibly captured the territories of Jamkhandi and Balgi (Belgalli?) and plundered the town of Adoni. It is said that the Raja's sole aim was to capture Bijapur and prevent it from falling into the hands of the Moguls. On the request of Siddi Masaud, Shivaji despatched seven thousand men to defend Bijapur against the Moguls in the beginning of the year 1679. As the Maratha army was asked to encamp outside the city walls, it was open to the attacks of the enemy. Its demand for possessing a gate and a tower of the rampart, aroused the suspicions of the Regent. On being refused, the Marathas hatched a plot for capturing the capital, but it was soon discovered, and they had to retire from Bijapur. They plundered its rich suburbs, carried off several rich men for ransom and even succeeded in buying off the commander of the fort in giving them its possession (B. S.). A brief reference to these events is made in the following extract.

"There is new Captain Generall arrived, by name Joa de Mello Sampayo, who is gone to Deman, that place having taken the allarum from the neare approaches of some of Sevagy Rajas forces, who it seemes have burnt Brasall (Balsar) and severall other places. It is reported that he hath in person plundered Shapore, the suburbs of Viziapore, and had like to have gott into the royall citty, the conquest whereof is his sole aime, being very jealous least it should fall into the Mogulls hands and then he knowes he could not long subsist. These are the newes in these partes."[2]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89, Fol. 108, Surat to Rajapore 13th August 1678.
2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, p. 18. Bombay to Surat, 4 April 1679.

20. Desertion and return of Sambhaji

Shivaji was mortified and embarrassed by the shocking news that the heir-apparent Sambhaji was guilty of a moral delinquency in violating the chastity of a Brahmin lady. He expressed his determination to punish him. Sambhaji, to avoid the wrath of his father, made escape from Panhala with his wife Yesubai and a few followers on 13th December 1678.[1] He roused the indignation of the people of Maharashtra by not only openly revolting against the Raja, but also by joining their mortal enemies, the Moguls. Diler Khan himself advanced from his camp for the reception of Sambhaji and conducted him to his army with great festivities, The Emperor was so much delighted that he honoured Sambhaji with the gift of an elephant, three horses, a dress of honour, a sword, a poniard, drums and the title of seven thousand horse (B. S. [2]). Sambhaji took the worse step of appearing before Bhupalgad [3] with a Mogul detachment from the army lying before Bijapur, and calling upon the garrison as well as the Governor there to give up the fort to him. Phirangoji Narsala, the heroic defender of Chakan against Shaista Khan, in a sentimental mood, surrendered the fort to Sambhaji and presented himself before Shivaji at Panhala to explain his conduct. The Raja was simply exasperated at this deriliction of duty on the part of the Governor and had him blown from a cannon to

1. According to another version, Sambhaji was for a time confined at Panhala; and after his release was kept under a strict watch for some days, but he soon grew impatient under this confinement and, being ill-advised by some of his companions, he informed Diler Khan of his intention of deserting Panhala during the absence of the Raja. Duff. 130.

2. This version of the Emperor's attitude is contradicted by Sabhasad, but supported by B. S. and Bundhela Mem. Scott II. P. 51,

3. Bhupalgad is 15 miles from Khanapur in the Satara District. It was the most strongly fortified outpost to prevent Mogul inroads into the eastern part of the kingdom, This account of the fall of Bhupalgad is given in the Bakhars, but is not borne out by the B. S. The latter has been reproduced by Sarkar in his Shivaji, Pp. 325-26. It will be seen that Sambhaji had no part at all in the surrender of the fort. Bundhela Mem. too do not charge Sambhaji with this act of treachery. Scott II. P. 51.

intimidate others from committing such an offence.[1] Peremptory orders were issued to the Governors of the forts not to surrender any of them to Sambhaji who had become a traitor to his country.

The contemporary English letters do not make any mention of the events stated above, but are important for the supplementary information.

Here is the news of Prince Muazzam's arrival with a great army as Viceroy of the Deccan to put down Shivaji and of the desertion of Sambhaji from Panhala to the camp of Diler Khan, General of the Mogul army, engaged in the siege of Bijapur.

" Wee have now bin quiet for some time from the Alarums of Sevagee, this King's eldest sonn being come with a great Army to Brampore and Orangabaud to keep him within his bounds that way, and as report speaks, the Generalls of the King of Vizzapore have obtained a considerable victory against him in Deccan, but that which hath more disturbed him is that his eldest sonn hath left him in a high discontent and is fled to one Dilleele Ckaun, a great Umbraw of this king's lying neere his Country and as fame gives out resolves to turne Moore; if these things be true wee may hope for more quietness and security from this great disturber of this part of the world, then hath bin for many yeares hereto-fore."[2]

Sambhaji joins Diler Khan.

Manucci has summed up the real position of Shah Alam thus:

" From consideration of this war, Aurangzeb once more ordered Shah Alam to the Dakhin. Shivaji, to show how little he thought of Shah Alam,[3] advanced to the gates of Aurangabad without Shah Alam being able to do anything, nay, he was in great fear lest Shivaji might attack the suburbs and sack the whole environs.

Shah Alam afraid of Shivaji

1. Sabhasad 93-94. Chitnis 173; Sh. D. 263-68, Chitragupta 119. Jedhe Sh. mentions Pratapgad as the place of escape. Shivaji tried to win back the Prince by persuasion through letters and confidential agents, but the sermon fell upon deaf ears.

2. O. C. 4577. B. P. Unav VII, p. 127. 17 Feb. 1679. Jedhe Sh. mentions 25th Feb. as the date of the Prince's arrival in Aurangabad.

3. Muazzam was given the high title of Shah Alam in Oct. 1676 and appointed Governor of the Deccan in Sept. 1678.

For he had such vigilant spies that he was informed of the places where this man and the other had buried their wealth through fear of him. But Shiva Ji could not tarry long, for by rushing hither and thither he tired himself out, and died vomiting blood in one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine." [1]

Diler Khan lay before Bijapur for several months, but could not affect anything against it on account of the overt and covert assistance of Shivaji to the Adil Shahi premier. The Khan thought of drawing away the Maratha army from Bijapur by leading his forces to Panhala and capturing it with the help of Sambhaji. Shivaji took precautions to strengthen its fortifications for checkmating the invaders. On their way, the Mogul forces plundered, murdered, and enslaved the civilian population of Tikota, Honawar, Telsingh, Athani, etc. These cruelties alienated Sambhaji from Diler Khan and he made his escape to Bijapur. Thereupon Diler Khan gave up his design of proceeding against Panhala, and returned to Bijapur to demand Sambhaji and to punish Masaud for affording shelter to Shivaji's son.

"The Prince (Shah Alam) hath been these two months arrived in Duccan, and Sevagys sonne Sombagy fledd to him, but nobody advances against him as yett, who (Shivaji) hath seated himselfe in Panallah and defies both the Mogull and King of Viziapore. This is all the news stirring."[2]

"It is reported here that Sombagy Rajah and the Duccany forces have beseiged Panallah and intended to winter under that castle this yeare, that by a long seige they may reduce it to their obedience. This is what news stirring."[3]

"Wee know not whither wee may not erre in sending your Honr. &c. the occurrances of Duccan, for it is possible you may have certaine advices; notwithstanding wee will informe you that it is reported that Diller and Sevagys sonne Somba have obliged Biziapore Viziers to joine with them against the Rajah when the raines are over, and that great preparations are making on both

1. Manucci II, 230, It is incorrect.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8. P. 15. Bombay to Surat 10th March 1679.
3. F. R. Bombay. Vol, 8. P, 21. Bombay to Surat 21st May 1679.

sides for an encounter under Panallah, the Rajah having 12000 horse quartered upon his confines. As soone as the raines are over, they will despose themselves to action; what the event will be time must discover."[1]

There was a wild rumour of the flight of Prince Muazzam and Sambhaji together through Cuttack.[2]

The Maratha and Muslim writers attribute the escape of Sambhaji to the direct prompting or indirect connivance of Diler Khan who had solemnly pledged himself for the safety of the refugee, but who, seeing that the Emperor had ordered Sambhaji to be brought to Delhi, permitted the latter to make his escape.[3] But this extract shows that Sambhaji left Diler Khan in disgust on his ruthlessly massacring and enslaving the innocent people of Athani.

" News here is altogether uncertaine, but the truest is that Sevagee hath made peace with the Decans and whither he is gone with his whole army, this not certainly knowne.

Return of Sambhaji.

Some few days Dilleel Caun, Serja Caun and Sombajee Rajah robbed Hattane, after which burnt it downe as alsoe tooke aboundance of prisoners, at which the two latter would not consent to but was clearly for the releasing them; about which they had some difference in soe much that they both fled to Vizapore and since Sombajee Rajah is come to Collapore with 300 horse and 1000 foote with what intention it is not knowne, but supposed to be called by his father."[4]

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8. P. 25. Bombay to Surat 29th July 1679.

2. St. Master s Diary II, p. 263. 13th Oct. 1679.

3. "Sewagee's messengers were allowed communication with Sambha, who now made his escape with only eleven attendants; so that it must have happened by the connivance of Diler Khan who made no enquiries or example among the guards who watched his person." Scott's Ferishta, 53.

According to Sabhasad (269), Sambhaji repented of his ill conduct and returned to Panhala on the receipt of a letter from Shivaji with the *permission* of Diler Khan. Cf. Chitra. 138.

Diler Khan promptly marched to Bijapur and demanded Samhhaji from Masaud, but the former, getting scent of the approach of Diler Khan's envoys, secretly left Bijapur. So Diler Khan cannot be charged of connivance.

4. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 37. Rajapore 16th October 1679.

21. The Mogul advance against Bijapur

In August 1679 Diler Khan crossed the Bhima and began operations against Bijapur from his camp at Dhulkhed. A detachment captured Mangalvera, another plundered the villages of Saulangi and Kasi, and a third party under Sharza Khan came up to Almala. Sambhaji Ghatge was despatched to prevent their advance. In the skirmish that followed, ten to fifteen thousand[1] men were slain on both sides. Though Sambhaji was wounded, he captured a large booty from the Moguls. Another engagement took place near the fort of Akluj between Bajaji Nimbalkar who was fighting on the side of the Moguls and one Bahadur Khan of the Bijapur army. Bajaji was killed in this fight,[2] and the victory roused the drooping spirits of the Bijapur defenders.

The affairs at Bijapur were growing from bad to worse. Constant wars and a protracted siege of the city by the Mogul army had ruined its trade and industries. Poverty grew apace. The army committed indescribable oppressions upon the people to realize their pay and to secure provisions. The Regent was powerless to prevent the excesses of the Pathan army. Discontented soldiers and captains left the Bijapur service and swelled the ranks of the Moguls. Many Bijapur nobles like the sons and relatives of Bahlol Khan, Sharza Khan etc. had joined hands with the enemy. Thus Masaud was really without men and money. It was under such trying circumstances that he had to defend the city against the enormous host under Diler Khan in October 1679. He pitiously implored[3] the help of Shivaji who promptly advanced with twenty thousand troops for the defence of the capital. It was decided that Masaud should by all means defend the city to which provisions and war material were to be

1. Bijapur History, 345. Scott II, p. 50. But Sarkar has only 15 men on each side.

2. Brother-in-law of Shivaji who married his daughter to his cousin Mahadji; after Bajaji was reclaimed from Islam. Rajwade VIII. 53. B. S. Hindi trans. (707) says that a son of Bajaji was killed.

3. B. S.; Sabhasad 270-271.

regularly supplied by Shivaji, while one Maratha army was to cut off the supplies of the besieging force, and another to carry fire and sword into the Mogul territory.

In November 1679, the Raja divided his army into two parts. He himself started with nine or ten thousand men by way of Musla aud Almala, while Anand Rao was sent by way of Man and Sangaula with 10,000 cavalry to plunder the Mogul territory. Diler Khan was bent upon conquering the capital and hence paid no heed to the devastating raids of the Maratha columns in the Imperial country. However, Masaud put such a resolute fight for months together and the Marathas under Hambir Rao so completely cut off the supplies of the besieging army that Diler Khan could make little impression upon the Fort. In the meantime Prince Muazzam was so much harassed by the Maratha depradations that he pressed upon Diler Khan the necessity of making peace with Masaud and of promptly bringing back his troops to prevent the Mogul capital and camp from falling into the hands of the Marathas. The Prince issued orders to the various officers not to supply money and provisions to Diler Khan, and sent constant complaints to the Emperor of the neglect of the General in protecting his own country and wrecklessly wasting money and men in unsuccessful sieges. The Emperor finally reprimanded the General and issued orders for raising the siege. Under such circumstances the dispirited war-lord beat a retreat from Bijapur with a demoralized army, but before he reached Aurangabad[1] to lay down in dust his broken body, he wantonly and remorselessly laid waste a large part of the Bijapur territory up to the Carnatic. There Janardhan Pandit, with 6,000 horse, attacked the party commanded by Diler Khan in person, completely defeated him, intercepted his parties, cut several of them to pieces, and compelled him to retreat.[2]

1. B. S., but Sabhasad (280) says that Diler Khan committed suicide at the court on being disgraced by the Emperor.

2. Duff, 130. Chitnis, 176–178. Details of the guerilla warfare all along the route of retreat are given in Chitnis (179) and Sabhasad 274–5; 277.

22. Exorbitant demands upon Golconda

"Prince Sultan Muazzam, son of the Great Mogul Aurangzeb, has arrived with his army near Aurangabad. The King of Golconda sent his ambassador with rich presents to congratulate the Prince and to save himself from the unprovoked invasion of Diler Khan who was the General of the Mogul forces at Bijapur. This General was bent upon forcibly realizing the whole tribute from Golconda, which amounted to 70 lakhs of guilders. The Bijapur situation was very critical, as every thing was at sixes and sevens there. Siddi Masaud and Sayad Makhdum (Sharza Khan), the two rival nobles of Bijapur, were trying to hand over the kingdom to different bidders. The former was desirous of bringing in the Great Mogul, while the other was inclined towards the Rover Shivaji. Throughout the extensive country of Bijapur everywhere there was nothing else but murder, robbery, plunder and oppressive exactions." [1]

"The Moguls, having acquired the Kingdom of Bijapur, sent an ambassador to the Sultan of Golconda to demand from him 40 tons of gold as balance of the tribute unpaid till then, a daughter of the king for Prince Muazzam and an 'armringen' beset with diamonds.

The king despatched the reply that he did not possess so much gold, that his princess was already betrothed to another, and instead of diamonds, he could supply armours beset with crystals. Besides, Diler Khan has demanded 24 tons of gold for paying his army and given the threat of invading Golconda, in case his demands are not fulfilled. It is reported that up till now the Robber Shivaji has not expressed his opposition to these demands, but he would, without fail, soon oppose them.[2]

The Moguls have given a severe threat to the king of Golconda for paying up the tribute. It has been reported that one army under the Mogul's son, Prince Muazzam and another under General Diler Khan, have been despatched against Golconda." [3]

This Dutch account is confirmed by the Memoires of Fr. Martin who writes that three crores of rupees and 12,000 horse were demanded by the ambassador.

1, 2, 3. Dagh- Reg. 1679, p. 205. 21 May (=11 May); p. 499. 4 Nov. (=25 Oct.); p. 540. 26 Nov. (=16 Nov.)

"The ambassador of the Mogul pressed the king hard for furnishing him with the sum he had demanded; the prince, however, delayed, possibly, for making (the ambassador) understand that his funds were exhausted. He gave orders to melt down all the gold and silver vessels of the preceding king, to coin money with them. He even caused old medals to be brought out of the treasury to be melt in the same manner; this went on slowly. Delilcam, one of the generals of the Mogol, who was with an army on the frontiers of this state, being informed of this delay, caused the king of Golconde to be told that if he did not expedite more, he (the general) would go himself to oblige him to make more diligence. That was rude to a sovereign. However, the poor prince who would be able to respond vigorously if he had the resolution, a spirit of ruling and to employ his forces, yet caused some precious stones to be sold for a considerable sum in order to please the Mogol." [1]

23. The aftermath of the sack of Jalna

Shivaji sent his army of 30,000 men all over the Mogul Deccan to pillage, burn, and thoroughly devastate the country. His raids into Berar, Khandesh, Mahur and Baglan brought him a booty worth several crores of rupees (B. S.). The loot of Jalna near Aurangabad deserves mention. The town was a rich mercantile place in the Balaghat and was plundered to destruction for four days. Immense wealth in gold, silver, jewels and clothes, horses, elephants and camels was secured.[2] But this Maratha detachment laden with booty was attacked by ten thousand cavalry under Runmast Khan, Asaf Khan and Zabita Khan. A fierce battle raged for three days at Sangamner between the two forces. At last one Maratha captain Sidhoji Nimbalkar Raje was killed

1. Sen's Shivaji F. B. 331; 335.

2. Khafi Khan and Bundela Memoirs both refer to the insult offered by the Maratha soldiers to a recluse Jan Muhammad. Many rich men had sought refuge in the saint's hermitage and had thus violated the right of sanctuary. The Maratha raiders, notwithstanding Shivaji's orders to the contrary, plundered the hermitage. It was believed that Shivaji was taken ill soon after on account of the curses of the Fakir.

with many of his men. Shivaji whom no perils could daunt, so inspired his soldiers that they furiously rushed upon the enemy and fought so bravely that the Moguls were routed and dispersed.[1] Thereupon Prince Muazzam despatched another mighty host of twenty thousand Moguls and Rajputs under Kesar Singh[2] to overtake Shivaji. The small Maratha force exhausted by the last encounter and encumbered with the booty was marching slowly to the Yadgiri pass, when it was overtaken by the pursuing army. However, Kesar Singh sent a secret message as a brother Hindoo to Shivaji to promptly retire from the place, otherwise he would be encircled by a vast Mogul army which might possibly cut off his retreat. The Raja desired to avoid a conflict for saving the vast booty. With the valuable assistance of Bahirji Naik, the famous Maratha spy, Shivaji marched by unfrequented paths continuously for three days and nights, and safely brought his army and booty first to Pattagad,[3] and then to Purandhar and Panhala.[4] The Mogul host from whose grip the Marathas had quickly vanished, returned to Aurangabad in despondency.

In the Bombay letter to Surat, dated 29 Nov. 1679, Shivaji is said to be at Pattagad which is only five days journey from Bombay. He 'fled here with 500 horses, having lost the greatest part of his army near Bijapur, where Diler Khan wholly routed

1. Sometime after, Hambir Rao, "detached by Sivajee; towards Beejapoor, fell in with 8,000 or 9,000 cavalry under Runmust Khan, the same officer lately sent by Sultan Muazum against Sivajee; and he again sustained a severe defeat." Duff. 130.

2. Duff (129) says that he was Kishan Singh, a grandson of Mirza Raja Jai Singh.

3. 16 miles from Akola, renamed Vishramagad by Shivaji for the asylum that it gave to his exhausted army.

4. Sabhasad 93-94. Chitra, 119. Jedhe Sh. says that Shivaji returned to Raigad via Patta, but I have preferred Panhala on the basis of the letter of 30th December.

him, and took 2000 horses besides prisoners.'[1] The Peshwa Moro Pandit had gone thither and Annaji Pandit was also to go to Pattagad. "The Peshwa was intended for Surat but the overthrow he received by one Runmust Khan, who killed his 2000 men and took 400 horse, which diverted him." Shivaji had no action with Diler Khan near Bijapur, nor had the Peshwa any encounter with Ranmust Khan. The above report was wrong and hence we find the Surat Council contradicting Bombay on these points.

"The advice you give us of Sevagees and his Pishwas being rout'd by this King's army in two severall encounters is here quite countrary reported, and which wee have more reason to creditt from his ravageing this countrey, haveing lately burnt and sacked Chupra and Dungom, and is said to be gon with a designe to surprise Brampore, which hath put such a damp on all trade and struck such a consternation on the spirits of these people as is hardly credible, all the ways being stop'd and divers Chapalas robbed, amongst which the Company from Amadavad; and here wee are in hourly fears of an alarum from him, it being certainly advised to private persons in Suratt that he intends suddenly to fall upon this citty, which would be a thing rather to be wondered at then beleived, did wee not see whatt he hath done and still doth in one place or another. By all which wee think we may vie with you for trouble and perplexity, all the Companys treasure being still in the house, besides divers other goods to a considerable value, and know not how safely to secure at and defend our persons."[2]

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8. P. 71. Relying upon this information, Orme (117–118) wrote the following lines: "Sambagi was likewise with them, and in a general battle which ensued, his ensigns were displayed against his father's. The contest was sharp: on Sevagi's side two thousand Morattoes were slain, and as many surrendered. His enemies claimed the victory, which he confirmed by retreating to Rairee, where he arrived in the beginning of November. This was the only defeat of his life, but he soon dispelled the reproach, which he had willingly encouraged."

Sarkar too in his Aurangzeb IV, p. 226 depended upon this wrong information.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 2–3. Surat to Bombay 13 Dec. 1679.

" Sevagee Rajah is returned but with noe small losse, reported to be above 4000 horse commanded by one Hummed Rough,[1] (Hambir Rao ?) who himselfe was very much wounded, the Rajah is now bound up to Pornolla, whither Dillell Caun is now certainly bent, having 20,000 horse come to his assistance sent by the Mogull. The Rajah fortifies Pornollah very strong, haveing weakened many of his Concon fortes by taking away their gunns, as alsoe hath bought 40 more of the French, which they carry away dayly from hence, wee hope in few days to see an end of this troublesome warr. " [2]

Shivaji returnes to Panhala.

" Here is sent by Sevagee Samajee Punditt, Annajees brother, for taking of severall peeces of ordnance out of these castles as Ancholah, Carwarr, Symiseere, and Pundah to the amount of 30, which by the strength of men and buffaloes are to be drawne up to Pornollah, that it is supposed he intends to deliver up the Cocon to the Duccanees. " [3]

24. Third futile attempt of capturing Shivneri in 1679

Another attempt of Shivaji to surprise Shivneri proved abortive. The Bundhela Memoirs record the following account.

" Intelligence arrived that Sewajee had detached a force against the fort of Joneer. Abdal Yezzeez Khan, the Governor, was a person of much experience and gallantry. Three hundred of the enemy in the night ascended the walls by rope ladders, and entered; but though the killadaar had sent most of his people with his sons to the assistance of Yiah Khan, Fojedaur of the town, he bravely collected the few he had left, with his servants, and put most of the assailants to the sword. A few were found the next day skulking under the bushes and stones at the bottom of the wall, watching for an opportunity to escape. These he treated with much kindness, and sent them back to Sewajee, with a message, that while he commanded in the fort, he defied him to take it. " [4]

1. It ought to have been Anand Rao.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 37, Rajapore December 30th 1679.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 76. Carwarr November 24th 1679.
4. Scott, II. 50.

25. Extensive raids in Khandesh

" Certaine intelligence being brought to this citty the last night of Sevagees burning and plundering Dungom[1], Chupra and many other considerable townes adjacent, hath struck a generall consternation into all the inhabitants here that he hath alsoe an eye towards this citty. " [2]

"News of Sevagees appraching into these partes as alsoe the case wee were taking in getting of our Caphilae readdy to depart which God be thanked, was effected with a miracle that it escaped their hands for the next day. S. A. with the Caphilae sett out from Dungom, and went a days journey soe farr as Gondelee, allmost into the very jawes of the enemy, for wee had noe sooner arrived there but there was news of the forces being very neare; upon which news at halfe night the Caphilae sett out againe and was ordered not to goe their usuall journey soe farr as Bettavad, but to proceed further which God be thanked they did, otherwise they had been taken, for by three of the clock in the afternoone the towne was all of a flame. S. A. returned from Gondelee to Chupra, where he was noe sooner arrived but news that Dungom was all of a fire likewise, what goods and estate was there of the Companys God be thanked sett out 2 houres before which arrived safe unto us; the next day the army from severall places made forwards Chupra which made of us togeather with the townes people betake ourselves to the hills, where God be thanked wee arrived safe, togeather with the Companys goods and what wee had of our owne, soe much as wee could get carts for, what remained was stolen, the house only remanying, which was good fortune, considering the most part of the towne besides was burnt to the very ground, amongst which a warehouse full of goods of S. A. was consumed; likewise the army which consisted of 12000 horse kept their randivooes here two days and then sett forward towards Brampore, but never went soe farr but turned more to the right hand, towards Mulkapore,

Gondale, Dharangaon Chopra, etc. plundered and burnt.

Burhanpur threatened.

1. Dharangaon is described by Khafi Khan as one of the most flourishing cities in that country. It is some 15 miles from Amalner.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Fol. 105, Surat Consultation 8th December 1679.

where Sevagee himself with 20000 horse more are to mete.[1] Here are various reports concerning the Prince who is said to be all one with Sevagee and througn his assistance doth intend to put for the crowne, now therefore at present the country is in a most miserable condition and to tell your honour etc. the truth wee are likewise soe to, for what comfort wee had before was in the strength of the Faujdar who is now sent far away with all the rest of the Foorsdarrs that belongs to these parts; wee are once more forced to the hills being freshly alarmed with another army consisting of 12000 horse which is supposed to joyne with the princes forces. Just now here is fresh news that the citty of Orangaband is plundered and burnt and that the prince doth now declare for Dilly, he having written to the chiefe of Brampore, Ckaune Zamma (Khan Zamaon,) to diliver up the citty and merchants unto him. This is the present condition of the country."[2]

Sultan Muazzam joins Shivaji

Aurangabad plundered by Shivaji.

Peshwa More Pandit was sent with 20,000 men to raid Baglan and Khandesh provinces, and to capture 27 forts round about Nasik. He succeeded in recovering the two important fortresses of Hanumant and Ahivant Gads.

"As to Sevagees forces they have plundered and burnt most of these parts, excepting the townes which pays him ½ part, those he meddles not; with his armys under Moro Punditt continues still upon these borders, endeavouring to take what castles they can, they have a great itching towards Moleer (Mulhir) castle, and have shewed themselves before it two or three times, but it proves too strong for them; therefore (it) will scarce come into their possession, except betrayed unto them. They have

Moro Pandit captures strong forts.

1. In the opinion of Sir J. Sarkar (337), the expedition started from Rajapur. He is thinking of Malkapur, situated at 30 miles from Kolhapur and about 50 miles from Rajapur. But from the text it is evident that the army marched from Chopra to the side of Malkapur in C. P. Shivaji was to join this army from Jalna, but had to change his route after the battle of Sangamner and go to Pattagad.

2. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 21. Dungom (Chupra) 12th December 1679.

allready taken 2, namely Huzmunt Ghurr (Hanumant Garh)[1] and Aount Ghurr (Ahivant Garh). What their further designes are at present, noe body can tell. The reports of their joyning with the prince, there is little credit to be given there to. Whither their next march will be few days will show; some speake as if they intend for Surat, others say Brampore but God only knows where their intentions are bound next." [2]

26. A treaty with Bijapur

The unmatched power of Shivaji's genius to take advantage of every situation is now displayed. Soon after the withdrawal of the Mogul forces from Bijapur, Shivaji recovered Bhupalgad and captured Bahadurbinda.[3] The Raja received rich presents and a letter from Sikandar Shah expressing cordial obligations for the rescue of the kingdom from the hands of the enemy. After an exchange of complimentary letters and visits, a treaty was ratified by the two parties. By virtue of it, the territories of Kopal and Bellary were ceded to the Raja.[4] The king of Bijapur renounced all claims of sovereignty over the territory conquered by Shivaji in South India and over Tanjore and other districts included in Shahji's Jagir. Both parties agreed to render mutual assistance in the time of need. Thus the new Karnatik conquests were legalized, and without any further war with his younger brother, Shivaji obtained the right of suzerainty over him. Since then Vyankoji became a Sardar of Shivaji's kingdom by command of the King of Bijapur himself. The loss of independence was unbearable for Vyankoji and he became a prey to melancholia to such an extent that he gave up all share in administration and acted like a recluse. Thereupon Shivaji wrote a letter 'full of energy and sense' to his brother. Its translation is reproduced below from Grant Duff (131).

"Sivajee to Venkojee after compliments. Many days have

1. Chitnis (177) names them as Nahavadgad and Ahiwant.
2. F. R. Surat Vol: 108. Fol. 53. Chupra the 24th February 1680.
3. Chitnis 180. Sh. Dig. 275.
4. Chitnis 179; Sh. Dig. 296; Takakhav 482.

elapsed without my receiving any letter from you: and, in consequence, I am not in comfort. Ragoo Pant has now written, that you, having placed melancholy and gloom before yourself, do not take care of your person, or in any way attend to your self as formerly; nor do you keep up any great days or religious festivals. Your troops are inactive, and you have no mind to employ yourself on state affairs. You have become a Byragee, and think of nothing but to sit in some place accounted holy, and let time wear away. In this manner much has been written to me, and such an account of you has given me great concern. I am surprised when I reflect that you have our father's example before you-how did he encounter and surmount all difficulties, perform great actions, escape all dangers by his spirit and resolution, and acquire a renown which he maintained to the last? All he did is well known to you. You enjoyed his society, you had every opportunity of profiting by his wisdom and ability. Even I myself, as circumstances enabled me, have protected myself, and you also know, and have seen, how I have established a kingdom. Is it then for you in the very midst of opportunity, to renounce all wordly affairs, and turn Byragee- to give up your affairs to persons who will devour your estate— to ruin your property, and injure your bodily health? What kind of wisdom is this, and what will it end in? I am to you as your head and protection; from me you have nothing to dread. Give up therefore all this, and do not become a Byragee. Throw off despondency, spend your days properly, attend to fasts, feasts, and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, and turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty: apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown. What a comfort and happiness it will be to me to hear the praise and fame of my younger brother. Rugonath Pundit is near you, he is no stranger to you, consult him on what is most advisable to be done, and he will consider you in the same light as myself. I have placed every confidence in him--do you the same; hold together for your mutual support, and you will acquire celebrity and fame. Above all things, be not slothful; do not allow opportunity to slip past without receiving some returns from your army. This is the time for perform-

ing great actions. Old age is the season for turning Byragee. Arouse: bestir yourself. Let me see what you can do. Why should I write more ? You are wise. "

27. Death of Raja Jaswant Singh

In the Surat letter of 17th Feb. 1679 the news of the demise of Raja Jaswant Singh is conveyed to the Company. We are told that Aurangzeb has led his armies into the Raja's territory to possess himself of all his wealth and that this expedition has put a stop to all trade in the North.

" There is lately dead in this kingdome Rajah Jeswansung, one of the King of India's great Umbraws, who hath left a great Treasure in a strong castle in his own country; which has soe affected this avaricious King, that he hath raised a great army to force it from his widow and her Rashpoots; and will accompany it to his own Frontiers himselfe which hath caused a stopp upon all the ways which is a great prejudice to Merchants, by a hindrance of the passage of their Caphalaes, and if it should continue which wee much feare, it would prove such an obstruction to us in your affaires, as to put us to great difficulties to get your goods out of the Countrys, seasonable for your next shipping." [1]

28. Jazia due to wars with Shivaji

The Surat Letter of 18th September, 1679 despatched to London is full of important news. It announces (1) the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, (2) the resolve of Aurangzeb to force the relatives and courtiers of the late Maharaja to embrace Islam, (3) the march of the Emperor into the Rajput territory, and (4) the imposition of Jazia on all Hindus and even Europeans.

The idea that Aurangzeb was compelled to levy this new tax on account of the exhaustion of his treasury caused by his wars against Shivaji, is worth noticing. The same cause is mentioned by Shivaji in his letter to Aurangzeb.

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII, pp. 126-127. O. C. 4577. 17th Feb, 1679. Fryer, 412, 417. Manucci II. 233.

"There is lately great differences hapned betwixt the King of India and the Rashpoots upon the death of Rojer Jeswinson, the great Maw Rajah, the King designing to seize his court and make them all Moores, to which purpose (he) is gon against them in person which doth much obstruct Trade, and make the ways very dangerous for Caphilaes.

The great zeale of the king for the propagation of the Mohomatan religion hath likewise moved him to put a general tax upon all persons residing in his country as well straingers as natives not of that perswasion whose degrees and conditions are distinguished with 3 divisions, the first and pore sort at $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a head, the second at $6\frac{3}{4}$ and the last at $13\frac{1}{2}$ and is as our pole, and supposed will amount to a great summe being exacted with great severity and punctuality and contrived to a double end, first to supply his great want of Treasure, exhausted by his warrs with Sevagee and the Puttans, and the ill-management of his Revenues, secondly to bring in divers of the poorer sorte and people oût of Indigence to turne Moores as all are required, that either refuse or are not able to pay it, it hath likewise been demanded by this Governor of the English, French and Dutch who have all refused, and which are still resolved not to doe, notwithstanding he hath writte the king of our denialls to pay it, therefore beg your speedy directions how we shall govern ourselves in case he should command it to be exacted from us.

Sevagee still ravages Decan, and is much feared will fall upon Surat this Monzoones to its utter ruin." [1]

The previous letter has a remarkable resemblance with the remarks of Manucci with regard to the reasons of the levy of the poll—tax and its rates.

"The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzeb as an opening to oppress the Hindus still more, since they had no longer any valiant and powerful Rajah who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindus a poll-tax, which everyone was forced to pay, some more, some less. Great merchants paid

1. B. P. Unav. VIII, 5-6.

thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter, and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not women; boys began to pay as soon as they had passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzeb did this for two reasons; first, because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns; secondly, to force the Hindus to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors. "

Elphinstone (622) says that the Jazia was imposed in 1677, that is, two years earlier. However, according to the Ma' asir-i-Alamgiri, 174, it is the twentieth year (1679--80) which agrees with Manucci.

Dr. Fryer[1] mentions the levy of the poll-tax in his letter of 1675. Hence it appears that after the death of Jaswant Singh, the Hindus were more vigorously persecuted, and the poll-tax was continued and not begun in 1679.

" This Religious Bigot of an Emperor Auren Zeeb seeks not to supress it utterly but to reduce the Celebration, to preserve their Memories by a pious Respect, suitable to the Gravity of the Moors. For, says he, hereby Opportunity is offered to the Caiphers (Unbelievers) to think Musslemen favour the Lewd Worship of the Heathens; which is not only a scandle to the Mahometan Religion, but an Encouragement to the Enemies thereof to persist in their own, whilst such Licentiousness is connived at in that which should be set as a Pattern for them to imitate; for even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins, making them pay a Gold Rupee[2] an Head, and the inferior Tribes proportionable; which has made some Rajahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal Countries, and Bombaim; though should they make a joint Resistance they are a thousand to one more than the Moguls can with as unanimous Contrivance fairly muster. "

1. Fryer Lond, Edi, 1698, p. 109.
2. The Ashrafi or Gold Mohur=14 Rs. Ovington, 219.

As the Europeans refused to pay the poll-tax, orders were sent to raise the custom duty by one per cent in lieu of the Jazia.

"Just as we have proceeded thus farr. Wee had notice given us that an order was comeing down from the king, upon the English, Dutch and French to pay 3½ per cent custome as formerly,-in lieu of the Pole demanded of us and refused, which hath thrown us under new difficulties how best to governe ourselves in this affaire, but had your Honrs. invested us with a fitt power, it's probable wee might have taken some course to have prevented it; which now must submit to what they shall impose upon us, except joyntly retiring (in discontent) of the 3 Nations to Swally these Raines, may produce a recalling of it which is under our present consideration." [1]

The Jazia on the Europeans in the form of custom duty.

The raising of the import and export duty by one per cent, inflicted an annual loss of about 15 to 20 thousand rupees on the English alone.

"Your [2] Broker Bimgee is at present very industrious to finde out some meanes if possible to remove this unhappy advance upon your Customes at Surat, which according to computation of your importations and exportations will account to at least 15 in 20,000 rupees annually. But the officers of this citty are now growne soe high and insolent, that he can hardly appeare before any of them about your business, without receiving some injury or affront, not being able to present them as formerly, by reason you have soe strictly prohibited us from the contrary, and without something of substance, as well as faire words and carriage nothing is to be done with these sordid Moores, therefore hope you will at last be persuaded to take some such fitt and effectual course for the remedy of these things, that your affaires may proceed more reputably, and be found more profitably to you in the close."

The English loss by the enhanced duty.

1. O. C. 4699. Surat Letter 8th April, 1680.
2. O. C. 4699. Surat Letter to London, 8th April, 1680.

29. Shivaji's protest against Jazia

When the fact of the levy of the Jazia on non-Muslems became known to Shivaji, he addressed to Alamgir a letter which is remarkable for its spirited protest against religious persecution, a sublime sermon on statecraft and veiled threats to the Emperor on the continuance of his policy of intolerance. [1]

To the Emperor Alamgir—

"This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor,—which are clearer than the Sun,—begs to inform your Majesty that, although this well-wisher was led by adverse Fate to come away from your august Presence without taking leave, yet he is ever ready to perform, to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him.....

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empire. [Jalal-ud-din] Akbar Padishah, reigned with full power for 52 [lunar] years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers, sky-worshippers (*falakia*), *malakia*, materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*), Brahmans and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of *Jagat Guru*, 'the World's spiritual guide.'

"Next, the Emperor Nur-ud-din Jahangir for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave

1. This letter was for a long time believed to be written by Raja Jaswant Singh and its English translation was given by Orme (xciii) in his 'Fragments'. But Grant Duff (P. 98) has left the testimony that the Raja of Kolhapur had the original letter and it was claimed by him to have been a production of Shivaji. Subsequent research has proved the truth in this claim. Prof. Sarkar published a revised translation of the same in his History of Aurangzeb, III, ch. 34 App. The same is reproduced here. It is a pity that the original is not now to be traced in the state papers at Kolhapur.

his heart to his friends and his hand to his work, and gained his desires. The Emperor Shah Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life,—which is only a synonym for goodness and fair fame,—as the result of his happy time on earth. *(Verses)*

He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
Because after his death, the recital of his good deeds keeps his name alive.

"Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he [Akbar] bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered [by him]. The state and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact that Alamgir Padishah has failed and become distracted in the attempt to merely follow their political system. They, too, had the power of levying the Jaziya; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God to be [living] examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these [three] pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety under their rule, and their undertakings succeeded.

"But in your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden; the yield of every village has declined,—in the place of one lakh [of Rupees] only one thousand, and in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. When Poverty and Beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, the condition of the grandees and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the army

is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled, most men lack bread at night and in the day inflame their own cheeks by slapping them [in anguish]. How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jaziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jaziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, *yogis*, *sannyasis*, *bairagis*, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken, that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars,—that he dashes down to the ground the name and honour of the Timurids!

"May it please your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God *(i. e. the Quran)*, you will find there [that God is styled] *Rabb-ul-alamin*, the Lord of all men, and not *Rabb-ul-musalmin*, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are terms of contrast. They are [diverse pigments] used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines [of His picture of the entire human species]. If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's own creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw new lines on a picture is equivalent to finding fault with the painter.....

"In strict justice the *jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it can be allowable only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one province to another without fear or molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered, what shall I say of the open country? Apart from its injustice, this imposition of the *jaziya* is an innovation in India and inexpedient.

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorizing the Hindus you ought first to levy the *jaziya* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your

service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit.

"I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the Sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness!"

CHAPTER XIX

The Karnatic Campaign

1. Vyankoji, Shahji's successor

After the death of Shahji in 1664, Vyankoji succeeded to his dignities and estate in the Karnatic. His rule extended over territory which was under the administrative units of Bangalore, Kolar, Arni and Porto Novo. He was granted a Sanad by his king, Ali Adil Shah, conferring a small Jaghir of two towns near Mudhol. Its original [1] and translation are given in the appendix. Therein Vyankoji is described as 'the cream among equals and the noblest among relations.' Since then he was busy, with the help of his able minister Raghunath Pant in promoting the welfare of his subjects. It is stated in the Bakhars that Vyankoji fell into the hands of some Moslem advisors and neglected his royal duties. His prime minister tried to bring him round, but after a time left his service in disgust. Even Shivaji's letter had no effect upon the infetuous ruler. Thereupon, Shivaji who had not claimed any share of the paternal estate for thirteen years up to 1676, thought it necessary to secure all or a part of it at least, lest it should slip out of the possession of the family. It appears that Raghunath was annoyed by the employment of Moslem officers and the neglect of the performance by his master, of the religious duties; otherwise Vyankoji was neither devoid of energy, nor of ambition. He took full advantage of the political situation of the Karnatic, conquered the most prosperous portion for himself and began to rule Tanjore as an independent king. In fact, he lay the foundation of an independent Maratha Kingdom in the South.

2. Vyankoji conquers Tanjore

The Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Mysore were perpetually ravaging each other's territories and inflicting untold miseries upon

1. This original is kindly lent by the Raja Saheb of Mudhol.

their dumb subjects. In the year 1673, Chokkanatha, the chief of Madura, succeeded in capturing Tanjore from Vijyaraghava who, after putting up a heroic struggle, was blown up by a mine. Vyankoji was deputed by the Bijapur Sultan to gain the kingdom for the son of the deceased king. After his victorious entry into Tanjore in 1675, he installed the son named Chengamala Das on the throne and retired to Kumbhakonam with rich presents for his valuable assistance. However, the new king alienated his minister who thereafter plotted with Vyankoji to take possession of Tanjore. The factions among the nobles of the Bijapur kingdom emboldened Vyankoji to conquer Tanjore himself. On the assurance of the treacherous minister, Vyankoji marched into Tanjore and captured the capital without a blow, as the young king, being terrified by his Minister, took to the forests. Thus Vyankoji established himself as the ruler of Tanjore- the veritable "Garden of Southern India." Father Freire has described these events in a letter of 1676 thus:

"This account contains...the events which have taken place since my last letter of 1673.

The Nayak of Madura, after the disastrous wars an account of which was given you in that letter, took possession of the kingdom of Tanjore and cut off the head of the king, his enemy. This barbarous action could not preserve his conquest. Idal Khan, informed of these events, sent an army under the command of General Ekoji to reestablish, on the throne of Tanjore, the son of the defeated king, who had gone to implore his help. The Nayak of Madura had entrusted the command of the conquered kingdom to his elder brother (foster-brother Alagiri Nayak), whose bravery at first checked the impetuosity of Ekoji. The latter resolved to contrive by stratagem a victory which he did not dare to hope by force: he remained, for one full year, on the frontiers of the kingdom, convinced that follies and mutual jealousies between the two brothers would afford him a favourable moment to accomplish his designs. He was not mistaken in his expectations. The Nayak of Mudura soon fell out with his brother and Ekoji, profiting by this division, marched at the head of his

troops, fell on the town of Tanjore, and, in the first attack, captured it and all its dependencies, and appeared before the gates of Trichinopoly where the king of Madura was. The citadel and all the kingdom were about to be his conquest, if his boldness had equalled his good fortune. He feared to compromise his success by delivering the assault immediately; and this hesitation gave the Nayak time to recover from the panic which had demoralised him. He could defend himself and save his capital, but he was deprived of a large part of his dominions and of all the strong places in his provinces.

Such was the just punishment of a tyrant whose only law was his cupidity. His spoliations and cruelties had made the people forget the despotism of all his predecessors, and excited against him, the execration of his subjects: he deserved to be treated thus as he himself had treated not his enemies, but his own vassals."[1]

Vyankoji has been represented as a vicious, careless and tyrannous king in the Marathi Bakhars,[2] but Father Freire has left an eloquent testimony of his benevolent rule in Tanjore.

"Day by day Ekoji, on one hand, and the king of Mysore, on the other, will absorb the last debris of this kingdom, once so flourishing. The conquest of it will be very easy, for the people will regard the enemy, whoever he may be, as their true saviour.

This is what has just happened at Tanjore. General Ekoji, instead[3] of placing the son of the late Nayak on the throne, according to the orders of Idal Khan, has preferred to usurp the title and authority of an independent king. Thus becoming absolute master of the kingdom, he seeks to make himself loved by the inhabitants and has already succeeded in it. The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal wounds of the preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country, one of the most remarkable in all India by the fertility of its lands and the wealth of its production. By repairing the canals and tanks he has fertilised extensive fields, uncultivated for many years, and the last harvest has surpassed all that one had ever seen."

1. History of the Nayaks of Madura. P. 279.
2. Chitnis 139; Sh. D. 287.
3. It is a wrong statement.

3. The political atmosphere of the South

The popularity of the prince and prosperity of the Tanjore state excited the envy of all the neighbouring chiefs. The Nayaks of Madura and Mysore made vigorous preparations to oust the bold Marathas, and even the Bijapur king was expected to send forces to punish Vyankoji for his treachery and independence. The South was thus rent asunder by the mutually jealous rulers and could hardly offer a united resistance to a conqueror like Shivaji. Father Freire writes:-

"Unhappily this prosperity will not be of long duration, for, on the one hand, Idal Khan sends an army to punish the revolt of his general; on the other, the Nayak of Madura, so sluggish when it would have been easy for him to join his brother to crush Ekoji, is at last waking himself up from his apathy. He is raising a formidable army, in agreement with all his vassals, who have forgotten their own quarrels to unite their forces against the common enemy. At the same time, Mysore, which cannot see, without uneasiness, a bold set of people establishing themselves on its own frontiers, fortifies the citadels taken from the northern provinces of Madura, gathers fresh troops, and makes grand preparations for war. On the pretext of strengthening itself against the Muhammadans, it may have in view an attack on the kingdom of Madura, when the Nayak will be in his war with Tanjore. Everything indicates that we are not still at the end of our troubles." [1]

In the Dagh-Register of 1676, the conquests of Vyankoji (Ekoji) have been noticed in several places thus:-

"On the other side of Madura the Moors from Visiapore had captured the countries of Tansiouer and the Neyck of Madura neglected his affairs absolutely. The attacks by the Teuver and further troubles in those districts round Nagapatnam caused so much consternation that everybody talked about the ruin of the countries and mutual discord." (P. 53. 23rd March.)

1. History of the Nayaks of Madura, P. 280.

"The Moors of Visiapore in Southern Coromandel were also quarrelling with the others which caused considerable damage to the trade in the district ol Tegenepatam." (P. 59. 28th March).

"It was further mentioned that the Visiapore commander Egosia Ragia had become absolute master of the Tansiouwer countries on the Coromandel and had been before the town of Nagapatnam, but he had been checkcd there and was willing to enter into negotiation with our people (the Dutch). In the meantime, it seemed that he intended to do as much harm as possible to the Neyak of Madura and to subdue him absolutely by ruses and gradually to conquer all the countries round there which suffered very much by all this." (P. 185. 1 Aug.)

"It is also mentioned that the Visiapore Commander Egosia Ragia who had lost his head over his victory against the robber Wirrepirmal had again destroyed and burnt the villages of the Company outside Nagapatnam, and had refused to abstain from his absolutely unjust action, until we had sent there the ships *Tulpenburgh, Veluw and Odyck* from Ceylon with some soldiers. After they had arrived, we attacked the camp of the rebels and put them to flight with a loss of about 60 men and 16 horse. From our side we had suffered no important loss." (P. 235. 28th Sept.)

"The conditions at Coromandel were still fairly good. But at Nagapatnam there was much consternation and the countries were continually being looted on account of the differences and intestine wars between the Madurese, Tansiouwer, Theuver and Visiapore rulers. Moreover, the Visiapore Moors under a certain Egosia Ragia, who were masters everywhere, especially in Tansiouwer, had beseiged the suburbs of Nagapatnam, because their vassal subjects and villages would not pay them and they could not collect the tribute they claimed. But in the end our men held a conference with their delegates about this affair, but no real decision was arrived at. It seemed that the said Egosia had arranged with the grand governor of Sincier (Jinji), Cherichan (Sher Khan) Loddy to drive the Zentief Rulers out of the country everywhere."

"The latter, hearing about this, tried again to prevent this. In the meantime, the prospects of trade and agriculture were absolutely ruined by all these troubles and for many years these countries would not be flourishing again, especially because now the Visiapore Commander-in-Chief Mamoedachan (Mahmud Khan) and the said Cherechan Lody of Sinsier had also started a war against each other." (P. 299. 16th November).

4. Aims of the expedition

The conquest of the Karnatic was a herculean enterprise. With herculean energy Shivaji went forth to execute it. He most cleverly won over the Deccani nobles of Bijapur to his cause. The Sultan of Golconda, having been persuaded for months by Ragunathpant of Tanjore, Shivaji's ambassador Prahlad Niraji and the Hindu ministers, Madanna and Akanna, at last consented to receive Shivaji at his capital and to enter into alliance with him.[1] The Raja brushed aside the Mogul menace by entering into a treaty with Bahadur Khan and by stationing his forces near the Mogul camp to watch and check the hostile movements against his country as well as to make the enemy's territory vulnerable to Maratha raids. Having made necessary arrangements for the government of his kingdom during his absence, Shivaji departed in January from Rairy at the head of an immense army consisting of 70,000 fighting men.[2] He rightly cherished the ambition of a great conqueror. He saw that the grand and glorious empire of Vijayanagar had been dismembered by Bijapur, Golconda and many Hindu rulers. It was his ideal to bring together the independent but mutually warring Hindu chiefs under his hegemony, reconquer all the country which had been annexed by the Bijapur Kingdom, and once more establish a vast Hindu Empire extending to Cape Comorin.[3] Within five months of active operations in the south, he worked wonders. Had circum-

1. Sh. Dig. 292.

2. 30 to 40,000 horse and 40,000 Mavle infantry. Sh. Dig. 297; Rairi 20.

3. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has pointed out this aim. Pp. 27, 176 *Nayaks of Madura.*

stances permitted him to stay there for a few months more, he would have subdued the whole Mysore territory and thus brought the old dominions of the Vijayanagar state under his new Maratha Empire which would have been more extensive and powerful than its predecessor. Shivaji must have been led by various motives to undertake this hazardous and distant expedition. The prominent ones seem to be the achievement of the glory of conquest, the acquisition of vast wealth and extensive territories, the consequent decline of the Bijapur Sultanate, the consolidation of a vast territory under a powerful empire which would serve as a breakwater to shatter the tempestuous waves of Mogul invasions that might roll in from the north.

5. The national party against foreigners

Shivaji is described by Fryer as the champion of the Deccanies. The Raja's views were well-known throughout India that he was against the Pathan foreigners in Bijapur and the Mogul rulers of the north. Hence he cemented a close friendship with the Deccani party in the Bijapur state. The nobles of this section had even gone to Bhagnagar to help Shivaji in conquering the Karnatic and thus reduce the power of Bahlol Khan. These had to return for defending Golconda from the Mogul invasion. Thus it is patent that Shivaji had the fullest support of the Deccani nobles and the Golconda government for his new conquest.[1]

The memorable letter of Shivaji to Raje Maloji Ghorpade Bahadur of Mudhol, furnishes an unimpeachable testimony of his efforts to create a national party consisting of Hindu and Muslem chiefs to overthrow the Pathan supremacy in Bijapur. He succeeded in enlisting the active co-operation of Sultan Tana Shah[2] in winning over the Bijapur nobility to his national party. A Sanad was issued by the Sultan to Maloji Ghorpade carrying

1. Consult letters of 16 June, 20 June, 16 July and 3 August 1677.
2. King Abdul Hassan was also named Tana Shah. Shivaji's letter is given at the end of this chapter.

the pledge of conferring upon him all the dignities and estates which he at that time enjoyed in the Adil Shahi Kingdom. Its Persian original[1] and English translation are given in the appendix.

6. Time propitious for success

Shivaji saw with prudent foresight that the time was propitious for the success of a perilous enterprise. Bijapur was torn and disturbed by warring factions; the stronger Deccani party of that State was ready to co-operate with him in conquering the Karnatic; the Kutub Shahi was prepared to give men, money, material and provisions for the expedition and the permission to pass through its territory, so that he might at once strike at the heart; and the Mogul General Bahadur Khan had promised to observe neutrality during his absence. Thus he saw with a prophetic eye that the Bijapur Governors of the Karnatic, deprived of all help from their Government, would not be able to put up much resistance when he would pounce upon them like a falcon. It may also be stated on the authority of the Bakhars that Raghunathpant, the prime minister of Vyankoji, had won over the Muslem Governor of Ginji to surrender the fortress to Shivaji.[2]

7. Arrangements during Shivaji's absence.

Shivaji had made very effective arrangements during his absence from his capital and country. His generals were keeping watch on the movements of the Mogul army from Gundavi and Salhir, and striking terror into the hearts of the Suratters.

The letter of 11th July reports Shivaji to be at present a great way off in the Carnatic country, where he wintered. "In his absence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit, and other Brahmin[3], are left to govern affairs, to whom we have sent to procure their cowl (pass) to all generals of armies that shall come towards

1. This letter was secured by the late eminent historian Rajwade from the Raja Saheb of Mudhol, who has now kindly given me the corresponding Sanad for publication.

2. 27 June 1677.

3. Janardan Pant, Pantaji Pant and Ravji Pant were the other ministers. Sh. Dig. P. 296.

Surat, that they molest not the English in any part where they come, nor plunder any of their goods." [1]

"Sevagees forces being withdrawne, for the greatest part, up into the Deccan and Carnatucke countrys, wee have the happyness of enjoying the more quietness here, notwithstanding his Generalls Mora and Annaji Pundit keepe their residence at Rairy, Salleir, and other strong castles nor above 40 course from hence, well-manned, and some of them are seated soe nere as Gundavee, not above 20 course distant, where they command the country and what provisions they please." [2]

8. Shivaji's alliance with Golconda

Shivaji lavishly spent money in splendidly equipping his whole army. The soldiers were provided with brand new garments and brilliant arms, and the officers with glittering suits of armour and rich accoutrements embroidered with gold. This grand army marched to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bhaganagar iu oriental pomp and magnificence. Strict orders were issued that the inhabitants should not be robbed, defrauded, or molested for obtaining provisions. By inflicting capital punishment on the few offenders, perfect discipline was maintained in a host of a hundred thousand men. This act calmed down the fears of the Kutub Shahi court. The ministers and principal officers came out some distance to receive Shivaji. The whole city was richly adorned to receive the honoured guest. Banners of welcome, triumphal arches, ringing of bells, acclamations, greeted them as they marched through the decorated streets of the city. There was so great an enthusiasm that vast crowds had thronged the road-sides to catch a glimpse of the illustrious hero whose renown had filled the world. Innumerable ladies waved auspicious lamps round him. Gold and silver flowers were showered upon the Raja who in return distributed vast wealth among the crowd. After such a triumphal march through scenes of pomp and splendour, Shivaji was warmly welcomed by the King himself. The

1. Orme's Frag. LXXXIII.
2. O. C. Vol, 37, No. 4270, Surat to Company. 31st Aug. 1677.

interview lasted for three hours. Much of the time was spent in listening to the thrilling stories of the Raja's heroism. Several visits and rich presents were afterwards exchanged. There was a round of feasts and festivities for more than a month. At the same time, negotiations for a firm friendship were going on. These culminated in an offensive and defensive alliance between the two kings. Shivaji received a large amount of money in advance, the promise of getting 3000 huns a day during the campaign an auxilliary contingent of 5000 cavalry and infantry and a park of artillery to assist the Raja in his conquests. Some of these details are mentioned in the following extracts.

" The letters for Sevagy and Mora Pundit wee have not yet sent forward, this new moone having brought soe violent a raine and wind that there is noe travelling. Wee expect faire weather in 2 or 3 dayes, or at least something more moderate and then shall send them. Mr. Child writes that Sevagy is in a Castle of King of Golcondah where he intends to winter, and after the raine it is thought intends against Carnatic. Severall of the Deccan Umbras are joined with him, and 'tis believed that Bullal[1] Caun and he have agreed to share all between them. All the Deccan country is soe miserably harrassed that Mr. Child does not expect to provide a piece of goods this year, and wee believe Carwarr to be in little better state. Morah Pundit has lately been to visit the northern garrison of Salere, and is now past by and gone to Rairee, where we shall be sure to find him."[2]

The Dagh-Register of 1677 (P. 319)in its diary of 2nd October (= 24 September) records:—

" The well-known roving (lit. moving up and down) robber Siwagie suddenly appeared in Golconda, from the uplands of Wingurla, in the month of March, with 12,000 cavalry and on the 14th of the month personally met the king. He was received with uncommon friendliness and was given a few thousand

1. It was a wrong information.
2. Bombay 27th June 1677. P. 132.

peasants in order to re-occupy, for the king, the country of Carnatak and Sinsjer (Jinji).[1]

9. Hydarabad to Madras

Shivaji departed from Hydarabad in the month of April, advanced through Kurnul,[2] went on a pilgrimage to the holy place of Nivritti Sangam on the confluence of the Bhavanashi and Krishna rivers, and then paid a visit to the magnificent temple of Shri Shaila.[3] Here the romantic beauty of nature enraptured his soul. In an ecstatic mood, Shivaji thought of not only renouncing the roll of the king, but of immolating his body. However, he was dissuaded from such a suicidal course by his ministers. After donating large sums in charity, the king departed from there on the ninth day, in a few days met his army at Anantpur and marched southwards to lay siege to Gingee.

10. Shivaji near Madras

Shivaji marched through Tirupati and Kalahastri to Peddapolam, where he made a halt for some time on the 8th of May. The English took all precautions to defend Madras against surprise.

"At a Consultation in Fort St. George, the 9th May 1677.

Being present:—Sr. Wm. Langhorn Governour, Streynsham Master, Joseph Hynmers, Edward Herrys, John Bridger, Timo Wilkes, Jacob Smith.

Sevagee (or be it his Sonn) being entertained in the king of Golcondas service, and now upon his march to fall upon Chengy with an army of 20 Mille Horse and 40 Mille foot, the van whereof (being about 5 Mille Horse) already past Trippaty and Calastry 9 and 8 leagues Gentu from hence, and this night expected at Cangiawaram (Kanchivaram) about 4 leagues Gentu hence, a distance which it is very usuall for his Horse to march in a nights time.

Shivaji's march to Jinji.

1. Cf. Manucci, II, 203. Sabhasad 86-7, Sarkar 280-96.

2. Kurnul-Kudappa was a petty state on the Tungabhadra under Anandrao Deshmukh. He promised to pay a tribute of five lakhs of huns to Shivaji. Rairi, 20.

3. It is variously named: Sabha.-Shail Parvat; Duff and Wilks-Parvatam; Rairi-Shri Shailya.

And the sad experience of all countries and places where he has used to frequent, obliging us to take care for the security of the Honourable Companys fort and Estate in our charge.

Defensive measures for Madras.

It is resolved to list what Christian Souldiers we can gett as farr as fifty, and what Peons as farr as 100, the former with our Auxilliarys to strengthen outguards, the latter chiefly to send up and down, to the severall quarters of his army to observe his motion, and to attend our Bromany for the better obtaining of intelligences, and prevention of surprisalls.

As likewise to make two large tents for shelter of our outguards when upon duty abroad at the passages and foords of the River, having found the want of them in our late troubles; and this to be done with all possible expedition.

And according as Sevagee disposes of forces, his designe being doubted to reach further then as yet pretended, we shall govern ourselves thereafter.

Memo. Sevagee came with his Army to Peddapollam within two leagues and half Gentu of this place, and made a halt there for some time. " [1]

Shivaji halted at Peddapolam.

11. The English sent presents to Shivaji

From the consultation of 14th May 1677, it is learnt that Shivaji had asked for some cordial stones and counter poisons. As his army was halting at Peddapollam within 2 to 5 leagues of Madras even up to 14th May, it was feared that he might surprise the town. Hence presents were sent to propitiate the 'Great Person.'

" At a Consultation in Fort St. George the 14th May 1677.

Being persent:— The same seven members were present.

Having this day received a message and a Letter from Sevagee Raja by a Bramany (Mahadji Pant) and two others of his people requesting some cordial Stones and Counter poisons, we resolved to send about the town, and bought up these follow-

1. Records of Fort St. George. Diary and Consultation Book 1672-78, Pp. 112-3.

ing particulars, to be sent him with a civill letter by a messenger of our own, as a small present, together with some such fruit as these gardens afford; and to bestow upon his Bramany Mahadogeo Pantulo three yards of broad cloth and fower Veece of Sandall-wood, not thinking good to require the money for so small trifles although offered in this letter, *considering how great a Person, and how much his friendship does allready, and may import the* Honourable Company *as he growes more and more powerfull and obvious to them,* especially his army continuing now at Gentu leagues 2 to 5 leagues distance from this place, and like to do so yet some time, which when he pleases is but a dayes march.

List of the Medicines and its cost which are sent to Sevagee.

		oz.	dwt.	gr.	Pa.	fa;	Cs.
Three Cordiall Stones weighing		1:	10:	12:	1:	20	--
Two Pedras de Budgee Two do.	fower pedras de Bugia				Pa:	10:	00: 00
		oz.	dwt.	gr.	Pa.	Fa:	Cs.
Cocko das Ilhas		4:	07:	00:	44:	00:	00:
Caranguejo de Pedraone Do. Three.	fower				5:	00:	00:
					60:	20:	00:

Besides the Broad Cloth and the Sandallwood mentioned in Consultation of 18 June."

These presents were thankfully accepted by Shivaji in a letter sent from Vellore on 25th May.

12. Shivaji's letter to Sir Wm. Langhorne

"I have in a good hower (hour) received the letter your worshipp sent me together with the Maldiva coconuts, the beazor and the cordiall stones, &ca. which have rejoyced me, and much to hear from my messenger Mahodeger Pontula of your great wisdome and understanding and your good friendshipp towards all people which satisfyed me very much, and I doe not doubt in the least but that you are such a person as I am informed, and doe againe desire your Worshipp to procure from (sic? for) me some

more Maldiva coconutts, beazar, cordiall stones and some other sorts of good counter poysons which may be procurable, and be pleased to send them to me, advising me their cost allso, whereof I entreat your Worshipp not to be bashfull. I have sent your Worshipp tashrifes which I desire you to accept of with a good will, so I shall not trouble your Worshipp any further at present."[1]

The English sent a reply to this letter on 19th June from Fort St. George.

13. Langhorne's reply to Shivaji

" To His Highness Sevagee Raja,

We received your Highnesses letter and Tashrifs with all due respect, wherein your kind acceptance of those cordialls and contra poysons was beyound their merrit which seeing your Highness has such an esteem for, we have used all possible dilligence in the neighbouring parts to accomplish your desire, wherein, although it has cost some time, we have been so fortunate as to secure you a further supply both of Maldivo cokanutts, cordiale stones and some other precious roots, all sent by our Brameny, whose particular vertues and directions goe herewith. Wee entreat you accept of the affectionate respects wherewith we make present of them to your Highness; and as the settlements which our Honble. Employers have allready in your dominions obliges us to wish you all desireable prosperity, so the great honour your noble achievements acquires you from all men who shall attaine to a right understanding of them, not only winns our reasons but our inclinations allso, and we do so highly prize the opportunitys of doing you such services as fall within the narrow compass of a strangers power that we account it as an instance of your kindness that you are pleased to impart your mind, which we receive with all the resentments of a passion that must ever be pressing ourselves.

My Lord,
Your Highnesses most humble
most obedient servant,
WILLIAM LANHORN."[2]

1. F. R, Fort St. George, Vol. 27. P. 13. 25th May 1677.
2. F. R, Fort St, George, Vol. 27. P. 25. 19th June 1677.

14. More presents for Shivaji

On 9th May Shivaji is spoken of as making new intrigues with the Sultan of Golconda[1]. This friendship was continued after this date as is shown in the Madras Consultation. The English Government of Madras sent further presents to Shivaji who was laying siege to Vellore.

"The Agent having received another letter from Sevagee Maha Ragia of the 25th May last from his Leaguer at Raja Vealour wherein he thankfully accepts of the present of Cordials and Counterpoisons sent him as Per Consultation of the 14th May, and desires a further supply of the same, and other sorts, assuring us of his friendship, and offering the price for them, it is resolved to be for the service of the Honourable Company that we gratify his request, and having used diligence and procured the following particulars to the vallue of Pagodas 52: 21: 05—that we send them unto him by our Camp Bramany Ramana with a civill letter as in the Golconda Register, not requiring the money but making a present of them, his power encreasing and he exercising so much authority in the King of Golcondas Country, that he sends all about to receive the Kings rents by his own people, and punishing the Avaldars and great men of the country at his pleasure."[2]

Shivaji Maharaja.

Shivaji offers price for presents.

Shivaji's power in Golcondah country.

On 9th July 1678, the Madras Government says that "little action hath passed between the armies of the king of Golcondah and Sevagi."

The Madras Couucil, in a letter dated September I, 1677, which is not to be found, advise the Company that the nearness of Sevagi engageth all their attention to fortify; they describe

1. D. and Con. Book 1672-78. P. 114.

2. Rec. of Fort St. George. D. and Con. Book, 1672-1678. 18th June 1677. P. 115.

his force and success, and had till then received three messengers from him with letters[1].

15. Gingee-the city of forts

The deserted city of Gingee has three lofty castles crowning its lowering masses of rock, while Rajagiri - the King of Hills-is the most formidable and oldest of these three resting upon an almost perpendicular rock about 800 feet high. Even the ruins of this ancient city hemmed in by rugged mountains, a wide moat, and walls some 60 feet thick, give a romantic and strangely beautiful appearance. It has been variously named Chingi (the Tamil word for hill), Changi, Chandi, Chindi, Jinji, Chyagy, Gynji, and even Tanji. In Sanskrit, it is known as Krishnapuri, while Aurangzeb named it Nasratgarh-the Fort of Victory.

At the end of the 16th century F. Pimenta described Gingee as 'the greatest[2] city we have seen in India, and bigger than any in Portugal, Lisbon excepted.' Then Father du Jarric confirmed the statement. "It is the largest and widest city in the whole of India. The fort stands in the middle, being itself like the town surrounded by high walls of hewn stones and a ditch full of water. Within the fortress stands a steep hill, which nature has made secure and art impregnable[3]."

16. The fall of Gingee

The impregnable forts of Gingee fell like ripe fruits into the hands of Shivaji (about 13th May). Manucci says that the conqueror took the great fortress by his valour, and determination. Father Friere remarks that Shivaji fell like a thunderbolt upon the formidable fort and carried it at the first assault.

"As I have told you in my last letter, the Nayak of Madura was preparing for a war with Ekoji, the old captain of Idal Khan, now independent master of Tanjore and a part of Gingi. Meanwhile it was reported that Sabagi (Shivaji), the elder brother of Ekoji, in revolt against his sovereign for some time, had seized

Shivaji falls on Jinji like a thunder-bolt.

1. Orme's Frag. LXXXIV.
2. Purchas His Pilgrims. 205-222.
3. Indian Ant. Vol. xiv. P. 41.

several provinces of Bisnagar and advanced at the head of a strong army. This news appeared incredible; how to believe that Sabagi could traverse a distance of several hundreds of leagues through (the country of) the warlike people of the Dakhan and Golkonda to carry war into our country? While the probability of this rumour was argued about, Sabagi solved the question by falling, like a thunderbolt, on the citadel of Ginge, which he took at the first assault. He owed this easy success to the division which prevailed, and to the numerous communications which he had carefully conducted with the Muhammadans."[1]

However, F. Martin suggests that the fort was voluntarily given over by its Governor, Nasir Muhammad, as he had entered into a secret treaty with Golconda for its cession. He did not alter the terms for giving up the fort to Shivaji.

"Nasirmamet, who only sought the means of preventing Chircam from rendering himself the master of Gingy, did not make any alteration to the terms and got ready to receive Sivagy to whom he sent ambassadors as soon as he learnt that he was in Carnate. Meanwhile the news of the march of this army and its approach put everyone in the country in confusion and each retired to the place where he believed to find himself safe."[2]

The fort ...luntarily g... n up to Shiv...ji.

17. Battle of Tiruvadi in June 1677

The treachery and pussilanimity of Nasir Muhammed did not daunt Sher Khan Lodi, the Pathan governor of the southern part of the Karnatic. He boldly advanced to stem the tide of the Maratha invasion and awaited their approach at Trimal or Tiruvadi, near Cuddalore.[3]

Martin, the French Governor of Pondichery, has left a detailed account of the fortunes of Sher Khan. It is said that after the fall of Gingee, the troops of Shivaji ravaged the country everywhere. They were masters of the open plains, and there

1. La Mission Du Madure III. P. 281-2.

2. Sen's F. Biographies, p. 264. The Bakhars have propounded the same view. Chitnis 138; sabh. 90; Dig· 304-5.

3. He was, however, routed, and captured alive. A vast booty consisting of money, jewels, horses and elephants fell into the hands of the victors. Sabhasad.

remained nothing but the fortresses that held out for Sher Khan; however, their garrisons dared not come out. On the 26th of June at the arrival of Maratha troops, Sher Khan advanced against them on the battlefield of Tiruvadi.

Flight of Sher Khan from Tiruvadi.

"Shivaji's army did not swerve in the least, it awaited the shock. Chircam recognised thereby that he had taken a false step, the posture of his enemies astounded him, he decided to make a retreat. Sivagy, who understood (the science) of war perceived his (Chircam's) surprise, he made his troops march, the retreat was precipitated and converted into a kind of flight, the enemies pushed on and then all were scattered. Chircam fled with his son and some of his principal officers at full speed. Sivagy, who knew well that to take him prisoner was to finish the war, pursued him in the same manner." [1]

Sher Khan, being hotly pursued, threw himself into the wretched fortress of Bhuvangiripattanam near Porto Novo. In the meantime the garrisons of Valdour, Tevenapatnam and other fortresses evacuated them for fear of Shivaji, so that all these fell into the hands of the conqueror[2] without striking a blow. Martin says that so sudden a revolution had never been witnessed before and but for instances of revolutions in Europe, it would not be believed. Sher Khan, following the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour, surrendered the fort of Bhuvangiri, and entered into treaty with Shivaji. By this he ceded all territories to the Raja, promisad to pay an indemnity of 20,000 pagodas, left his son as a hostage for the fulfilment of the terms, and retired into the woods of Arelour. It was only in February 1678 that the Khan could with utmost difficulty raise the sum to be paid to Shivaji. He thus got his son released and then he retired to the court of the Nayak of Madura.

1, 2. Sen's Shivaji F. Biographies, Pp. 289, 276-97, 306.

18. Struggle after the battle

The English envoy, Brahmany Wordaps wrote in his letter of 27th June, an account of the struggle that Sher Khan put up against the triumphant Maratha forces in the woods of Arelour.

" The 26 current Seir Cawn being at Trivady about night, he intending to runn away about Tevenepatam, Sevagee Rajas people having notice thereof, some of his horse followed after him, and there being Ackalanagues (Akal Nayak's) wood in the way, Seir Cawn went into it, where the said horse followed him allso; 500 of Seir Cawns horse stood and fought with Sevagees people the same night for some two howers time, and when the moon was allmost downe, Seir Cawn runn away with some of his horse and ellephants southward to the said wood. Sevagees horse followed after him againe and he himself hath setled his army one league southward of Tevenapatam, his people having taken in said Ackalanauge wood belonging to Seir Cawn, 250 horse, 20 camells, severall exen, tents, great drums, &c. Their horses that followed after Seir Cawn are not as yet returned. His father-in-law remains at Trivady. He has not as yet delivered up the fort. Sevagee has left there Babbo Saib, some horse, Savarumwar and some of Nasir Mahomed Cawnes horse; as for other matters, I refer you to our Pattamar Brameny Yengana. Since I write you the above said, the said horsemen that followed Seer Cawn have brought with them 200 horse and two elephants belonging to Seer Cawn, so that they have now taken some 500 horse in all and Seer Cawn is now runn away with 100 horse to the town called Bonaguiry (Bhuvangiri) where Sevagee Rajas horse are gone thither allso."[1]

Sher Khan expelled from Akal Nayak's wood.

Tiruvadi fort holds out.

Sher Khan. takes shelter in Bhuvangiri

" After I had taken my leave of your Worship, I was coming towards Valigundapuram, and hearing that his Highness Sevagee Raja followed after Sier Cawn by Punamule way I went thither allso, and whereas Sevagee Raja went directly to the place called Bonaguirypatam, I went thither to him, where I delivered him the

Shivaji at Bhuvangiri gets presents from Madras

1. F. R. Fort. St. George, Vol. 27. P. 16. 27th June 1677.

counter poysons your wors. sent him, was very glad when he saw them and presently sent for the former Maldivo coconutts you sent and had it compared with this your worshipp sent him now, which finding to be very good, was highly pleased with it, concerning which and of some other passages hereabouts I have sent to acquaint your Worshipp by our pattamar Brameny Kishna by word of mouth.

Shivaji's camp at Tirumalvadi.

His Highness Sevagee Raja has now setled his army by the bank of Coloron river at a towne called Tirumada Wada where I am allso at present. The three yards of scarlet your Worsp. sent I have presented the same Sovagee Nague, I shall after this give you notice allsoe of the broadcloth I brought.

An envoy from Madura waits upon Shivaji.

Here came an Higyb from the Nague of Madure; to whom his Highness Sevagee Raja spake that his master bore a signe of being worth 900 lacks, whereof he should give him for the present 100 lacks for his expences, to which the said Higyb answered that part of his masters country the Nague of Misur had taken, and part Yekagee, wherefore he was not able to give any thing at present, and that if he would restore him back the said country, he will give seaven lacks. These are the news at present here. The Nague of Madure has sent all his family away to Madure from Chertanapelle (Trichanapallee) where they were before, and while the river of Colorun remaines full they feare notheing, but afterwards God knows what will be done." [1]

The Dagh-Register records the following in its diary of 2nd October 1677.

Shivaji's victory over Sherkhan.

"He did this very soon and drove out the powerful governor Sierchan Loddy (at whose hands the Company had suffered much wrong, on account of his assisting the French in the siege of St. Thome, and later in making difficulties for us in starting trade at and around Tegenapatam). Having lost all, he escaped in the

1. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 27. Pp. 17-18. 16th July 1677.

jungle of Aria[1] (Arelour), where he was easily captured by Siwagie. The latter is now with his army in the country of Maysoer, not far from the capitals of the princes of Madure and Tansjour, from which places he threatens the whole of Visiapour. People are of opinion that he will now make himself Master (of the country), for the Golconda authorities, on the whole, will not do other than what he wants, but try to satisfy him only with pretty words. He had already a quarrel with his brother Egosia Ragia (the present ruler of the Province of Tansjour) over the estates left by their father Sahasy, so that he took possession of those lands for himself.

Shivaji's quarrel with his brother.

"But in all these matters the said Siwasi conducted himself in a very polite and friendly manner toward the Company as also toward our residents in Golconda. Later he promised our representative in Tegenapatam to promote the trade of our Company in all possible ways, which is also shown by the grant of some cauls." [2]

Shivaji's troops occupied Tegenepatam on 11th July, and the commander of the troops paid a visit to the Dutch who were near the place. They sent very large presents to Shivaji for securing a Firman for trade in his new dominions.

"They were well received by Sivagy just as their presents, but afterwards a sum of 25 to 30 thousand ecus was demanded of them upon the sole pretext that it was needed, the envoys excused themselves and replied that it was necessary to write to their masters. They were detained in the camp for two or three months to their great expense, and, they only extricated themselves by paying serveral thousands of pagodes, which they had to give, (but) of which the ministers had the best part."[3]

Forced contribution from the Tegnepatam Dutch.

The Dutch were apprehensive of the loss of trade even in Negapatam.

1. Ariyalur, a village 15 miles south-east of Wali-gandapuram.
2. Dagh-R. 1677. 2nd October 1677. P. 319.
3. Sen's F. Biographies, Pp. 299, 307-10, 325.

The Diary of 4th Nov, 1677, refers to the scarcity of yarn and the rise in the prices of cotton goods on the Coromandel coast owing to Siwaji's wars[1].

Shivaji captures northern Tanjore.

"Siwagie had taken possession not only of the greater part of Visiapour, but also of Northern Tansjour, and seemed to be threatening his half-brother Egosia Ragia with war. Thus one could not count on the continuance in power of the present ruler of Negapatam.

The great hope that had been entertained of obtaining concessions for (*lit.* freedom of) the Company's trade at Tegnapatam from the new Prince Siwagie, has again vanished. No confirmation of the old firman has yet been received." [2]

19. Shivaji's quarrel with his brother Vyankoji.

Shivaji sent a letter to his brother Vyankoji from his camp on the Coleroon, inviting some of his ministers for an interview with him for an amicable settlement of his claim to their father's inheritance. Thereupon Vyankoji promptly sent some principal men of his court to the camp of Shivaji where they were well received. During his interview with them, he reasoned out his case for a share in his father's estate and requested them to persuade his brother to agree to his demand. They returned with Shivaji's representatives to Tanjore and placed his views before their master. But Vyankoji, being ill advised by his Moslem courtiers and the Nayaks of Madura and Mysore, declined to part with any territory.

Soon the diplomacy of Raghunath Pant turned the scales against Vyankoji. He so intimidated the Nayak of Madura as to oblige him to renounce the cause of Vyankoji and give a large tribute to Shivaji. The Nayak of Mysore too was cowed down. Having been left by his allies, Vyankoji with a small retinue, personally came to Shivaji's camp for an interview. Great rejoicings took place. The two brothers entertained each other as

1. Dagh-R. 1677. P. 382. 4th Nov. 1677.
2. " " " " 387. 9th Nov. 1677.

guests, and they exchanged immense presents. For eight days[1] they were together. Then, we are told by a Maratha chronicler that in an interview, Shivaji asked his brother to hand him over the insignia of honour[2] belonging to Shahji, but Ekoji declined to part with them.

Here Sabhasad would have us believe that Ekoji's officers played upon his fears regarding the imminence of his confinement and made him run away at night. On the next day, Shivaji instead of confining the Tanjore officials, sent them away with presents.

Francois Martin who was in constant communication with the belligerent armies, confirms the account of the Sabhasad Bakhar. Ekoji discovered that his brother would not let him go, unless he had satisfied him about his claim. Hence he contrived to escape from the camp.

"I have already remarked that Sivagy had some claim against Ecugy, his brother by his father, with respect to the succession to the deceased. Ecugy had in his possession one third of the lands of Gingy which their common parent Sagimagro (Shahji Maharaja) held on his part. There were also his personal property and valuable effects. Sivagy demanded his share of these goods. He had written several times to Ecugy to come and meet him, and that they would settle the matter between them, the latter recoiled, at last after having taken, according to his idea, all possible securities from his brother by some oaths, customary among them, but which were not inviolable to those who cared more for their interest than for religion. Ecugy crossed the river Coleroon and came to see Sivagy. The first conversations gave evidence of amity and tenderness only, then it came to the negotiation when Ecugy discovered that his brother would not let him go unless he had satisfied him about his claims. He also used his cunning and

1. Sabh. 90. Sh. Dig. (310) says that Vyankoji stayed on for 2 or 2½ months. It is evidently wrong.

2. However, Shivaji's demand was not limited to the insignia of honour, but extended to sharing half the territories and wealth left by Shahji.

while he offered friendly words, he sought some means of withdrawing himself from such a bad strait, he succeeded therein one night; he had a *cattamaron* kept ready for him on the banks of the Couleron under pretext of necessity, for he was watched. He approached the banks of the river, threw himself into the *cattamaron* and crossed to the other side which was his country and where he had some troops. On receipt of the information which was given to Sivagy he caused Ecugy's men who were in his camp to be arrested, among them (was) one Jagarnatpendit (Jagannath Pandit), a Bramen who commanded the troops of his (Sivagy's) brother, a man of courage and ability. The brothers did not meet again since; however, Sivagy took possession of a part of the lands of Gingy which belonged to Ecugy, but it would have cost him more if he had remained in the camp."[1]

Several contemporary accounts of the interview of the two brothers are now available. Father Friere unjustly represents Shivaji as a selfish usurper who treacherously imprisoned his brother Vyankoji, and after the latter's miraculous escape from custody annexed his dominions north of the Coleroon. "The traitor seizes his brother and puts him in chains to extort from him all the treasures he had gathered from the exploitation of the Kingdom of Tanjore."[2] These hearsay accounts are contradicted by the letter of Shivaji which he addressed to Vyankoji himself. Therein all the details of Shivaji's expedition, of the interview of the brothers and the success which attended the conqueror's arms, are mentioned. Some passages directly bearing on the controversial points are given below.

"So for thirteen years you yourself enjoyed the half which was my share. As for demanding that share from you, I was far away. I waited for thirteen years because I knew that you are not a man to yield it without making trouble.....Then we two met each other. Then in many ways did I say to you, "Give me my share." But you would not even entertain the thought of yielding it. Then it became necessary (to take harsh measures).

1. Sen's Shivaji F. B. Pp. 302-4.
2. History of the Nayaks of Madura, 282.

But that you, being a younger brother, should of yourself come to see me, and that I should then seize you and demand my share- this was not a thing befitting my position and reputation. So I gave you leave to go to Tanjore. You went to Tanjore. Thereupon I thought " It is not good to promote internal discord; by doing that, of old, the Pandavas and the Kauravas came to much grief"; remembering that whole story of the Mahabharata, and knowing well that internal discord would lead both parties to grief, I again told you in various ways through Shamji Naik, and Konheripant, and Shivaji Shankar: " Let us make a division and take our respective shares, and live with good will towards each other." But you, like Duryodhana, intended evil, and were determined not to come to any arrangement, but to fight.....Now, some places I have already taken. Others, which are still in your hands, viz., Arni, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskot, and other minor places, and Tanjore, should be handed over to our men; and of the cash, jewellery, elephants, and horses, half should be given to me as my share. You will be wise to make such arrangement with me. If you do so with a clean mind, I shall give you a jagir of 3 lacks of hons in the district of Panhala, this side of the Tungabhadra, to be held under myself. Or if you do not like to hold a jagir under me, I shall make an application to the Kutubshah and procure for you a jagir of three lakhs under him. Both alternatives I have suggested to you. One of them you should consider and accept. Do not leave it to be decided by obstinacy. There is no reason why we should quarrel between ourselves and come to grief."

A letter written by Nellor Ramana, the Brahmin agent of the English sent to the camp of Shivaji to hand over the presents from his masters, contains an account of the interview between the two brothers. It bears out the version of the Bakhars and Shivaji's own statement.

" Whereas Raganatapuntula (Raghunath Pant) came lately from Sevagee Rajas country with 400 horse, the said Raja (of Madura) went out to meet him and brought him to his tent and

gave him Tashrifs and kept him by him for two days, after which he sent (him) along with Madure Nagues Higyb to goe and agree with the said Nague and to make an end of business.

A Brameny called Madanapantulo belonging to Gulconda's people has sent for me and told me that we doe belong to Gulconda and that we are merchants, what had wee to doe to remain here since Seavogee Raja had allready sent your Worsp. his tashrife for the things you had sent him, and that when he wrote up to Golcunda of diverse people Higybs being here, he received order from thence not to suffer too many Higybs to remaine here, and since I have no order from your Worsp. to retire myself from hence, I did then put him off, saying that I would goe away shortly, concerning which your Worsp. would be pleased to enorder me.

Since Ragunathapontulo (Raghunath Pant) hath been with the Nague of Madure, he agreed with him to pay unto his master 6 lac of pardoas and his said master to retire back with his army, on which account the said Nagues Higyb had brought with him 1½ lack of pardoas and paid Sevagee Raja, after which here came Yeckogee Raja with 2000 horse to Trimalawada to visit his brother whe went to meet him as far as the town called Terupatora, after whose arrival Sevagee Raja sent him a message saying that he will allow him one quarter part of all the mony, horses, jewells and country to himself which his father had got while he lived, and that he would have the other 3 parts[1]. To which he answered that he could not give his consent thereunto, upon which Sevagee waxed very angry and had him begone, who presently went away with 5 horses and presently after it Sevagee Raja apprehended Jagornutt[2] pantulo, Savogee pantulo, Cenery

1. Sarkar says that Shivaji demanded three-fourths of the estate, but this hearsay version should not be preferred to the statement of Shivaji himself. Vide P. 245. Chitnis 139; Sh. Dig. 306; Rairi 20, 21.

2. Sabhasad (89) gives the names of Jagannath Pant, Konher Mahadeva Mujumdar, and Kakaji Pant Peshwa. Chitnis (139) adds Niloba Naik, Rangoba Naik, Timbaji Ikhtyar Rao, Govind Pant Gosavi. In Chitnis (140) Konher Mahadeva is called Koneri Pant which is the same as given in the above letter. Savogee is Shamji Pant. Chitnis (140) P. 247 *supra*.

pandulo and a merchant called Nilogee Nague, who doth also intend to send Janardo Pantulo (Janardhan Pant) to take possession of Yeckogees country." [1]

Vyankoji declined to cede to Shivaji even a small part of the territory. The Raja thought it improper to invade Tanjore and, forcibly oust his brother from his newly acquired kingdom. However, he took possession of all the estates which had been inherited by Vyankoji from Shahji and which, being situated north of the Coleroon, were lying defenceless.

20. Shivaji's conquest of the Karnatic

A Bombay letter of 20 and 28th August 1677 mentions the places conquered by Shivaji by that time. He had reduced Jinji, Pelgondah and others, had thoroughly plundered Shrirangpatam, and had also captured part of the kingdom of Tanjore.

" Sevajy is at present in the upper Carnatick, where he hath taken the strong Castles of Chengy, Chengavor, Pilcundah, and severall others, and shamefully routed the Moors and 'tis believed has robbed Seringpatam and carried away great riches from thence, and they say he designes upon his returne back to take and soe join Canara to his new conquest. When he comes back, wee shall endeavour to procure his Cole upon his Generalls that may be sent to the northward; in the mean time wee have sent to More Pundit (Moro Pant) and Anagy Pundit (Annaji Pant or Annaji Datto Surnis) who govern in the Rajahs absence to get their Cole for Surat and the adjacent places." [2]

21. Terror of Shivaji's name

" Sewagee this yeare hath had great successe in the upper Carnatick, having possest himself of the two strong Castles of Chyngy (Jinji) and Chyngyoor (Tanjore) the residence and Court of the Vizaps-Vice Roys in those parts, and plundered the

1. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 27. Pp. 18-19. A letter from Bramaney Nellor Ramana from Walligundapuram to Sir Wm. Langhorne, dated 27th July, 1677.

2. Orme (LXXXIII) dates this letter as 24th Aug, but in Forrest's H. Series, Vol. I. the dates are 20th, 28th August 1677. P. 135.

famous Citty of Seringapatam (Shrirangpatam) where he found innumerable riches, and still continues thereabouts receiving tribute from the petty Rajahs who submitt to him, and chastizing those that refuse to pay him contribution: the Moores leaving their Fortresses and Strongholds, upon any rumour of his approach, and such is the great success that attends his Armys, that it is credibly believed he will shortly extend his dominions from nere Surat to Cape Comorine, without encountering any considerable opposition to confront him; your Agent and Councill at Fort St. George advice that some of his forces have been hovering thereabouts, and from him here wee expect an alarum shortly. But hope as hitherto the Almighty will continue his providentiall hand over your honours affaires, to whose blessed protection wee commend you, and with all submissiveness subscribe.[1]

Shivaji's Empire from Surat to Cape Comorin.

Your Honours most humble and
faithfull servants,
Charles James, Cesar Chamberlan, John Child."

22. Consolidation of the conquest

From Shrirangpatam and Kolar Shivaji returned to the coast by the end of September and sent a letter to the Governor of Madras to supply him with engineers for building new forts.

Shivaji Raja's letter to Sir Wm. Langhorne.

" Since my arrival into the Cornat country I have conquered severall Forts and Castles, and do allso intend to build new workes in severall Ports and Castles. You may likely have with you such men as knowe how to make great carryages for gunns and how to contrive mines. We have need of such men at present, especially those that knowes how to make mines and to blow up stone walls. I had such men with me, who came from towards Goa and Vingorla and are all kept employed in severall of my Forts and Castles; and when I enquired of them for more such men, they tould me they were all gone for Chinapatam and

1. B. P. Unav VII. P. 58. Surat Letter to London. 31st October 1677.

Polliacat, wherefore I now write to your Worshipp about them that you may please to enquire if there be any such men with you that knowe how to make mines, you would be pleased to send some 20 or 25 or a(t) least 10 or 5 such men, for I shall pay them very well and shall entertaine them in severall of my forts and castles, wherewith I shall also acknowledge your Worshipps kindness towards us, so you would by all means enquire about the said men and to send them hither as many as you can gett."[1]

Shivaji asks for engineers.

"Sevagee Rajia having sent the Agent a letter of 22nd September last by two of his spys, desiring us to supply him with Ingeniers, to which was returned him a civill excuse, it being wholly unfit for us to medle in it, there being many dangers consequent thereon, as well of encreasing his power, as of rendering both Golconda and the Mogull our Enemys, all these parts being spread with his Spyes and himself and army, now come nearer this way, within two dayes march of this Place. It is resolved to be indispensably necessary for the safety of this place, and all therein, that we go on entertaining all the Christians that we can meet with into the Garrison as far as to compleat the number of 250 effective for the present, as also that we hasten the bringing in of lime, brick and stone, for the carrying on of the new Caldera Point, and building of the Curtain from thence to the Fishers Point Northward; as also from the Round Point, alias Charles's Point to St. Thomas Point Southward, both according to the modell of that part allready begun at the said Charles's Point as allready resolved on in Consultation of 13th August last, and now the more urgent in regard that the Curtain from the Gate by Sir Edward Winters, to the Choultry Gate towards the Bazar having leaned upon Buttresses for these seaven or Eight yeares in a tottering condition, is now fallen down the 2nd of this month after a great rayn, which it stands us upon to get up again as soon as we can to prevent any design of so evill a neighbour as Sevagee and other obstructions from the Divan, to the end that when we shall have materialls in

Defensive measures.

View of Madras.

1. F. R. Fort St. George, Vol. 27, P. 23. 22nd September 1677.

readyness to carry on the said Curtain, it may stand good and joyne with the rest, and be so much money in part, well spent, leaving combings for the well joyning of the walls eech way[1]."

He regarded his Karnatic conquests as permanent additions to his empire, and consequently took steps for introducing the civil and military administration already adopted in his kingdom.

The number of Brahmins who had followed Shivaji for trying to get some employment, was something amazing, as they were more than twenty thousand. Capable men from amongst them were sent to the villages for governing them. Similarly, the majority of the officers of the king of Golconda, who had followed Shivaji, enlisted themselves in his service. Some of these were local men and others were from Golconda itself. It was with the help of such experienced men that Maratha administration was to be carried on in the Karnatic.

In the midst of all the cares of war, he busied himself with indefatiguable energy in making improvements in the country brought under his way. He cut down forests, established new villages, constructed roads to maintain communications with his capital in the Konkan, destroyed highway robbers, surrounded exposed cities with fortifications, demolished useless castles, and encouraged industry and agriculture[2].

The means adopted by Shivaji for strengthening the defences of the newly conquered country, reveal him to be a real builder of an empire. Friere, a Jesuit Missionary records the following evidence.

"Making his conquests secure, Santogi rejoined his brother,[3] (who was) occupied with the siege of Vellore, once the capital of Bisnagar. After a year of investment, Sabagi made himself master of it, and thereby become sovereign of a large part of the kingdom

1. F. R. Fort St. George, Vol. I. P. 17. 3rd October 1677.

2. Martin's Mem. in Sen's Shivaji F. B. 297, 299,. Sh. Dig. 335.

3. Instead of 'brother,' it should be "brother's forces," as Shivaji had left for the north. Nelson (P. 200) has made the same mistake.

as he was already (master) of Gingi. He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend himself against the Moghul power which has been irresistible till now. With this pre-vision, he applied all the energy of his mind, and all the resources of his dominion to the fortification of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Gingi, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins, and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied. He did as much for the other citadels, whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those which he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plains and hills, and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years."[1]

23. Shivaji compared to Cæsar

The Bombay letter of 16/26 January 1678, is important as it compares Shivaji to the famous Roman conqueror Cæsar. The celerity of his operations was so remarkable in the whole of this campaign as in others that he could have justly boasted like Cæsar by exclaiming 'Vini, Vidi, Vici-I come, I saw, I conquered.' Hence it is asserted that Shivaji was not less dexterous than Alexander the Great, and that he used to call his men Birds. Marathas have been called winged men by Mr. Gary.

"Sevagee Raja carried on by an ambitious desire to be famed a mighty Conqueror, left Rairi, his strongest hold in the kingdom of Cuncan (Konkan), at the latter end of the last faire Montzoone (Monsoon) and marched with his army consisting of 20,000 Horse and 40,000 foote into Carnaticke, where the Fetingas have two of the strongest holds in these Parts, called Chindi (Jinji), Chindawar (Tanjore), where many Merchants are considerable inhabitants, and with a Successe as happy as Caesars in Spaine, he came, saw, and overcame, and reported so vast a Treasure in Gold, Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies and wrought Corall, that have strengthened his Armes with very able Sinews to prosecute his further victorious designs.

Shivaji, the Indian Alexander

"He is at present before Banca Pore,[2] two other very strong

1. La Mission du Madura III, P. 283.
2. Bancapur is only one place and not two forts.

Ghurrs (Gads) or Rocks, which soe soon as he hath Taken in (being noe lesse dexterous thereat, than Alexander the Great was, for the agility of his winged men (himselfe terming them birds) he tooke in lesse than 8 months time from the Mogull, which he had delivered up to his then Generall Rajah Jessing 23 inaccessible ones) resolves against Vijapore, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Deccan propinque to them; and being become Master thereof, has vowed to his Pagod (i. e., Goddess Bhawani), never to sheathe his sword till he has reached Dilly, and shutt up Orangsha in it. Mora Pant, one of his Generalls, hath alsoe of late plundered Trumbeck Nasserk, and other considerable places within the Mogalls Territorys which hath added much to his Treasure." [1]

Marathas called winged men.

Shivaji's intention to conquer Bijapur and Delhi.

Conquests of Moro Pant.

24. Shivaji, the Indian Hannibal and second Sertorius

It has been seen that the king of Golconda was coerced by the allied armies of Bijapur and the Moguls to make peace with them against Shivaji. The news of the treaty was conveyed in a letter of 12th February 1678 from Golconda.

"*A letter from Golconda advising of the peace made there.* Received a letter from our Bramany Egip (Hajib) at Golconda advising of the peace that was made between the King of Golcondah and the Visapore forces, the contents whereof is in the Coppy booke of letters. The Bamans that brought the letter say, that 'tis generally reported the Kings Army will in short time march toward Chengy to retake it from Sevagee." [2]

The next letter compares Shivaji to Hannibal and brings to light the master stroke of policy which the Founder of the Maratha Empire followed in the last days of his life. He aided Bijapur against the Moguls and created a diversion by raiding the Mogul territories. His assistance alone saved Bijapur from being conquered by the Mogul armies in 1678-9.

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. VII. P. 70. O. C. 4304. Bombay to London by H. Gary. 16th, 26th Jan. 1678.

2. F. R. F. St. George. Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9.P, 14. 12th February 1677-8.

"From Rajapure I lately received letters that advises of Nabab Bullellckaun's death who departed this life in a Castle whilst it was beseidged by the Deccanies, not long before he closed up his eyes, hee put his two sons in the tuition of Serja Ckaun who gladly seemed to accept them, forgetting all differences formerly between him and theire Father.[1] Soe soone as hee was interred and newes thereof brought to Vijapore, Jemshett Ckaun deliver up the Castle and Cittye into the hands of Siddy Mussud who in Company with Serja Ckaun and Delil Ckaun the great Mogull's Generall intends to march against Savagee with 80,000 horse with resolution to destroy him utterly. But tis too well knowne that Sevagee is a second Sertorius and comes not short of Hannibal for stratagems. And noe longer than this very day arrived newes from the Lascarr or Army that the King of Golconda, Deccanies and Sevagee have very lately made a confederacy against the Mogull and are now resolved to beat Delil Ckaun out of Deccan, Sevagee haveing gotten 10,000 horse togeather to come."

Bahlol's death.

Triple alliance against Shivaji.

Shivaji and Annibal.

25. The siege of Vellore

The fort of Vellore was at that time considered to be of unparalleled strength. It had four encircling ramparts. "On the outer wall two carts could run abreast. There was a very deep ditch all round full of flowing water and abounding in some ten thousand allegators. [2]

As this famous fort formed the last refuge of the Vijayanagar kings, they strengthened its fortifications with much care. The last monarch Shriranga was expelled from Vellore by the Sultan of Golconda about 1646. Some years after, the fort appears to have fallen into the hands of Bijapur. It was ostensibly for restoring it to the Sultan of Golconda that the latter generously assisted Shivaji. The Raja laid siege to this impregnable castle, but its brave Governor, Abdullakhan, held out for more than a

1. Confirmed by Martin whc speaks very highly of Bahlol Khan. Sen's Shivaji, 329.

2. Sabhasad 90. La Mission du Madura III, 272. Chitnis 141.

year against all assaults of the Marathas, but at last having no assistance for its relief from Bijapur, he gave it up in the third week of August 1678 into the hands of Shivaji's Generals.

" Sevagee since his dispossessing Sear Cawn and stripping his brother Eccogee of all his open territoryes on this side Coalladon (Coleroon) river, has made no further progress, Vealour and Aurney standing out, and no great probabillityes of their reduction, unless by length of time. Meanwhile Eccogee is leagueing with the Naigues of Madure and Maysore and other woodmen, and likely to find Sevagee work enough. Golcundah yet sitts still, who in this juncture might easily unroost him from his new conquests. But his Braminy Councill are perhaps afraid least so doing might bring the fire into their own house, and give Sevagee the opportunity he waits for to plunder, if he cannot possess his country."[1]

" President Langhorne and Council at Fort St. George to the Company, dated 17th February 1678.

We are now to acquaint you that Sevagee grown great and famous by his many conquests and pillagings of the Moghulls and Visapour countrys, is at length come hither with an army of 16 in 20 M. (16 to 20 thousand) horse and severall thousand of foot, raised and raising amongst the woods, being unfortunately called in by the King of Golconda or Maddana to help them to take Chengy, Vealour and Pamangoda (Pelgonda), the remainder of the sea part of the Cornatt country as farr as Porto Novo, out of the Visiapours hands, with title of Generalissimo, by which means he has gotten in a manner the possession of this country, the said King having no force to oppose him. We have twice presented him with some raritys of counter poysons, etc., by him desired, to the vallue of pagodas 112 Ind. in order to the begetting a fair correspondence with him now at first, if possible, grounding it upon the introduction of those settlements you have allready in his countrys at Rajapore and Carwar, the

Shivaji appointed commander-in-chief by Golconda.

Presents offered by the English.

1. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol 18, P. 42. 24th August 1677.

former whereof was very well taken. Of the latter we have yet no news from our Bramany who attends his motion, but more particularly upon the King of Golcondas Serlaskar Meirza Mahmud Omin and our loving friend, who has some 1000 horse and 4000 foot along with him.

A Godown plundered.

Since when we have the ill news of his pillaging a godown of your merchants at Timmery in the very country of his brother Eccogee, to the vallue of pagodas 200, which doubt we will have much adoe to recover.

Exactions from the people.

Also that he has ordered letters to be wrote to all this part of the country, the sea coast especially, to borrow monys to the amount of pagodas 200 Mille, 50 Mille whereof from Paliacat and as much from hence, which not being like to find credit, will serve him for a pretence to play his old pranks, especially now that there begins to arise jealousies between him and Golconda on his keeping Chengy and all that he getts in his own hands,

Golconda stops the subsidy.

and Golconda thereupon stopping the promised payment of pagodas 3000 per diem unless the siege of Vealour, yet holding out, and Seer Cawns opposition detain him, and his designes against the Naigues to the southward draw him that way. Meanwhile the monyd men all about the country shift out of the way as fast as they can, he having taken a minute account of all such as he passed by within 2 leagues and $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the place.....all which affords but a very unpleasing prospect..... "[1]

The capture of Vellore and the result of the war are described in an August letter from Fort St. George.

"Yesterday there came intelligence from Congee Voram (Kanchivaram) (which is the Chief Citty of these parts, and about 40 miles distance) that there was 1000 or 1500 of Sevagees Horse under the command of Santogee his Brother, which appeared before that place, whereupon the inhabitants were put into great feares, thinking the towne would be taken and plunder'd, and they reported alsoe

Santogi near Kanchivaram.

1. O. C. 4266; Sen's Shivaji F. Biographies, Pp. 472-4.

that those Horse with other forces were intended to proceed further into the King of Gulcondahs country, and to take Pullimelee Castle about 10: Miles inland from us: but this day came other persons from Congee Voram, who reported that those Horse of Sevagees about 1000: came thither in persuit of some Vizapore foot that were intended to releive and succour Veloor Castle (in Arcot), which hath been beseiged by Sevagees forces these 14 months, and those foot (after a skirmish wherein about 100 of them were killed, and about 40: or 50: of Sevagees Horse) being routed, the said Horse had pursued them soe far, and upon Podals Lingapas sending them word (that the) foot were not in that Towne but were gone into the woods, they were upon their return to Veloor. The said Castle of Veloor is now surrendered to Sevagees forces, Abdulla Ckaune, the Captain, that held it out all this time having behaved himselfe very resolutely therein but his Men from 1800: foot and 500: horse, being by the extreamity of the siege and sickness reduced to 200: foot and 100: horse, and noe supplyes sent him from Vizapore or Gulcondah he could not hold it longer, and therefore deliver'd it upon conditions to have 30000; pagodas: in mony, a small ffort and country[1] worth 30000: pagodas: Per Annum: in which if he does receive possession of it, he sayes he intends to leave his family, and goe himselfe upon a pilgrimage to Mecca. And now Sevagee by his Deputys has a full and quiett possession of all those Countrys about those two strong Castles or holds of Chenge and Veloor, which are worth 22: lack[2] of Pagodoes or 550: thousand pounds Sterling. Per Annum; at 5 sh: the pard (oe), in which he has a considerable force of Men and horse, 72: strong hills and 14 fforts, being 60 leagues long and 40 broad, soe that[3] 'twill not easily be taken from him, and

Bijapur's small force routed.

Vellore surrenders after 14 months' siege.

Extent of the conquered country.

1. The next letter states the sum to be forty thousand pagodas. Duff on the authority of a Bijapur Mss. states that Abdulla gave up the fort for a bribe of 50000 pagodas. P. 125 n. Cf. 260 infra.

2. Sabh.- 32 lakhs of pagodas worth kingdom was conquered.

3. A complete list of 79 or 80 forts of the Karnatic is given by Sabhasad. Sen's Chh. Pp. 145-8. On p. 127 Sabhasad says that one hundred new forts were constructed in that province.

this puts the people in these parts of the king of Golcondahs Kountry in great feares, that he will now reduce all this country uder his Government as he has threatened about six months goe."[1]

Manucci has plainly told that the glorious campaign in the Karnatic very much strengthened the position of Shivaji. "Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust. He therefore asked the King of Gulkandah to grant him a passage on his way to campaign in the Karnatik against certain princes who had risen against Bijapur and Gulkandah. The King of Gulkandah having consented to his passing through, he came to the Karnatik and there, by his valour and determination, he took a great fortress called Gingi (Jinji). It includes seven fortifications upon hills. There are many princes in the Karnatik, but they would not agree to a joint defence; then he, like a dexterous falcon, pounced upon them, and took many subjects of the Bijapur kingdom. By these victories he increased his strength, and subsequently was able to resist the armies of Aurangzeb."[2]

26. What became of Abdulla Khan ?

" Abdula Ckaun who hath kept the Castle of Ray Veloor against Sevagees forces, and lately surrendered it upon conditions, arrived at this place yesterday with his family and traine, to see the Sea, ships and the Towne, sending before him a civill letter to the Governor, in answear to which the Governor sent a message this day, that he was very wellcome and might take his recreation out the Towne or aboard the Ships in the Road as should best ke him; it seemes that this man, who is a Habsy (Habshi) or Abaseen, having delivered up the Castle upon conditions to receive 30,000 pagodas in money, and a country worth 40,000 pagodas per annum, he received 15,000 pagodas of the money upon his Surrender, and then Sevagees people beginning to pick quarrells and to baffle with him, he thought not good to trust himselfe near them, but marcht away into the King of Gulcondahs

Marathas pick up quarrel with *Abdulla Khan.*

1. Ft. St. George Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-79, p. 105.
2. Manucci Vol. II. P. 203.

country, telling Sevagees Officers he would leave Men to receive the money and deliver the country according to agreement, and if they would not they might choose, he mattered it not much, and soe came away and finding the Country Imbroyled with the quarrells among the Woodmen, for better Security is come hither, intending to stay here untill he receives an Invitation to some imployment in the Gulcondah or Vizapore Service worth his acceptance." [1]

Abdulla retires to Madras.

"This Morning Abdulla Ckaun departed from this place into the Country againe haveing never been within the Towne or aboard the Ships, only tooke a little recreation of fishing by the Sea side, and noe visit past between the Governor and him whilst he was here. So his being here has been noe Expence to the Honourable Company."[2]

Departure of Abdulla Khan from Madras.

According to the B. S., Abdulla Khan was bought up by Shivaji who paid him 50,000 huns for delivering the fort. The Khan had, however, the temerity to return to Bijapur and stay for some time in a suburb called Zuhrapur. When this place was plundered by the Marathas, Abdulla was permitted to stay within the fort. Masaud then saw his opportunity to bring the Khan to book for his treachery and venality. He ordered him to send to the treasury the whole sum received from Shivaji, but the treacherous lord shrewdly sought the refuge of Masaud's rival, Sharza Khan who boldly refused to hand over the culprit to the premier.[3] Thus Khan's treachery remained unpunished by the government which had been enfeebled by factions.

27. Plunder after conquest

The European evidence is unanimous on the point that the troops left in the Karnatic, resorted to pillage of serveral towns on the coast. These plundering expeditions must have brought great suffering upon the people.

1. F. R. Ft. St. George Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9. P. 119. 30th Sept. 1678.
2. " " " " " P. 120. 16th Oct. 1678.
3. Bijapur History, 336.

"Such works necessarily exhausted his treasures: he compensated himself by universal pillage in the country, whose riches were hoarded in the citadels. His orders were carried out with such rigour and barbarity that most of the inhabitants sought safety in exile. Those who could not leave their homes are still groaning under this iron yoke, which makes them forget all past evils, and sighing for the arrival of Moghuls, whom they are disposed to join to crush the new despot. Such is the state of desolation that prevails in the kingdoms of Gingi and Vellore. I do not enter into details: words fail me to tell the horrors that we are witnessing."[1]

Letter from Bramini at Golconda.

"Alsoe he advises that Sevagee had ordered his Chief men at Chengy to take fitt opportunity to plunder this place, Policat and Sadraspatam."[2]

Skirmishes of Marathas with the forces of Mysore Naik.

"By Braminys which (upon our Egib at Gulcondah his advice that Sevagee had ordered his people to keep their Men in readiness and take convenient opportunity to plunder Sadraspatanam, Madras and Policat) were sent to bring intelligence of their motions about Chengy, we understand that almost all Sevagees forces in his new Conquests, are retired from the Countrys near us toward the Measure (Mysore) Naiques country to defend his borders that way, the said Meassure Naique being very strong having given Sevagees Men one or two great overthrows and destroyed many of them. But their Custome is not to kill but to cutt off the Noses with the Upper Lips of their Enemys, for which they carry iron instruments wherewith they doe it very dexterously, and carry away all the noses and lips they despoyle their Enemys of, for which they are rewarded by the Naique (of Mysore) according to the number, and the reward is the greater if the beard appeare upon the upper lipp.

Strange method of Warfare.

This way of Warfare is very terrible to all that those people engage with, soe that none care to meddle with them, they being alsoe a Resolute people and have destroyed many that have attempted them, for

1. La Mission du Madure III. P. 272-3.
2. F. R. F. St. George. Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9. P. 145, 2nd Dec. 1678.

they kill them not outright yet they dye by lingering deaths if they make not themselves away sooner, as for the most part they doe that are soe wounded, the shame and dishonour of it being esteemed greater than the paine and difficulty of subsisting." [1]

28. Return home

Aurangzeb was highly mortified at the news of the brilliant victories of Shivaji in the Karnatic and he pressed his new General, Diler Khan, to undertake vigorous operations in the Maratha dominion. The Moghul war against Golconda was coming to an end, and the peace was to be a menace to the Raja. Shivaji entrusted the work of reducing Tanjore and Vellore to his trusty generals, and hastened back for the defence of his realm. Martin writes that the Karnatic princes were too much intimidated by the mere name of Shivaji to unite against him and were very slow to lead an allied army against him. In fact, Shivaji was so secret in his plans that long after he had left the South, many people believed that he was still in the province.

"His name alone struck his enemies with terror. We were assured that Sivagy had retired, ever conquering and capturing places while making his way, the princes of those parts had good game for the present. Ecugy also asked others to unite with him. He had even taken the field with his troops. The fortune of Sivagy prevailed over all, the other chiefs were very much confident of preserving their estates." [2]

On his way back, he swooped down upon the defenceless portions of Vyankoji's estate and of the Bijapur state. He captured Kolar, Balapur, Uskota, and Sira with all their forts and open country, dispossessed many Polygars of their Jagirs, restored those who agreed to pay tribute to him, made arrangements for the administration of this territory, and for the building of many new forts (Chitnis 141). In October he besieged Bankapur,

1. F.R.F. St. George. Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9. P. 153. 2nd Jan. 1679.
2. Sen's Shivaji F. Biographies. P. 313.

captured Kopal, and plundered Gadak and Lakhameshwar[1]. After several campaigns even the last two places were captured.

"The longing desire that I had to hear news from Carwar made me trespass on your good nature in opening the enclosed wherein I find what I expected, which is the utter destruction of our Deccan trade, Sevagees forces having beseiged Bunckapore aud robbed Gudduck and Luckmiseer, the places where wee use to provide such goods that I am afraid Carwar factory will be in as badd condition as Rajapore."[2]

Shivaji at Bankapur, Gadak and Luckamishwar.

29. Malbai of Belvadi

Malbai,[3] the amazonian Desain of Belvadi near Sampgaon in Belgaum, plundered the transport bullocks of the Maratha army and hence she was besieged in her fort. She heroically defended it for a long time. According to Sh. Dig., her husband, Isha Prabhu, put up a heroic defence of Belvadi, but after a time he was killed. His death did not intimidate the survivors, but put a new spirit into them through his fearless wife. The protraction of the siege was interpreted as Shivaji's defeat in the letter of 28th February, 1678.

"He (Shivaji) is at present, beseiging a fort where by relacon of their owne people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace than even he did from all power of the Mogull or Decans; he who hath conquered so many kingdomes is not able to reduce this woman Desy: soe that from the Nabob's (Bahlol Khan's) death, the joyned strength of the Decans, and his low ebb of fortune, it is gathered that these countrys will not come to a prosperous trade,

Shivaji's failure at Belvadi.

1. Chitra G. (118) and Chitnis (142) say that Kopal, Gadak and Lakkameshwar were captured and their Desai Khan Gauda ran away.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 27. Bombay 29th Oct. 1677. Prof. Sarkar ignores this letter from Bombay by H. Oxinden and hence writes that Bankapur was threatened in the middle of January, 1678. Shivaji is said to be at Bankapur in Jan. It is probable that the siege might have continued for several months, as the besieging force was very small.

3. Chitnis (142) gives the name of Malbai, Sh. Dig. as Savitribai, and Chitragupta (118) as Lalbai. Chitnis says that she defended the fort for twenty-seven days, thereafter she was captured, but was released and given a small estate.

since Savagee and the Nabob were the whole fomentors of the forepassed troubles.'[1]

It is said that Shivaji captured the fort, took prisoner the heroic amazon and punished her. This version of Sabhasad and Shedgaonkar is, however, contradicted by other sources. It was Sakhuji Gaekwad who meted out such an unchivalrous treatment to the heroic lady. Shivaji punished the commander for his misconduct. The lady was honoured with robes and granted an inam land for maintenance.[2]

Then Shivaji marched to Panhala,[3] though Jedhe tells us that the Raja returned to Raigarh. Chitnis shows that there is truth in Jedhe's statement. The Raja first went to Panhala, thence to Satara for paying his respects to Swami Ramadas, then to Pratapgad for worshipping the Goddess Bhawani and thence he proceeded to Rairi, [redacted].

The war with the Moguls on Shivaji's return from Karnatic.

"Sevagee is long since returned home, to his old country where, we hear he hath had many encounters with the Moghuls forces under Dillell Chaune: the country which he hath taken in these parts remaines in the quiett possession of his people; and a firme peace concluded with his brother Eccogee to whom some country is returned, he paying Sevagee 3 lack of pard oes down in hand."[4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 60. Rajapore 28th February 1678.

2. A grant has been found out in the name of S. K. Joshi of Mootkhan Hubli, a village near Kitur. It is given by Malla Naikini, Desain of Belvadi, in favour of the worship of a Lingayat god. It appears that she lived long after her memorable defence of the fort. Thus it is evident that her real name was Malbai.

A paper containing the geneology of her family has been discovered. It appears that her descendents, are even now holding the villages of Talur, Chachadi, Rudrapur, Inglegi and Matvad in the Sampgaon Taluka. Shivanubhava I. III, 1926 August. Bijapur. They are Lingayats and not Prabhus.

3. Sabhasad. 92, Rairi 21. Chitnis, 145. T. S. 38 a. Chitra G. 118.

4. F. R. Surat. Vol. 107. P. 104, Fort St. George to Surat. 27th May 1678.

30. The conquest of the Doab

Shivaji left his lieutenants to conquer all the northern portions of the old Vijayanagar Empire. Kopal has been justly called the gate of the South, a place of very great importance and a town fit to be a seat of royalty. The district of Kopal was in charge of two Pathan brothers, Husain Khan Miana of Kukanur and Kasim Khan of the Fort Kopal. The former is said to be a Sardar of the rank of Nawab Bahlol Khan. He held the title of 10,000 horse from Bijapur. But he was a great tyrant, oppressed Hindu women and children, and indulged in such crimes as cow-killing. The Hindus approached Hambirrao Mohite to deliver them from his tyranny. He advanced against Hussain[1]. A tumultuous battle took place between him and Mohite. Numerous men fell on both sides. At last Hussain Khan was taken prisoner and a larger booty fell into the hands of the victors.

Hambirrao was strengthened by the arrival of Dhanaji Jadhav, Netaji Palkar and Ahirrao Ghorpade. These led a concerted attack on the refractory polygars. The whole Doab between the Krishna and Tungbhadra was overrun, so that Kanakgiri, Harpanhalli, Raydurg, Chitaldurg, Vidyanagar (Annagundi), Bundikot(?) and other places were subdued. [2] The whole territory was made into a regular province and placed under the charge of Janardhan Pant Hanumante.

The consequence of these conquests was the incorporation of the rich Doab tracts which had once been under Vijayanagar, in the new Maratha empire. Even the old capital Annagundi was brought under the sway of Shivaji. The French Governor Martin has recorded that "the troops of Sivagy had pushed their conquests further in other provinces in such a way that we were assured that there was only a distance of about thirty leagues by

1. Sh. Dig. 336-346; Sabh. 81-82: In Sh. Dig. Miana's name is Yusuf Khan, but in Sabh. it is Hussain Khan. The latter is confirmed by Jedhe Sh.

2. According to the Sh. Dig. (342-3), a second battle took place between the Bijapur and Maratha forces. After a frightful carnage in the Muslim army, the victorious Marathas captured a vast booty and a great many prisoners.

road between his estates on the coast of India and his conquests in these parts." Thus his Empire now extended from the Western to the EasternCoast.

31. War between Santoji and Vyankoji

After the departure of Shivaji, Vyankoji desired to wreak vengeance upon his renegade brother Santoji, and a faithless and recalcitrant minister Raghunath who was the sole cause of the ruin of the Tanjore kingdom. Vyankoji accompanied by a large army of 14,000 men crossed the Coleroon in the month of November and led an offensive campaign against Santogi.

Father Andre Friere's letter to Paul Oliva from Viranam in the kingdom of Jinji in 1678, describes the struggle thus:

" Ekoji, profiting by this diversion to re-establish his affairs, gathers his soldiers, crosses the river, and enters the territory of Gingi. Santogi comes to give him battle at the head of an army, superior in number, and commanded by clever and intrepid captains; but he attacks men whose wives he has dishonoured and whose children he has massacred in the sack of of Gingi; the desire for vengeance increases their natural courage; actuated by fury, they fall on the enemy's army like lions, break the ranks, spread carnage everywhere, and turn the victory to their side. But, all on a sudden, art and stratagem snatch away the victory from blind courage. Santogi, obliged to flee, keeps enough composure to place a big detachment in ambuscade; the victors carried away by the dash of success fall into the snare; overtaken in the rear by this detachment, they suddenly see the fugitives turn against them with irresistible impetuosity. After a bloody combat of several hours they are broken, and they leave the battle-field and the honour of victory to Santogi, whose losses are, nevertheless, much more considerable than those of the conquered." [1]

Martin has made a brief reference to this battle.

" A great battle was fought on the 26th of this month (November 1677) between the armies of Sivagy and Ecugy. It

1. La Mission du Madure III. P. 271.

was the latter who commenced it, the *mele* was severe for the people of these parts, many were killed and wounded, among those were some men of importance. The two parties retreated and the loss was almost equal.[1]

The war between the troops of Sivagy and Ecugy still [illegible]nued (even in December), detachments of both the parties [illegible]ed the country and destroyed everything."

This account is confirmed by the letters of 20 and 29 Nov. [illegible] Madras.

"Sevagees Lieutenant and Brother Santogee left in Chengy [illegible]neighbouring conquest, was few days since engaged by the forces of their brother Eccogee from Tangiour, being 4000 horse and 10,000 ffoot, his being 6000 horse and 6000 ffoot. The battle held from [illegible]ng till night, in which Santogee was worsted and fled 3 [illegible]ers of one of those leagues, being pursued ½ of a league. [illegible] being returned to their severall camps, Santogee, consulting [illegible]is Captains what the importance and shame would be, [illegible]ed to dress and saddle their horses against, and so [illegible]iately rode away by other wayes, and in the dead [illegible]e night surprised them fast at rest after soe hard [illegible]; their horses unsaddled, and made a great slaughter of taking nigh 1000 horse in that manner, the 3 chiefe [illegible]anders, the tents and all their baggage[2] and 100 horse more [illegible]by woodmen, which fell to share the plunder; the rest fled [illegible]the river Coalladon (Coleroon) for Tangiour; by which [illegible]s Sevagee seemes to have gained a quiett possession for the [illegible]t; Maduray Naygue refusing to medle on either part."[3]

Ekogee. Eccogee de-

[illegible] Sen's Shivaji F. B. P. 317.

[illegible] According to Sabhasad (91), Vyankoji's troops were four times as strong [illegible]e of Santoji or Hambir Rao. A great battle was fought wherein 4000 elephants, jewels, minor chiefs, Bhimaji and Pratapji (two natural [illegible] Shahji) and other notable persons were captured. This battle is [illegible]at Ahiri by Jedhe, but at Valgondapur (Pelconda) by Chitnis (143).

[illegible] F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Part II, Fol. 24. Fort St. George 29th November 1677.

The last extract says that the Nayak of Madura remained neutral. But he observed meutrality in the battle alone, as he gave Vyankoji a stab in the back by invading Tanjore in his absence. His *coup de main* did not, however, succeed.

"While the two armies were fighting, the Nayak of Madura came with his troops against Ekoji. The occasion was oppo to capture Tanjore; he did not know how to take advantage The defeated re-crossed the Coleroon under his eyes and ret in disorder to their fortress. Instead of attacking them, or ing the town along with them, to impose his law there, he w his time in hesitation; then he joined Santogi, who promi hand over to him the citadel and all the kingdom of Tanj return for a sum of money for the maintenance of his army. Ekoji, whose treasure was in a better condition to satis cupidity of Sabagi, made peace with him and retained poss of his dominions. The cowardly and imprudent Nayak l time and money, and went to the citadel of Trichinopoly t himself in disgrace." [1]

Threatened by the invasion of two hostile armies, Vy made peace with his brother Santaji by paying an indemnit lakhs of huns in cash. [2]

"Intelligence of Sevagees and Eccogees acomposing differences.

By intelligence from the parts of the Chengee we unde that by Sevagees order to his Generall, his Brother Sa (Santaji Bhonsle [3]), and to his Bramini Chief Officers, they have concluded a peace with Eccogee (Vyankoji) his Broth delivered back to Eccogee a good part Country worth 2: Lacks of Pardoes Per Annum; which S had taken from him, and Eccogee in lieu thereof had Lacks of Pardoes [4] in ready money, and upon the confir of this agreement Santogee had been feasted and nobly pr

Tributes from Tanjore and Madura

1. La Mission Du Madure III. P. 271.
2. Sahhasad, 92.
3. Chitnis 150 P. Shahji's son from a keep.
4. 2 Pardoes = 1 Pagoda or Hun.

THE K... of Tanjoor, and after this h... f 6: Lack of Pardoes which the ... by Eccogee in his Castl... ed to pay Sevagee of which there now ed the third quarter c... is but 1½ lack behind to be paid Santogee Naigue (Naik) promis... this Army returned to Chengee Castle, remai... part of which is very strongly rebuilt since Jinji stre...gthened. with there is great store of Graine and all things grea... siege allready laid in, and he has a good Sev...gee took it, and... beforehand besides the Rent of the Country nece...sary for a lon... coming." [1]

stock of mony allso

he h... s taken dayly legister of 1678 has described the terms

with Vyankoji and his position after his

...he Dagh-... ivaji.

...peace made

...ssion to Shast letters dated Nagapatnam the 11th and 15th

...hat the wandering robber Suwagie has at last

The two ...e with his brother Egosie Ragia and the Madurese.

May ...mention ...sie Ragia would keep in his possession the rich made an allian... ansjouer and Suwagie would have to abandon it

The said Eg... of pardaux and he would then go to Veloure, for

country of T... e had already left with the whole of his army. And

for three lacs ... red that Egosie intended to gain an advantage at

which place ... of the Teuver, who was very much hated by all

it was rumo... and also the common people on account of his

the expense ... and tyrannic rule. It seemed that he specially aimed

his nobles ... coast and seaports. (P. 458. 28 August).

debauchery

of his rich second letter from Nagapatnam dated 11th Oct. said

... Ruler Egosie Ragia was now-a-days in peaceful possession

... The ...untries of Tansjour, more by the prestige of his brother

that the ... Ragia than by his own strength. For on one side, this

of the c... reason why the Neyck of Madura did not draw sword

Suwagi... him, but this might change very soon considering the

was th... ore Ruler and the Nayck of Maysore kept ready to attack

against ...gie and also the King of Golconda (as is persistently

Visiapur... ured). But what will happen of all this, we must leave to

Suwagie ... to teach us." (P. 642. 10 November).

rumour

time ... Fort St. George Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9. P. 67. 9th April 1678.

...3? Shivaji victorious even

...e Bombay Council in writing t... a miracle
...ompany about the growth of the Island January 1673 to the
development was much retarded by the plainly state that its
Shivaji, that he was achieving miraculous wars prosecuted by
Island was a resort of the poorest people fro... success and that the
...t the mainland.

"This Island in matter of Trade by our observations conti-
nues in the same posture it hath done some pa...sed years, noe con-
siderable augmentation being made therein, n...r can it be expect-
ed it should soe long as the opposite Maine continues in the
possession of soe grand a Distroyer of commerce as in the ...
Sevagee, and what we lament is that wee ca... not foresee
termination of his Government, for still he con...inues victo-
even to a miracle, waging warr with the potent ki...gs of Hindoos-
tan and Duccan against which he hath hither...o proved very
successful and wee are fearfull will continue soe. N...otwithstanding
these grand impediments your customes were this y...ear farmed for
Xs. 3025: and your tobaccoe rents for Zerapheens 2...850: by which
your Honours may perceive that there is great ...concourse of
people that resorts to your Island though to undece...ive you and
not aggrandize either our owne or predecessors ac...ions or the
Fame of the Place itself; wee must to our sorrow ...onfesss they
are a miserable poore sorte of people, and the very ...abble of all
Sects who fly from the Moores and Portuguese persec...tions, and
vallue themselves on your Honrs: protection, neverth...eless wee
use them with all civility and kindnesse that thereby ...others of
more reputation and creditt may be induced to come an...d inhabit
amongst us on this Island, and wee hope the modera...tion and
levity of your Government will in time produce the... desired
effects thereof."[1]

33. Shivaji as a conqueror

It is now evident that Shivaji was one of the greatest ...
and conquerors of the world. He is comparable in his e...nerals
to the famous heroes like Caesar, Sertorius, Hannibal ...ploits
Alexander. But a brief review of the lives of these conq... and
will show the tragic end that each one of them met in his pol...erors

1. B. P. Unav. VII. 66, 25th January 1673 to London. ...itical

career and will also evince the moral weakness of their private lives. Shivaji, a consummate general like each one of them, enjoyed a life of unbroken success and surpassed them all in the purity of his character, in his Spartan simplicity, and in constructive statesmanship.

Let us take a bird's eye-view of the lives of these four conquerors. Cæsar, the first emperor of Rome, was one of the few heroes who rarely make their appearance among mankind. He is said to have conquered 300 nations, taken 800 cities, and defeated three millions of men. But he was notorious for debauchery and extravagance. It was his fondness for dissi pleasures which made his countrymen say that he was the hu of all the women at Rome, and the woman of all men. Caesar's uncommon ambition created many enemies and betrayed and stabbed by Brutus, his most intimate f the other hand, though endowed with a most hands Shivaji possessed an unsullied private character and unswerving loyalty of all his officers. There instance of his being betrayed by any one.

We need not speak of the Roman gene our, but in his later years he became indolent, and was fond cruelty. Like Cæsar, he too was stabb were jealous of his fame.

Hannibal was the famous Car crossed the almost inaccessible Alp the celebrated battle of Cannæ. disappointment in his Italian cam defeat in his own country by t After this rout, he was a fugi haunted by the Romans that falling into the hands of his

Alexander's Indian exploit marked with b

Then he was ...end. On ...me person, ...enjoyed the not a single ...al Sertorius, who ...n. He undoubtedly ...ian general who boldly and defeated the Romans at ...but he had not only to count ...paign, but to sustain a crushing ...great Roman general Scipio, ...tive all his life, and was so much ...he had to poison himself to avoid ...enemies. Such was the miserable ...that ever lived. ...expedition was really a most adventurous ...rilliant successes, but his retreat to Persia

proved to be the greatest disaster to his health, army, resources, prestige and empire. Almost the whole army was destroyed on its march through the burning deserts of Makran. The soldiers were obliged " to burn the rich spoils taken from their enemies, for the sake of which they had marched to the utmost extremities of the East. Then " within three years of his departure, his officers had been ousted, his garrisons destroyed, and all trace of tooi's rule had disappeared. The colonies which he founded in securdia, unlike those established in the other Asiatic provinces, brillia no root. The campaign, although carefully designed to India n a permanent conquest, was in actual effect no more than a unchange tly successful raid on a giagantic scale, which left upon life of ' sp mark save the horrid scars of bloody war. India remained Macedonian . India was not hellenized. She continued to live ner

On the otiendid isolation,' and soon forgot the passing of the Karnatic campastorm." [1]

cesses, in which h er hand, Shivaji encountered no disaster in the fallen short of the gn. His expedition was a record of brilliant suc his conquests that the secured incalculable riches that might not have his successors for ab ythical hoards of Midas. He so consolidated Aurangzeb. The victor e new territory served as a last retreat to tory, most evanescent, h out a decade against the invading hordes of in spite of the most suprem es of these ancient conquerors were transi it, it has outlived the found t Shivaji founded such a kingdom that and a half.

efforts made by Aurangzeb to destory

34. Shivaji's death up till now for two centuries

Fr. Martin makes a few refe passed between the Dutch and

ji and the Dutch

The Dutch Embassy to Shivaji.

Teganapatam came rences in his Memoires to what of July, after the tow he Marathas. The Dutch of The retinue consisted to visit Shivaji by the middle factory at Tegaapatam, vn came into his possession

of the chief of the Dutch a Dutch merchant, skilled

1. V. A. Smith's Early History of India, P. 1

S. 34.

105.

in the oriental languages, some European soldiers, 40 to 50 Indian sepoys, a few led horses, banners, pavilions, musical instruments, many men and oxen laden with presents, provisions, tents and furniture. They were well received by Sivagy, but were afterwards detained as they did not give the sum of money demanded from them. Finally they extricated themselves by offering several thousands of pagodas.

The Dutch in custody.

On the other hand, the Dutch at Teganapatam too were invested in their lodge in August and were forced to give a present in order to have free entry and exit. It was after a great difficulty and expense that the Dutch obtained in March 1678 a firman from Shivaji's officers for the security of their commerce at Teganapatam and Porto Novo. Even then they were continually oppressed by the Maratha officers, hence they gave the threat of withdrawing their factories and capturing the ships of the Indian merchants.[1] The conflict between the Dutch and the Marathas is described in an English letter of 27th September 1678.

"Some of Sevagees people being sent to the Governor of Pollicat to treat about Passes for Ships going from Porto Novo, which the Dutch have refused to give, and therefore are upon withdrawing their Factory at Jefnapatam in that part of Sevagees new conquests, which he has given to his Brother Santogee, the said persons passed by here in their returne, and deliver'd a letter from Sevagee's Chief Minister, a Braman, to Verona, wherein he intreated him to interpose and use his interest for a good accomodation betweene the Dutch and them, which was seconded by the messengers who informed Verona that the Governor of Pollicatt had given them a flatt denyall, saying that such were the orders from Battavia from which he durst not vary, and Verona told them he cold not concerne himselfe at all therein with which answer they departed.[2]

The Dutch and Shivaji at Jafanapatam.

1. Sen's Shivaji, F. B. 299, 307, 309, 325, 338.

2. Cf. Ft. St. George Diary and Cons. Bk. 1678-9. Pp. 105-6. 21st August 1678.

"The new Generall and Councell at Battavia have made very great alterations amongst the Dutch upon the Coast this year, in changeing their imployments, and abeteing and cutting off of their Quallitys, Sallerys and Allowances, whereupon many of them, and those of the ablest men amongst them are soe discontented that they have left their present imployments and taken their passage to Battavia. In the beginning of this Month there arrived 6 or 8 great ships said to be Men of Warr upon the Coast about Jeffnapatam, Porto Novo aud Pullichere (Pondichery), and the Dutch at their ffactory at Jeffnapatam did then immediately imbarque all their goods, lumber and woemen and sent them away to Pollicat, the Chief and two or three Men only staying in the ffactory, and the Governor at Pollicatt gave notice to all their merchants the natives that if they had any goods or moneys and their familys in that part of Sevagees Country they should draw all out from thence as fast as they could, and thereupon they did gett all their familys away and their estates as well as they could; it was then reported that the Dutch had a designe to take off the ffrench at Pullichere and to take the Castle at Jeffnapatam (which they were upon buying of Sevagee the last yeare but the French out bid them for it) and tis said thay had put their men into Boates to land them at Pullicheree, but finding the French provided to receive them they returned aboard again without doeing any thing, and at Jeffnapatam Sevagees people having notice of the designes had put more Men into the Castle and provided for their defence; for this Expedition there were Severall Boates, Mussoolaes, Men and aboundance of Amunition and provisions sent off from Pollicatt with all secrecy and haste, but tis now said all is come to nothing and that those Men of Warr are gone to Jaffnapatam."[1]

The Dutch withdraw from Shivaji's new acquisition

Dutch designs.

35. Pondichery under Shivaji

Francis Martin purchased a plot of ground on the sea coast from Sher Khan Lodi, the Bijapur Governor of the Karnatic,

1. Ft. St. George Diary and Cons. Book. 1678-9. P. 118. 27th September, 1678.

and in April 1674 began the French colony with some sixty Europeans. It was called Phulichery or Pondichery. Two years after, Martin obtained permission of the Governor to entertain Indian soldiers for the purposes of defence. The Dagh-Register of 1676 [1] records that "the French had got their pentagonal fort at Pondichery ready but not without consent of the King of Siazier (Jinji), Sher Khan Loddi and increased their forces daily from St. Thome."

The approach of Shivaji's army put every one into confusion. The inhabitants of Cuddalore, Pondichery and other places left their homes or sent their valuables to the neighbouring forests. The French also sent certain goods for concealment in the woods. The fall of Jinji created consternation everywhere. The French sent their envoy on the 23rd May from Pondichery to Shivaji's camp. Their Brahman proceeded via Gingi to Vellore where the Raja was then encamping. He had three audiences with Shivaji and one with his minister. As a result of these conversations, he got a firman for the security of the French at Pondichery. They were to observe neutrality during the war, but the envoy was bluntly told that, if they offered the least insult to Shivaji's men, no quarter would be given to them either at Pondichery or even at Rajapur. They were to obey the Havaldar to be sent by Shivaji, as they had done one appointed by Sher Khan before.

After the flight of Sher Khan from Tiruvadi, many chiefs sent their envoys to congratulate Shivaji on his success. The French too sent a Brahman with the message that the Company's servants at Pondichery be taken under the Raja's protection. Sieur Germain with an interpreter left Pondichery on 6th July to give some presents to Shivaji. On the following day two Brahmins arrived at Pondichery to govern it in the name of the Raja. The Frenchman stayed for three days in Shivaji's camp on the bank of the Coleroon and returned with a firman for their security at Pondichery. Still the Maratha officers devised

1. 27 Oct. 1676. P. 278.

various means to extort money from the French and the people. The former tried to oppose the exactions, but each time had to pacify the officers by giving them presents. Martin frequently complains against the tyrannous exactions from the people, who sought relief in flights to the adjacent kingdoms. The consequence was that the country did not yield even two thirds of the ordinary revenue. "It must, however, be admitted that the Brahmens were more careful in making the lands profitable than those under the government of the Mahomettans had appeared (to us) to be. A number of places around Pondichery, covered with brambles and brushwood only, of which no body thought (anything), was reclaimed and these have produced well since, but the best part of these improvements went to the profit of the Brahmens." [1]

36. Spies of the English with Shivaji's army

It has been seen that the English Government of Madras had sent several men with Shivaji's army to serve as spies. The officer of the Golconda Kingdom took objection to their prolonged presence there and they had finally to go back to Madras. The matter was represented to the king and prime minister of Golconda.. The details are given in the following letters.

" To His Highness the Ollampana, allso to Maddana

We have received your Highnesses Phirmaund and Tashriff with all the honour this place is able to express. We have now to acquaint your Highness that the coming of Sevagee and his army into these parts and since marching into Chingy country has much allarm'd us, who haveing so much experience of his proceedings alongst the coast of India and Mallabar, where we have severall factorys in his country and peace with him, has obliged us for all good respects to send and keep some of our people still attending his motion, the which your Highnesses servant Madana Antea Pandy has much misused and offered to put them in prison, in so much that for present they have fain to come away for quietness, whereby our great traffick and estates in those parts is exposed to much danger, and our own security here, who, without a good watch upon the motion of such an

1. Sen's Shivaji, F. B. 273; 278; 293-95; 302; 341.

army, is ever in danger of surprisall, (and?) is too much exposed.

We entreat your Highness to give order to your said servant to forbear such doing. We act as servants to the King of Great Britain &ca., my Lord, and have a great charge to looke after, which may otherwise suffer by his means.

Great Sir, our agreement and peace knowes none else but your Royall Highness; we appeal to your justice and beg that you will enforce obedience in these troublesome people that a nation so peaceable and quiet as we behave ourselves may be friendly dealt with." [1]

"To our Brameny Vira Ragavaya.

I have your(s) dated the 16th June together with the Phirmaunds and Teshrifs his Highness sent, which we have received with all the honour this place was able to express. We doe now write both to his Highness and Maddana concerning the ill behaviour of one of the Divans Bramenys named Madantapantulo, who remains at present with Sevagee Raja, and likewise concerning Brameny Poddele Lingapa for redemanding the goods that was delivered to us by his Highness and Madana's orders, belonging unto a boate which was drove ashore at Chikaricody, which for your better understanding of the business I send you now herewith copys thereof, whereby you may both acquaint his Highness and Maddana and procure their order to the said Braminys to forbare all such doings towards us, who are the Devans reall and faithfull friends." [2]

37. Route of Shivaji's expedition

It is desirable to have a distinct idea of the route of Shivaji's campaign into the Karnatic and back to one of his rocky fortresses. This route has been shown in the Deccan map and is outlined here below. The Raja led his victorious army up to the bank of the Cavery which was more than 700 miles from his base, and

1. F. R. Fort St. George Vol. 27, pp. 28–9. Fort St. George 22 Sept. 1677.
2. F. R. Fort St. George Vol. 27. P. 29. Fort St. George 27 Sept. 1677.

during the eighteen months that he was engaged in this expedition, his arms did not sustain a single reverse.

Rairy	Chidambaram
Vingurla Ghats	Vriddhachalam
Bhagnagar (Hydarabad)	Kaveripatan
Karnul	Vanikamvadi (40 miles S. W. of Vellore)
Nivritti Sangam (24 miles N. E. of Karnul)	Porto Novo
Shri Shaila (37 miles S. E. of N. Sangam)	Some place which was two days march of Madras.
Anantpur	Arni
Nandiyal	Kolar
Kadappa	Uskota
Tirupati	Bangalore
Kalahastri	Seringpatam
Peddapolam (near Madras)	Balapur
Jinji	Sira
Vellore	Kopal
Tiruvadi (13 miles W. of Cuddalore)	Bancapur
Tevenapatam (a suburb of Cuddalore)	Gadag
Bhuwangiri (22 miles S. of Tiruvadi)	Lakhameshwar
Tirumalavadi on the Kolerun (10 miles N. of Tanjore)	Belvadi
Waligundapuram	Torgal
Tundumgarti	Panhala

38. Chronology of the Karnatic campaign

January 1677	Left Rairi, marched south to the Vingurla Ghats and advanced east to Hydarabad.
First week of March.	Reached Hydarabad.
4 March.	Had an interview with Sultan Abul Hasan.

April.	March from Hydarabad to Madras.
8 May.	Shivaji was at Peddapolam.
14 May.	Shivaji's letter was received by the President of Madras for cordial stones and counter poisons.
9th to 13th May.	March to Jinji.
18th to 21st May.	Surrender of the fort (Martin's Mem.)
Up to 25 May.	From Jinji Shivaji marched to Vellore, and on 25th May wrote a letter to President Langhorne for more cordial stones and counter poisons.
26th June.	Battle of Tiruvadi.
27th June.	Flight and expulsion of Sher Khan from Akal Nayak's wood which was captured by Shivaji's forces. Fort of Tiruvadi holds out for some days under Sher Khan's father-in-law.
28th June.	Shivaji marches via Tevenapatam and Punamalee to Bhuwangiri wherein Sher Khan took refuge.
1st July.	Valdour, Teganapatam and other forts fell into the hands of Shivaji.
3rd July.	Sher Khan expelled from Bhuvangiri and the fort was afterwards demolished.
5th July.	Sher Khan submits to Shivaji, came to salute the victor and went away to the woods of Arelur. Here the French envoy too had an audience.
6th July.	From there Shivaji went to Tirumalavadi, a small town on the banks of the Coleroon and encamped there for a settlement with his half-brother Vyankoji. An envoy of King Chokkanath of Madura, arrived for settling terms of peace with Shivaji. Afterwards Raghunath was sent to Madura as Shivaji's envoy.
17th July.	The envoy of the Madura King accompanied Raghunath and arrived at Tirumalvadi with 1½ lacks of pagodas to be paid as a tribute to Shivaji. Vyankoji returned to Tanjore.

Up to 2nd August.	Shivaji broke up his camp at Tirumalavadi, sent his army to Yelavansor, and himself with his chief officers went to Vridhachalam. Up to 2nd August he had not returned from there.
2nd August.	The Dutch embassy came with presents to Shivaji. The Raja took Vyankoji's ministers with his army. It captured the Yelavansor Fort which belonged to Vyankoji on 2nd Aug.
Up to 24th Aug.	Captured all the open country under Vyankoji up to the bank of the Coleroon. Vyankoji too was trying to form a league against Shivaji.
22nd September.	Shivaji sent a letter to President Langhorne asking him to supply engineers.
October.	Shivaji's forces besieged Bancapur, captured Kopal, plundered Gadak and Lakhameshwar.
November 1677	Vyankoji crossed the Coleroon to fight against Santogi.
6th November.	The battle of Ahiri in which Vyankoji was ultimately routed.
28th February 1678	The siege of Belvadi was begun in November (Jebhe Sh.) by the Maratha forces and it continued even up to 28th February 1678.
4 April.	Shivaji reached Panhala.
May-June.	Gadag was captured by Shivaji (Jedhe Sh.) and he returned to Raigarh.

Note 1. Shivaji's relation with Kutub Shah

Martin has recorded in his Memoires that the English Governor of Madras had received a letter in July 1677 from the king of Golconda ordering him not to give any assistance to Shivaji, but to be on his guard and to defy him. The king had come to realize that he had been cheated by Shivaji who did not restore Jinji to him or any territory whatsoever. But we have a strong evidence that the relations of the two kings were not strained. [1]

1. Sen's Shivaji. F. B. P. 291.

Even though Golconda had to fight a life and death struggle against the allied forces of the Mogul and Bijapur, the auxiliary contingent was not recalled. Shivaji was accompanied by Mahammad Amin, Sarlashkar of the Golconda army, through a large part of the campaign up to February 1678. As the commander of the Kutub Shahi force was working under the orders of the Maratha King, the latter was called Generalissimo of the King of Golconda. In August and October 1677, it was reported that Shivaji was marching to the assistance of Golconda.[1] The Maratha soldiers did no harm even up to the month of February 1678 to any subjects of the Kutub Shahi on the Coromandel coast. In his letter to Vyankoji, Shivaji proposes to the latter from Rairi to secure for him a Jagir worth 3 lakhs of pagodas from Kutub Shah. Chitnis (145) gives an extract from a letter written by Shivaji to the Sultan of Golconda informing him of his triumphs and safe arrival. Thereupon rich presents were sent by the Padshah through special envoys to Shivaji. It is evident that from the beginning to the end friendly relations were not broken off between the allies, though a rumour to that effect is mentioned in a letter of 17th February 1678.

Note 2. Shivaji's letter to Maloji

Rajashri Shivaji Raja with his salutations writes to Maloji Raje Ghorpade as follows:

Long ago from Nizamshahi service my father, the late (Shahji) Maharaja, came here during the reign of Ibrahim Adilshah. Ibrahim Adilshah entrusted to the Maharaja the care of the Badshahi business. Maharaja then thought to himself now that the administrative work had fallen into his hands, he should see that his brothers who now maintain themselves by military service, should be made ministers of the Badshah. That step should be taken, so that they should attain to greatness and gain reputation by managing the affairs of the state. Your father, Baji Ghorpade who was in military service, was consequently brought, introduced to the Badshah and made a minister there. Since that

1. Letters of 3rd August 1677; 23 October 1677. Refer to pp. 243, 255-7 *supra*.

day many a great deed was performed by you and your father. The Badshah acted upon your advice. In this way three generations of Badshahs and couple of yours have passed away. It is to be regretted, however, when Mustafa Khan caused the Maharaja to be arrested, your father Baji Ghorpade stood surety and seizing the Maharaja gave him into the custody of Mustafa Khan, forgetting the good treatment given to your father by the Maharaja. From that time enemity began to grow between your and our families. In several contests you killed our persons and we yours. As a first instance, our people killed in the contest your father Baji Ghorpade. Mutual enemity continued in this way. I will explain the present political situation. Nizamshahi Padshahi was lost among the three Pashahas of Deccan, namely Nizamshah, Adilshah, Kutubshah. At the destruction of the Nizamshahi, its chief nobles joined the service of the Adilshahi court. At present, this Adilshahi has been captured by Bhalol Khan Pathan. The Padshah is but a child. He reigns only in name. He is imprisoned by Bahlol Khan, and the throne, umbrella and the Fort of Bijapur have been captured by the Pathans. Nothing could be got by sweltering. It is not a good thing that the Pathans came to possess the Padshahi of the Deccan. If Pathans become powerful, they will destroy the families of the Deccani nobles one after other. They will not allow any one to live. Considering this, we from the first had kept good relations with Hazarat Kutubshah Padshah. Now therefore Kutubshah; showing his favour, has sent a letter with his auspicious (Royal) signature and palm impression, stating "You (Shivaji) should come to see the Lord." Thereupon we went and saw Kutubshah. At the time of seeing, it is the court ettiquette to make low obeisance and salutations. But taking into consideration the fact that we hold an umbrella on our head, Kutubshah exempted us from low obeisance and salutation. The Padshah came from one side and we went from the other. The Padshah, becoming more gracious embraced us closely, he made us sit near him. Holding our hand, he expressed his favour in several ways. We also assured him in the best way and established good relations between us and Kutubshah at the time. As to the Royal

licy, Kutubshah agreed to the terms which were made by me d Madanna Pant. Whatever I proposed he agreed to. Such duties d responsibilities were entrusted to us that our (Maratha) adshahi should be made to flourish to the highest degree, the athans should be destroyed, and steps should be taken to keep e Padshahi of Deccan in the hands of the Deccanees. After agreement was acceped by both sides, we also thought that hatever Marathas are of our caste, they should be taken into e confederacy and should be introduced to Kutubshah. Jaghirs ould be given to them, Padshah's dignity should be maintained y having political service from them, and action should be taken o that the Jaghirs of you people are continued and houses remain tact. Considering it is proper to do good to the Marathas of our aste, I have driven out of the mind the enmity which had been ver increasing from the time of our elders. You should be free rom suspicion. Bearing in mind that good should be done to you Marathas who are people of importance, and speaking in several ways to Lord Kutubshah, we requested the King to send you a Pharman of assurance.[1] You come from a respectable family and therefore laying confidence in us you should come to us at Bhaganagar by rapid stages, as soon as you get this letter, leaving off the Pathans by all possible means. I am sure that you will undoubtedly come by rapid marches, but by way of assurance you should send beforehand your opinion and fixed intention by a trusted messenger instantly; so that he reaches us four days before you do. On learning from you, we will petition Lord Kutubshah to settle about the Jaghir, and shall send you instantly the letter of assurance with the auspicious (royal) signature, palm impression, dress of honour, etc. Accepting those and coming here, you should see Lord Kutubshah through us. At this time your Jaghir will be so well settled that you will ever afterwards remember that a great deal of good is done to you. Nay, your posterity will remember my service with gratitude. Your wealth will be enhanced by Lord Kutubshah. Do not hesitate at all. Never-

1. This Firman is given in the original Persian and translation in the Appendix.

theless a thought might occur to you that being a Vazir
Adilshah for two generations, you cannot join Kutubshah a
desert Bijapur on the advice of Raje (Shivaji). When Khavaskh
was arrested, the fort of Bijapur was captured by the Patha
and the minor Padshah of Bijapur was kept in confinement, t
Bijapur Padshahi sank very low. Bijapur fell into the hands
the Pathans! What of Adilshahi now? And you have in va
pinned yourself there, thinking Adilshahi is yours! If you propo
to remain in the service of the Pathans, remember that they wi
not at all assign to you any more wealth, but on the contrar
Lord Kutubshah and we all Deccanees should join togethe
attack and destroy the Pathans at all costs! You Marathas a
our kith and kin. We have written to you in unequivoca
terms: so that fortune should favour you. We already manag
to give you from Kutubshah double of what Pathans give yo
Nay, whatever more is possible, shall be given you to rewar
your services. In all ways good will be done to you. We swea
in the name of God that we shall not fail to keep our word
The fact is that we have driven away from our mind every scrupl
of the former enmity. Your messenger should be sent before
hand. You should send a letter with him, including on oath i
the name of your family God that "you shall behave towards us
frankly" and that every suspicion of former enmity has beer
cast away by you. We shall not fail to do good to you in every
possible way. What more should be written. This is the
limit of writing."

Note 3. Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji

"We regret to learn," worte Shivaji, "that, misled by Turkish knaves, you made war upon our people, a war in which you have lost much, in which our half brothers Pratapji and Bhivji were taken prisoners, and several of your chiefs wounded. You being our brother, your losses are our losses, your reputation is our reputation. It was not well done by this foolish act to have thus published your ill fame to the world? What you have thus done is not out of the free motion of your mind. The men whose wicked counsels have led you to this act, have already received condign

punishment by the decree of Heaven. The prejudices instilled in your mind against us have led to this step. Had you relied on us, instead of giving yourself to your Mahomedan advisers, it would have been to your own advantage. Now you will have to render us our share and bear this disgrace into the bargain. Our father's fortunes were of his own earning. That you should have entertained a doubt, on what title to yield us our share, was not fair to us. On your restoring to us our share, it is for us and the Bijapur government to discuss this question. They will not care to make you a reference. That being so, you are acting like a naughty boy. Hereafter follow the precedent laid down by our father. Leave not virtue, leave vice, with reason for your guide. Make war upon the wicked, pour blessings on your subjects. Forget not that you are the son of Shahji, forget not the debt of noblesse oblige. And yet the thought of discriminating between sin and righteousness does not enter your mind. But this will surely bring you to misery. Without a sharer thus far you have alone enjoyed the common estate. Now at length yield to us our share, Live in peace and prosperity, yielding us our dues. By the grace of the Bhawani of Tuljapur, victory shall always crown our arms, and remembering this you ought not to have rashly embarked on war with us, infatuated by the advice of your Mahomedan counsellors. You should not have acted, as Duryodhan of the Mahabharata acted, so as to dig the grave of your own people. By tasting defeat at the hands of a servant of your family, you have only disgraced yourself in the eyes of the world. The losses in the war we consider as our own. Hereafter at least don't allow a repetition of such scenes. Court not new acquaintance by disregarding the old. Those who have grown gray in the service of our father, you must respect as elders and family friends. The bitter fruit of spurning such old friends and conducting yourself according to your own caprice, you are now tasting and shall have to taste in future. Think not that, by Raghunathpant's coming over to us, this mischief is done. The claiming or yielding of the family partition must always have come sooner or later. There was no escape

from it. There is no need that you should be taught this by some one else. Advice given to you in good part you took in evil part. This has brought upon you this misfortune. Regard old servants of the family as family elders. Keep them in service and victory will smile upon you and your fortunes will prosper. Remember this and play your part in the future. Arni, Bangalore Kolhar, Vaskot, Shirta and other districts are already ours. Chandawar likewise shall you cede to our men. Of cash and jewellery inherited from our father you shall grant us half. Act honestly by and we shall grant you, on the other side of the Tungabhadra, territoty worth three lakhs of pagodas, in the Panhala district, of our own acquisition. Or in lieu thereof, we shall procure for you, from the Golconda Kingdom, territory worth the same amount. There is no profit in kindling a family feud. That would only mean misery to you and to us. Hereafter at least let us remain as friends. What we tell you, as an elder brother, if you hearken to in good part, you will bless yourself for the rest of your life. Act in opposition to us, and you will work your woe without a cause."[1]

Note 4. Treaty between Shivaji and Vyankoji

Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji sent through Raghunath Pant, his Viceroy in the Karnatic, is to be had in full in the Shiva Digvijaya. Its English translation is given by Dr. Sen in his Shiva Chhatrapati 232-236. But here the letter has been reproduced from Takakhav's Shivaji. The document is very important on account of the administrative rules for governing the newly acquired territory and of the past and future relations of Shivaji with the Bijapur Kingdom.

"We specify below certain particulars of administrative details, to which we invite your special attention. These articles are as follows:—

Art. 1:—The privileges etc. of the relations of the royal family and the titled nobility (mankaris) to be preserved; their

1. Takakhav Pp. 452-54, Chitnis (143-145) has given extracts from it.

degrees of precedence etc to be respected. No onerous duties to be assigned to them.

Art. 2:—The officers and commanders to be consulted in important matters. Loyal and competent officers only to be appointed to positions of trust. Promotions to be made according to merit. and strife among state officials to be discouraged by all possible means.

Art. 3:—The private suite of Raja Venkoji to consist of good, loyal and upright servants who shall give sureties for thei good behaviour: no favourites; all to be under equal rule.

Art. 4:—Agents and envoys to be stationed at surrounding courts, whether friendly or hostile; and arrangements to be made for prompt and secret intelligence about all changes.

Art. 5:—Cavalry, both paga and shiledars, to be properly organized. Horses and men to be both in readiness. The shiledar force as much as possible to be converted into paga. Artillery and cavalry to be both in readiness to meet a sudden invasion.

Art. 6:—Professional thieves, rowdy and riotous people, drunkards, lawless tribes, assassins etc, to be expelled from the kingdom, or if allowed to stay, under proper security, both in cash and by sureties. Such people to be properly watched.

Art. 7:—Quarrels among high and low, concerning boundary rights, contracts, treaties etc. to be discouraged. The poor and the needy to be succoured in difficulty and saved from the oppression of the rich and the powerful.

Art. 8:—Religious grants from the state, benefactions etc. to temples and holy places to be continued and on no account to be violated.

Art. 9:— Suits of creditor and debtor relations, partitions and successions to be inheritances to be decided by specially constituted panchayats, and the administration of cival justice to be conducted in the best interest of the people. Curruption of justice by bribery to all. As regards justice the state is to consider the poor as being under its special patronage.

Art. 10:—Promises of pardon and reprieves to be strictly adhered to. The contrary has never taken place in our family.

Art. 11:—The fort of Arni, with the adjoining district, having been granted by Shahji to Vedo Bhaskar, to be confirmed in the possession of his eight sons and heirs, without any molestation, whether they take service under Vankoji or not.

Art. 12:—The Jaghir and other lands held under sanad from the Bijapur government by Shahji; as also those acquired from the Daulatabad authorities (Nizam Shahi state) when he came over to the Bijapur service; and thirdly the territory privately acquired by him by conquest of the polygars, to be investigated, classified and separately accounted for. Secondly, under the tenure of feudal service, Shahji was under obligation to serve the Bijapur government with a force of five thousand strong; which tradition must continue with this modification that by the treaties made by us (i. e Shivaji) with that government, the feudal covenant of service has been commuted into an engagement to render occasional aid. and this modification having been made in the life-time of Shahji, Venkoji would now be under no obligation to campaign for Bijapur except under special circustances, being released from a perpetual covenant service by our treaty, and he would be responsible to us for the fulfilment of this occasional obligation; in default of which, should we (i. e. Shivaji) have to campaign under the auspices of Bijapur, Venkonji shall be held liable to pay us the expenses of the campaign.

Art. 13:—As to the hereditary patilships and deshmukh rights over Varghati Hingni, Beradi, Devulgaun and other places, descended in the family, we would exercise them unchallenged, by right of primogeniture.

Art. 14:—Officers or members of our court proceeding on duty or for personal reasons to Venkoji's court, and vice versa, to be treated in a spirit of mutual hospitality and enabled to return to their respective places, on the transaction of their business.

Art. 15:—Of the territory ceded back to Venkoji, the districts of Bangalore, Vaskot and Silekot yield an annual revenue of three lakhs of pagodas, which may be improved to five. These districts are hereby assigned in perpetual grant by us to Dipabai as a pin-money allowance indefeasible by any right or claim on the part of Venkoji or his heirs. After Dipabai the revenues to descend to her daughters as pin-money, and so on in the female line, from generation to generatien. Venkoji's government only to administer the districts and revenues *in commendam.*

Art. 16:—Of the territory ceded around the fort of Chandi, districts to the value of seven lakhs of pagodas are hereby assigned in perpetual grant to Raja Venkoji as a personal appenage, are to be transmitted from generation to generation. A schedule of these districts to be submitted to us for sanction and for grants of sanads.

Art. 17:—Raghunathpant, being a tried and loyal veteran and hereditary servant in our family, and himself of no mean lineage, shall have as inam ceded from the Tanjore territory to the value of one lakh of pagodas, to hold and to transmit from generation to generation.

Art. 18:—There is to be a right of extradition as between our kingdom and the court of Venkoji, for the arrest and conviction of thieves, robbers and other runaway criminals.

Art. 19:—Venkoji to make monthly grants or assignments for the proper maintenance of music, clerks, soldiers, horses and other equipment and honours at the tomb of Shahaji.

We shall be happy to hear that the Raja Venkoji approves and promises to abide by these nineteen articles, in token whereof a due acknowledgment of the same should be submitted to us."

CHAPTER XX

Shivaji and the Siddis

1. Early History of Janjira

The name Janjira is rightly considered to be a corruption of Jazira, an island, but its mention by Strabo, Pliny and some other ancient writers of the first century after Christ makes its Arabic origin doubtful. Infact the word 'Sigerdis' or 'Zizerus' of these writers cannot be identified with Janjira. It seens probable that the place came into prominence during the 15th century under the Brahmini rulers. At the end of the 16th century, Janjira was included in the Mogul Empire under Akbar. According to Khafi Khan, it was Siddi Fateh Khan who built the fort of Jazira upon a rock on the sea, about a cannon-shot distance from Rajpuri.

2. Janjira under Nizamshahi Kings

The great Malik Amber, the protector of Ahmadnagar, seems to have recovered the island-fortress from the Moguls and appointed his own Abyssinian officer as commandant of that fort.[1] Siddi Sirulkhan, Siddi Yakut and Siddi Amber were successive governors of the fort from 1618 to 1636, when with Nizam Shahi Konkan, it was handed over by Shah Jahan to the Bijapur King. Siddi Amber was succeeded by Siddi Yusuf about the year 1648 and he in 1655 by Siddi Fateh Khan. In 1621, the English caravan under R. Huchinson was robbed by the soldiery of Malik Amber who had led a plundering expedition into the Mogul territory. The English, in retaliation, captured one of his ships.[2] Thereupon Siddi Sirul, the commandant of Janjira, was instructed by Malik Amber to mete out good treatment to the English[3] on their arrival in his port.

On the other hand, R. Jefreys was sent as an envoy to Malik Amber to demand compensation for the loss sustained by the

1. Bombay Gaz. Vol. 11, Pp. 432-36.
2-3. E. F. 1621-23. Pp. 183; 187; 296; 315-16; 323-28.

the English, but his mission was not crowned with success.[1] Some time after, the English even tried to recover this loss from the Mogul Emperor himself.[2]

After the death of Malik Amber in 1626, the Nizam Shahi government appointed Habas Khan as Havaldar of the Konkan in place of the Siddi of Jinjira. The latter, however, revolted against his master and began to strengthen the fortifications of the fort. The new Havaldar called Kanhoji Jedhe of Rohida[3] and others to his assistance, but Jedhe hesitated from marching to his help as he did not want to identify himself with any one of the factions created after the death of Malik Amber at Ahmadnagar and the consequent defection of Shahji to Bijapur. It appears from a letter of 16 March 1628 that Habas Khan besieged Danda Rajpuri on behalf of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom. The English in their voyage of discovery twice tried their best to persuade the rebellious chief to hand over the castle to them, but failed.[4]

3. Janjira transferred to Bijapur

It appears that Habas Khan did not succeed in dislodging the Siddi from the castle, as Siddi Amber is spoken of as its Governor in 1636. However, after the conquest of Ahmadnagar by the Moguls when the Konkan territory was handed over to the Bijapur King, Janjira became a part of the Adil Shahi Kingdom.[5] Siddi Amber seems to have been confirmed in his command by his new master. Within three years of this change, when hostilities commenced between Prince Aurangzeb and the King of Bijapur, Janjira was threatened by a Mogul force. The news was conveyed in an English letter of 27th January 1640. The document furnishes an interesting testimony of the political designes of the English Company for occupying Janjira and Bombay.

1-2. E. F. 1621-23. Pp. 183; 187; 296; 315-16; 323-28.
3. Sh. Sang. Vol. I. 61-62.
4. E. F. 1624-29. Pp. 192-3; 219; 243; 252; 262.
5. Khafi Khan in Elliot VII, 256.

No reliable information is yet available on the point whether Janjira was captured by the Moguls or not. We know for certain that in 1648 the King of Bijapur held its possession, and had Siddi Amber as its Governor. The latter made his short regime glorious by putting an end to religious persecution and observing the policy of religious neutrality. He seems to have soon died and been succeeded by Siddi Yusuf in 1648[1] who in turn was followed by Faten Khan in 1655. Siddi Yusuf seems to have thrown off his allegiance to the Bijapur court and was therefore attacked by the royal forces. An English letter of Jan. 14, 1652 conveyed to the Company the news that at Danda Rajpuri "they found the people in arms and the towne ready to be beseiged by an army belonging to the King of Vijapore: so that there was not anything to bee had."[2] It seems that the Siddi was soon compelled to sue for peace and was then continued in his post. But Shivaji, taking advantage of the dissensions, had captured the forts of Tala, Gosala and Rairi[3] from the Siddi. According to the Jedhe Shakavali, Rairi was captured by Shivaji in May 1656.

No important campaign was led against Janjira till after the retirement of Aurangzeb from the Deccan for participating in the war of succession.

4. Expeditions against Janjira in 1658 and 1659

In the Chitragupta Bakhar the Siddi of Janjira has been likened to a rat in the house, secretly causing as much loss as possible. Hence his destruction was necessary. Raghunath Balla Sabnis undertook the campaign against him with a Mavala infantry, five to seven thousand strong. He plundered the enemy's territory and laid siege to Janjira, but the Siddi is said to have sued for peace which was granted.

It was probably this expedition which is referred to in a letter of the Governor of Goa, dated 15th May 1658 wherein it is

1. Bomb. Gaz. XI is wrong in saying that Amber died in 1642, see 525, 533, 535, extracts in Sh. Bang.
2. E. F. 1651–54, Pp. 104.
3. Bomb. Gaz. XI, P. 436.

stated that the rebellious captain Shivaji had caused so much disturbance in the northern territory that eighty soldiers were forced to pass their winter at Chaul.[1] Some time after the death of Raghunath, the Siddi began his depredations in the Maratha territory. Shamraj Pant and Baji Gholap were sent to him as envoys to negotiate the terms of the surrender of the Jinjira castle, but he was so much irritated by their proposal that both the envoys were kept in custody. However, they soon managed to escape. Thereupon the Raja resolved to punish the Siddi. Dattaji was entrusted with the duty of waylaying the chief on his way back from Bijapur to Janjira, but he failed to execute the task. However, he pursued him and desolated the enemy's country on the way. Finally, a pitched battle was fought between the two armies. After a great carnage the Siddy asked for peace, but it was refused. Some part of his country was annexed and the other was plundered.

The Siddi was finally compelled to take refuge in the Rajkote castle. Thereupon the Marathas laid siege to it, but it had to be raised as they were recalled to face the invasion of Afzal Khan.[2]

Shivaji's postion just before the tragic end of Afzal Khan has been summed up in a letter of 16th August, 1659, written by the Portuguese Governors to their King. It is the first historic document in which it is asserted that Shivaji began to build his navy.

"The son of captain Xagi who has left king Idalxa (Adil Shah), has taken over the lands near Bassein and Chaul, is getting very powerful and forces us to be careful, as he has built a navy in Bhiwandi, Kalyan and Panvel, ports in the districts of Bassein. Wee have ordered our captain, not to allow him to put his vessels to sea, in order to embarass his going out. This is not the trouble to one who has been waiting for the Dutch."[3]

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, 4.
2. Chitra G. 86; Sh. Dig. 192-7; Sabh. 67-8. Herein Dattaji is called Ankoji Datto.
3. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 4.

5. The English attempt to capture Danda Rajpuri

The English possessed no fortified place on the coast of India up to 1665. They were wistfully longing possession of the Janjira castle which is called Danda R the following extracts.

From a letter of 5 November 1657 we learn that d fratricidal war for the throne of Delhi, Aurangzeb made overtures to the English to assist him in the taking of Rajpuri castle, while Murad Bux requested them to help taking the Surat castle, but the want of means made them ble to do anything.[1]

In their letter of 9th April 1658 the Company wrote to S that "we hereby give you power to treate for the obteyning of the said port of Danda Rajapore, Basseen Bombay, or Carapatam, or such other healthfu place upon the coast of Mallabarr as you sha upon certaine knowledge or information know to be fitt for securin of our shipping, and that hath a good inlett into the countrie a trade, and such other conveniences and accommodations as necessarie for a settlement: provided that such a place or port may be procured on such reasonable termes as formerlie hath been proposed, or not exceeding the sum of four, five, or six thousand pounds in the purchase: but if the place answere all the ends before expressed, we give you further commission as you shall see occasion not exceeding 8,000 £. at the uttmost, soe that also you may be in a condition or capacitie to keep possession of the same, and that the charge will probably be maintained by the custome and revennue of the place!"[2]

Some port to be secured

Next year the Company pointed out that they preferred the possession of Janjira to every other place including Surat itself.

"Wee question not but you shall remember what commission wee gave you in our letter of the 9 Aprill last. Concerning the treating for the obteyning of the port of Danda Rajapore, Basseene, Bombay, etc., and the sor therein lymitted to be disbursed on that imp ment. Wee have some hopes that you h

Dunda Rajpuri be preferred to all other ports.

1. O. C. Vol. 25.No. 2638. E. F. 1655-60. P. 121.
2. E. F. 1655-60. P. 151.

already made some progresse herein, as you have seen occasion administred. But if you have not, then we desire you take notice that we have here lagaine reassumed the debate of this business, and doe conclude that Danda Rajapore will be a very commodious and secure place to settle upon, being soe scituated as that in respect of trade, both to Persia, Mocha, Acheene, etc., and the freenesse from troubles and dangers, that it is to be preferred farr before Surratt. And therefore wee earnestly require that you take this subject into your considerations and to prosecute the same what possibly may be, having reference to your prelymitted somme of money.....which wee would not have you to exceede.

If you shall find it facile and likely to be brought to our desired issue, namely (i. e. especially) in relation to the getting into our possession the premencioned place of Danda Rajapore, by some such stratageme as you shall conclude most fitting for the accomplishment thereof." [1].

The Company reiterated its conviction in a letter of 22nd August 1659.

" The consideration of the Duches great successe in India, in the gaining of severall places, hath incited you to put us in mind to procure some place that wee might call our owne and be masters off; least the Duch, pretending some injuries from the Mogull, may block up Swally and deprive us of trade. This wee have already had in our thoughts, and have given commission to our President and Counsell to endeavour to accomplish, and hope he will bring it to a good issue." [2].

In India nothing could be done to achieve that object. All measures undertaken by the English were ultimately defeated. The Rajapur factors were reprimanded by the Surat President.

" You forgett what you ought to doe, and run into new projects which are rotten before they are ripe; soe will bee your tancksall (taksal, mint) agreement with Rustam Jemah. But the last you mencion of (Danda?) Rojapore we charge you to act nothing without adviseing us, that soe, through your vaine immaginacions of doing something without power, you hinder

1. E. F. 1655-60. Pp. 207-8. 23rd March 1659.
2. E. F. 1655-60. P. 208.

not the endeavors of those that are commanded by their masters to use theirs." [1]

Detailed instructions were given to the two envoys, Messrs. Middleton and Edward Lloyd for reconnoitring the fortifications of the castle.

"In the month of June last (1660), at a full consultation, it was resolved and concluded that a place of residence, according to the order of our honourable employers should be sought out to settle upon and build a fortification, etc. Wee then pitched on both of you, as esteeming you the fittest persons, one to observe what accommodation for a fort, the others to experience in those parts now directed unto being very much, and therefore best able to informe. In the first place, therefore, wee desire you to put into Danda Rajapore, there to salute the Governour, or commaunder of the castle, as to observe the part, scituation, and accommodation of the place; but with the most of care of your owne persons, sending the boat on shore well man'd, and observing the countenaunces of the shore before landing; acquainting them that from us you are only desired to present a piscash delivered you, of sattin and cloth, with a complement (for write wee could not, not knowing his title) and that uppon only a desire of correspondence, as also lycense to vissit his port, if occation present; and other word of courtesie that may gaine you the time of veiwing what wee have desired.' [2]

"Our whole fleete shall saile, by the blessing of God, directly from the Gulph of Persia to Danda Rajapore, and endeavour to make a surprizeall of that castle. And therefore, for the better effecting thereof, wee require that you cause to bee shipt upon the *Eagle* and *Richard* and *Maratha* twoe morter peeces (one of the large and another of the smaller size), with 100 of the smaller sort and 50 of the larger sort of granadoe shells, or more, if you conceive it requisite, with an able person that knowes how to use them. If it shall please God to blesse us in this designe, it will doubtless bee a meanes to make a nationall setlement upon that coast. Otherwise, wee very much feare that in a short time the

A colony to be established at Rajpuri.

1. E. F. 1655-60. P. 243. 24th Octoher 1659.
2. E. F. 1655-60. Pp. 331-2. 8th November 1660.

Hollanders will bee master of all; wee having received advice that hee is making great preparation, both of men and ships, for India against the next yeare. And therefore it concernes you, both for the honour of the nation and the good of the the Companie, to use your utmost endeavours for the effecting hereof. And if these designes doe succeed, wee hope also to make a better setlement at Surratt (according to the instructions in the aforesaid commission); and therefore it will be your wisdome so to order our affaires there that our estates may as little as possible bee within their power."[1]

Even Surat can be coerced.

The Company's commission to their Admiral contained a plan for making an assault upon Danda Rajpuri (or rather Janjira). The reasons for this strong action were stated to be the obtaining of compensation for the loss sustained by the English in the robbery of the caravan and for 'punishing the inhabitants of that place who were a crew of captors and pyrates and who were obnoxious both to their owne Prince and country and to all the merchants about them.' Hence the President was to "use the best of your endeavours for the surprizeall and taking in of the said castle; which wee conceive will the easier bee effected by the clapping in one or twoe of the smaller ships betweene the island and the mayne, to cutt off all succor and supply which they may expect from anie parts adjacent. And if they shall be willing to surrender the castle up to you upon peaceable and reasonable composicion, and desire to bee transported with their treasure by you for Mocha (which hath bin their former desires to President Fremlen) that then you make the best termes for the Company with them that you can. But if they shall stand out and refuse reasonable termes, then wee doe order that you advise in Counsell together and use utmost indeavours for the gayning of the said castle."[2] As regards the spoils obtained, guns and all warlike stores were to be reserved for the use of the Company, but of the rest of the plunder, one third was to be distributed amongst those taking part in the expedition.

The Siddis were pirates, and the capture of the castle would stop piracy

1-2. E. F. 1655-60. Pp. 337-8. 9th April 1660.

" And being once possessed of the castle, wee question not but the townes and parts of the countrie formerly under subjection of the said castle, will soone come in and submitt themselves to your Government. " [1]

Inability of the English to conquer Janjira.

By 19th March 1662 the Company was sure that the Janjira castle must have been captured by their servants. Hence the latter were ordered to remove their Presidency from Surat to Janjira. " There secure and fortifie as well as you can, with what English are in those parts." [2] However, the Surat President had intimated to the Company in the letter of 7th December 1661 that on account of the want of men and shipping, their design could not be put into execution. [3]

6. Shivaji against Janjira during 1660-1669

Shivaji was engaged in a life and death struggle with the vast armies of the Moguls from 1660 to 1666. The next year was spent in waiting upon the Emperor and executing a miraculous escape from the jaws of death itself. After his return to Rairi, he spent more than a year in building up his resources, organizing his little kingdom and making plans and preparations for his most extensive offensive. Then he was at peace with Bijapur and the Mogul up to 1669. No contemporary document speaks of an actual attack on Janjira. Hence there is much exaggeration in the remarks of Mr. Orme. " It was near 13 years since Sevagi had gained the town of Dunda Rajapore, from whence he had *every year* opened batteries against the fortified island of Gingerah, which stands within half a mile of the shore: but the Sidde kept Gallivats under the walls and ships in the harbour, which Sevagi had not vessels to withstand, and therefore could never venture to transport his troops to the assault." [4] Just a few days after the destruction of Bijapur army and its General Afzal Khan, Shivaji captured the

1. Confirmatory information is to be had on Pp. 321, 338-39 of E. F.
2. E. F. 1661-64, P. 97.
3. E. F. 1661-64. Pp. 17, 19, 139.
4. Fragments, P. 32. Sarkar (257) too has accepted this statement.

town of Danda Rajpuri and was anxious to take possession of the castle.[1] But it has been seen that the English were intent upon capturing the same for themselves.[2] In July 1661, the imprisoned Englishmen proposed that the Company would help the Raja in capturing the castle and therefore they should be let off.[3] Certain terms were proposed by the English factors for rewarding the Company for its naval assistance, but these were pitched so high that they could not be accepted by Shivaji. Then they threatened the Raja that, in case the few English prisoners were not released, they would transport a Mogul army into the Deccan[4] and hand over Danda Rajpuri castle to the Mogul.

We are told that Shivaji was very anxious to possess Janjira, for that 'is the only aim he hath,' and that the English could not take the castle for themselves, hence they could very well assist Shivaji in taking it for securing profitable privileges in his country. These pourparlers between the English and Shivaji's men seem to have been continued even up to 1663.[5]

In November 1663 it was rumoured that Shivaji intended to conquer Janjira or the island of Danda Rajpuri with the help of the Dutch.[6]

After repeated disappointments in securing European help for conquering Janjira, Shivaji made up his mind to build a similar castle for himself. So Sindhudurg was built near Malvan in 1664.[7]

By the treaty with Mirza Raja Shivaji was to deliver to the Moguls all those parts of the Konkan which were once under

1. There is no truth in Orme's story that Siddi Jawhar held the government of the port and castle of Danda Rajpuri and was admiral of the Bijapur fleet; that on escaping from Panhala fort when it was closely besieged by Jawhar, Shivaji obtained the possession of the town of Danda Rajpuri by showing a forged order from Jawhar, and that the commander of the castle entertained suspicions and did not deliver it up to Shivaji. Fragments. 9-10.

2, 3, 4. Shivaji Vol. I. Pp. 52, 63, 75, 134. 135-36, 138, 139, 140.

5. Shivaji Vol. II. P. 152.

6-7. Shivaji Vol. I. Pp. 97, 118.

Nizam Shah and retain the other portions of the Konkan which yielded a revenue of 4 lak huns.[1] From Shiva Digvijaya (240-1) it is learnt that Shivaji demanded the possession of Janjira, and both Mirza Raja and Diler Khan had agreed to give it. But Siddi Sambal and Yakud Khan when ordered to surrender the fort, replied that they would do it on receiving an imperial order from Delhi and not otherwise. Shivaji hesitated to fulfil his part of the agreement of delivering the twenty-seven forts, but was finally persuaded by Raja Jaisingh to personally press this demand regarding Janjira in his proposed interview with Aurangzeb.[1]

Shivaji could do nothing up to the end of 1668. It was only on opening his new offensive both against Bijapur and Aurangzeb that he attempted to conquer the island fortress of Janjira.

7. War between the Siddi and Shivaji in 1669

Even up to the end of February 1669 Shivaji is said to be at Rajgad and very quiet. 'Our fear of Sevagy this yeare is pretty well over, hee not using to stirr so late in the yeare.' After the raines he was expected to make his usual visits down the coast even up to Karwar. [2]

However, Shivaji and the Siddi began to plunder each other's territories. The latter was soon reduced to such extremes that in the month of April he requested the English to grant an asylum to his subjects at Bombay. Since the English did not want to exasperate Shivaji, they cautiously proceeded in assisting the Siddi.

"Its generally reported here that Shafty Ckaun is coming against Sevagy with a great army, as alsoe that the Sede of Danda Rajapore hath beseiged some of his castles, and that severall of his owne chiefe men about him have underhand plotted to betray him, upon suspition of which Sevagy hath clapt upp severall of them close prisoners and many others are fled for feare; and if these reports bee true Sevagy

1. Bhandarkar Com. Vol. Pp. 296-7; Modern Rev. Vol. 20. Pp. 10-12.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. P. 112. 9th March 1669.

cannot hold out long. When our cossitts returne wee hope to heare the certainety thereof confirmed...

Wee have lately had a greate storme on this coast, in said storme severall of Sevagys shipps and rice boates were lost, one shipp whereof very richly laden." [1]

Shivaji plunders Siddis country.

"The Seedee of Danda Rajapor hath written to mee, making his case knowne that Sevagee Raja is entred his country and done him a greate mischeife, and desires that his people may have admittance, in case they should bee forced to fly hither for refuge. Hee is promised all civility in such case." [2]

Compartaive position of the English and Shivaji.

"Wherefore wee would have you bee very cautious how you act in this affair, and by noe meanes engage or promise anything; for by that meanes you will more violently exasperate Sevagy against us, with whom you well know wee are in noe condition to contrast (i. e., enter into a controversy) at present. If wee had a strength of men and ammunition to mainetaine both places, Bombay and Danda, a faire overture were now offered us to right and revenge ourselves against the Sydy and Sevagy; but wee can easier imagine then act such a designe." [3]

Shivaji and Siddi plunder each other's territory.

Some washermen had been procured from Kolhapur; but packermen were wanting. Pepper had been bought at about the same price as in the previous year. It was too late to arrange for a supply of saltpetre that season. The pepper planters could not be sent to Bombay "by reason the waies have bin stopt by the armies of Sevagy and the Danda Rajapore Sidde, which made daily inroades into each others country. In Carwarr this King (of Bijapur) is fitting up a shipp, for which hee wants both gunns and anchors; for procury whereof his ministers have bin very earnest with us. Therefore wee desire... four anchors...

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fols. 121-22, Carwar 19th April 1669.
2. E. F. 1668-69, p. 228. 9 June 1669.
3. " " " p. 230. 22 " "

and six guns... the doeing which will bee kindly taken by the King, not knowing where elce to furnish himselfe." [1]

"Wee could not send the men to Bombay to plant the pepper as formerly promised by reason the wars having been (not?) stopt by the Armies of Sevagy and that of Danda Rajapur Sidie which made daily inroads into each others country...

These parts affords little worth your knowledge, Sevagee at present being very quiet, not offering to molest the kings country." [2]

"Wee must beare the blame in meddling with the seized lands, since you please to contradict your former order.....Wee are sorry you mistake us concerning the Siddy of Dandy Rajapor. Wee were not soe imprudent as to ingage in his or any others quarrells: but as to our complementall promise of civility (which wee were not soe strictly bound as to our prejudice), 'tis usuall and, wee conceived, could not have bin prejuditiall, since workemen of all sorts are not very plentifull amongst us." [3]

Bombay Government reprimanded for assisting Siddi.

The English were requested by the Siddi to give him refuge at Bombay and they acceded to his wishes on certain conditions.

8. Janjira besieged by Shivaji in 1669

It appears that at the close of the monsoon Shivaji began operations against Janjira.

In the letter of 12 Oct. 1669 we are told that Shivaji cannot suddenly storm the castle and the Siddi also is determined to hold it out to the last. The Mogul has given an order to Shivaji to raise the siege, but the Raja pays little attention to such commands. If the Siddi loses all hope of defending the fort, he intends to give it up to Lodi Khan, the Mogul Governor of Kalyan. The Siddi tried to win over the friendship of the Portuguese, but the Governor of Choul captured some of his ships. Hence he is looking to the friendship of the English.

1. E. F. 1668-69, p. 270. 17 July 1669.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fols. 124-5. Hubely 17th July 1669.
3. E. F. 1668-69, P. 281. From Bombay to Surat 22nd July 1669.

A letter of 16th October advises the receipt of a message from Fateh Khan, that his inland fortress was being closely besieged by Shivaji. The latter, though he could not storm the place, only thought to starve it out. Soe the Siddi resolved to hold it out to the last and then deliver it up to the Mogul.[1]

" The 12th instant wee writt by Expresse and have since received a message from the Ceede of Danda Rojapore who is much streightened by Sevagee Raja, though he cannot storme the place, only thinks to starve him out notwithstanding the grand Mogull command to withdraw his force, soe the Ceede resolves to hold it out to the last and then hath thoughts of delivering it up to the Mogull, who hath an army about Cullian commanded by Londee Ckaun. The Portugees Captain of Choule hath dealt falsely with him in seazing one of his vessels, after hee had assured him the contrary, soe hee will not trust them, and rather desires our friendship, who he takes to have more honour, and would send his vessells hither to trade from this Port, in hopes to do it more securely, being but 4 good vessells at present, some 10 others, such as trade only on this Coast, and about 15 smaller hee may send hereafter. These wee thinke not fit to refuse since it may prove soe honorable and advantagious to this Port, and the denying would too much discover our tymerossity. He would likewise send about 30 Horse and some Familys of women and children to ease his expense of Porvissions. These things are so accustomary to all distressed neighbours, so naturall and inconsiderable to the Provocation of any Enemy, that a Generall Court concluded it very reasonable to be granted. But moving the reception and enterteining the Ceede himselfe, in case he should desire it, it was unanimously agreed on we should attend your orders; though wee conceive no danger therein, not permitting him to come with more then 200 unarmed men, tho as yet he hath not been longer

The Siddi determined to hold out.

The Siddi wants refuge for his people.

Restrictions on the Siddi in Bombay.

1. E. F. 1668–69, p. 242. 16 October 1669.

then to put himselfe into a readinesse to go to Court, and our obleiging him herein may induce him, if your Honours &c., can make any advantage thereof to a readinesse to gratefie, in any honorable Proppositions. This place (Danda Rajpuri) is doubtlesse of great concerne, almost invincible, if not blocked up by sea. It hath 572 peeces of ordnance in it, as good report speakes, and may be kept with a small force; and, if occasion were, some number of Portugees souldiers might be procured. The place would be much more considerable then this. The Company formerly have had an eye towards it, and now may be the very nick of time to compasse it.

Jinjira invincible.

If the troubles of Surrat should impead the dispatch of the Europe shipps (which God forbid) their stay might contribute to the advance of the designe; much might be said pro and con; we may err in being too zealous to promote our masters interest. But hope you will seriously consider what to doe and pardon what amisse herein and let us hear from you in answere hereunto with all speed and if 2 or 3 ships going down the coast were ordered to touch here and we empowered to appeare with them at Danda Rajapore if occasion should present, some good might come by now having a good pretence to treat with him, he courting us at present for his own intereste and the knowledge of the place may be advantagious in the future if no good should be now done, and if once we had that we could easily prevent any mischief coming to this, we wish the French understand not what may be done in the perticular. And we are sure you will not remember small injuries part to the incomoding any good of import may be to come, and tis not impossible but acceptable tearmes may be offered him now in this condition; we hope to send 100 Candy coir in a few dayes in a vessell we are in treaty for and shall as ordered put 3 or 4 English on board her." [1]

Plan of the English to secure Janjira.

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. 4, Pp. 24–5. Bombay Port to Surat 16th October 1669. E. F. 1668–69, Pp. 242–3; F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 151.

These arguments were further enforced in a private letter from Young to Aungier, in which he said; "I have writ in general (letter) touching Danda Rajapore which is a place soe considerable that if it could bee purchased on any good tearmes. I think this were not to bee put in competicion with it, which will cost much, the fortefieing and making tenable, and if wee were posest of (it), we should not neede feare Sevagee nor the Mogul in neither; and I know not what the former could advantage himselfe in Bombay, more then in taking the Gunns, which I would have removed to Danda till our works were compleat; which might goe on if we have noe force remaining on the island, since we have no water, and if we once had that, they would both be unwilling to differ with us, I doubt not but you understand the comodiousnesse of the place for security of the shipping under command, with the goodnesse of the Harbour. If the keeping the three shipps would certainly put us into possession of the place, I should thinke it worth the charge, we need not doubt good supplies next yeare. Laskars might supply the roome of good number of men, which might be spared out of the shippes whilst they stay in India, and then both places might continue fortefied. Once having made so good tearmes with the Ceede we might have the use of his small vessells to destroy all Sevagees force by sea. I thinke this my duty to offer these things to your consideration and am loath to trouble you further now in this buissy time, knowing your judicious eye will soon discover what is most fit to be done.[1]

The English intend to purchase Danda Rajpuri.

Janjira can be easily surprised by the English.

President Aungier warned Young to be cautious in permitting the Siddi to come to Bombay and to wait for his orders on this point.

"In case you have any overtures made you by the Siddi of Danda Rojapore of his desires to come to Bombay, we would have you be very cautious, in what nature you treat with him, but rather keep him off with delays in expectation of an order from

1, F. R. Surat Vol. 105, Fol. 150, Bombay 16th Oct, 1669 (Henry Youg).

us, for in case he designes to deliver up the Castle to the Mogull, we cannot understand any advantage, rather a prejudice will accrue to the Company thereby and we have no reason to receive him or any of his people on those terms, for we shall certainly exasperate a potent and desperate neighbour Sevagy whom we are at present in an ill condition to oppose in case he should designe us a mischife. But if the Sidy may be brought to deliver up the Castle to the Honble Company, we shall then on advice from you resolve on something concerning it." [1]

Shivaji was still at war with the Portuguese and the Siddi, but the latter was reduced to much distress.

" The only general news communicated was that Sevagee Raja hath made prize lately of some vessells belonging to the Portuguese, and they have taken one of his, which by agreement was to come to the port, by the kindenesse used to another that came hither from Aden.[2] This now taken came from the Gulph of Persia. 'Tis certaine Sevagees principall minister is very near us, at Penn, within a few houres saile, and reporte speakes himselfe not farr off. The Siddy is yet in distresse, but we heare not from him, nor from you touching his shipping people, etc., as we expected you having given formerly such orders touching him." [3]

9. End of the regime of Fateh Khan in 1669

According to Khafi Khan, Siddi Fateh Khan was reduced to such extremities that in the fourteenth year of his reign (1669) he offered to surrender the fort to Shivaji, upon a pledge of security to himself and the garrison. His three Abyssinian slaves-Sambal, Yakut and Khairiyat-came to learn of their master's intention. They took counsel together and resolved not to allow the island to pass into the hands of an infidel. So they determined to take Fateh Khan prisoner, and to make Siddi Sambal write for help

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. 4, P. 33. O. C. 3361. Surat to Bombay 1st November 1669. E. F. 1668-69, p. 244.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. P. 154. 6th November 1669. A letter of 7th September 1669 speaks of the arrival of Shivaji's ship from Aden.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 105. Fol. 155. 6th November 1669.

to Ali Adil Shah as well as to Khan Jahan, the Mogul governor of the Deccan. The former could not send any assistance in time, but the latter was highly delighted to have such a useful ally against Shivaji. Siddi Sambal, on accepting allegiance of the Mogul, got an assignment of Rs. 3,00,000 on the revenues of Surat and the post of Admiral of the Mogul navy. Siddi Qasim seems to have received the command of Janjira, and Siddi Khairiyat of Danda Rajpuri.[1] Then all the three put their heart in the defence of the castle. But this story is not at all supported by the contemporary documents reproduced in the next section.

10. Siege of Janjira in 1670

The Bombay letter of 28th June 1670 makes it evident that Janjira had been long besieged by the Maratha forces and was in danger of being lost if Shivaji appeared in person, that the English expected the Siddi to make an offer of ceding the castle to them, and that the Mogul Prince had sent an ambassador to probably settle terms of the transfer of the Island castle to the Emperor.

"By a bazar pattamar the Deputy Governor wrote a few lines to the President the 25th current, giving the news that Sevagee had taken Mouly from the Mogull and that he had recovered all his castles and strongholds upon the hills, excepting one named Carnalla, which, upon the report of his takeing Mouly, tis thought will be surrendered and some of his forces have been all that time against Danda Rajapore, which will be in danger to be lost if he joines his forces together against it in person. 'Tis probable, so soone as boates may venture to sea, the Siddy of Danda may send to us (as he did the last yeare to Captain Young) for protection and security of his family and estate or for provisions which will be one of his greatest wants, or should he make overtures of another nature, wee desire to have your orders timely that wee may be provided with an answer.

1. Bomb. Gaz, XI. 437. Elliot VII, 289-90. Orme (10) and Waring (71) are wrong in placing the transfer of Siddis from Bijapur to the Moguls in 1660.

Here lyes Embassadour of the Prince of Orangabaud, Cojah Alladin, he that is a debtor to the Company for horse sould him, he declares his Embassy to be to Danda Rajapore and Goa, only spends the raines here."[1]

The Surat President replied to the preceding letter on 10th July and said that Shivaji was expected to carry on vigorous operations against Janjira to such an extent that he would not fail to master it at last. Hence he explained the policy to be observed by the Bombay Government with regard to the Siddi and Shivaji.

"There is no doubt but he will follow his attempt against Danda Rajapore very vigorously, for his heart hath been set upon it many years, and he will not fail to master it at last. Your proposall touching such overtures as may be probably made you by the Sydy, of what nature soever, wee have considered of, and declare to you our constant and unaltered oppinion, that, as the posture of affaires doe stand at present between the potent parties engaged in this warr, it cannot be prudence in us to engage ourselfes on either side or to contenance or assist either partie, but professing neutrality and indifferent friendship to all, to stand upon our own guard and improve such advatages as the successe of the warr on either side shall offer us for the Company's interest. As to Danda Rajapore itselfe, though the Siddy should offer it to us, as tis said he did formerly in President Blackmans time, wee say it would not be safe for us to accept it, neither in respect of Sevagy nor the Mogull, for neither the one nor the other would suffer us to enjoy it, but wee should infallibly involve the Company in a chargeable and destructive warr, for which you are sensible how ill wee are proved either with men, money, or amunition, and though wee doe esteeme the place considerable for strength, yet doe wee not soe overvalue it as to hazard the losse of the Company's trade

The English not to side with any party.

Janjira cannot be kept by the English against Shivaji and the Mogul.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 6. P. 28. Bombay to Surat. 28th June 1670. Cf. A letter of 5th August 1670. Khoja Alla-Ud-din, the Mogul ambassador, was going to Rajpuri from Bombay and desired the English to give him 200 Kolis for his voyage.

to procure it; nor doe wee see how it would quite the charges of maintaining itt (for it will require at least 4 or 500 men), unlesse wee had the adjacent country under contribution which is now all under Sevagees power and never to be recovered but by a potent army that can be alwaies master of the field. Besides, should the Siddy make such an overture of delivery, you may be sure, he will demand such tearmes that wee shall not be able to comply with all without apparent prejudce and hazard of the Shippes returne for England, which wee are sure the Company cannot well approve off. Wherefore our opinons are that, if the Siddy sends to you on any such score, you put him off with some dilatory answere, pretending want of order from Surratt or England in a matter of such consequence. Now as to matter of protection for his wives and family, in case they flye to you, you may not forceably turne them away, but advise them in a friendly manner, for their greater security, to repaire to Surat or Cambaya, for that Bombay cannot be safe for them, in regard of Sevagees so near neighbourhood who, will always have his eyes upon them."[1]

Siddi's family not to be permitted to stay long.

The Deputy Governor of Bombay assured the President and Governor in his letter of 27th July that he would faithfully carry out the above policy, and conveyed the news that Janjira was not besieged.

" As to the instructions you have given us in case the Siddy of Dunda Rajapore should make any proposall to us we should soe near as may be observe them, for our directions and orders; these Cossetts comeing that way say that it is not now beseiged (by Sevajee)." [2]

However, in the Bombay letter of 20th August it was reported that Shivaji had not raised the siege, but was attempting to win over the Siddi by promise of promotion. In pursuance of that policy, the Bombay Government excused itself from supplying

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19. Pp. 27-28. Surat to Bombay.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 6. Pp. 35-36. Bombay to Surat.

the Siddi provisions and saltpetre, and even threatened to punish some English merchants who had dealings with him.

"The Siddy of Danda Rajapore sent a boate here that brought a letter to the Deputy Governor complemental, refferring his bussines, to be delivered by his said servant, who made knowne that his masters desire was to spare him graine for his horses and some quantitie of saltpeeter. His business beinge known, we deferred our answer untill another day and then acquainted them that we had noe saltpeeter, the Governor of Surratt not permitting us to bringe any thence; and for provissions for horses or rice, we had not sufficient for our owne supplies of the Island, for which reason we had issued forth orders some months before that noe persons should send forth any graine off the Islande. With this answer they seemed satisfied, for they had been inquisitive not unlikely with Mr. Ball, who drives a trade with them for elephants teeth, which the Danda vessells gett from pyracy of Surratt juncks. They alsoe sent to our powder-maker to see what they could procure of him and to entice him off. They then desired they might be accomodated with a few drugs and rice for theire men (who were 25 men) for there voyage, which wee graunted them to the quantitie of 3 candies in all, Mr. Ball, Mr. Simons and Mr. Hill and other Freeman who intended to furnish Danda Rajapore with rice they have bought for that purpose, and some of them have gone in person, which we having little notice off forwarded there soe doeinge, in regarde it did not consist with our safety and the interest of this Islande to aide or assist any of those our neighbours, who were engaged in warr one against another, which they might well understand, knowinge how much this Islande must be beholding to the opposite Maine, which Savagee possesseth at this tyme, who hath his spies here in all places and can tell from what place his enimies are supplied. They promised to forbeare sendinge it to that place, and we assured them that if they did and the Company received any damage therefrom, their estates should be liable to make satisfaction; what they determine since we know not. The Carwar Cossetts told us that Sevagee did not besiege it,

The Siddi asks for provisions and saltpetre, but refused.

Suppliers of provisions threatened.

but wee understand from the Siddeys men that Sevagee hath 5000 men against it, and that he sent him word that he had now taken Mouly and all the castles on the Hill from the Mogull, and did he now thinke to withstand him, and promised that if he would deliver him the castle he would make him Generall of his army; but he scornes him and knows Sevagee cannot take it soe longe as he can be relieved with porvissions by sea and land, Here is a chest of Grezio Currall brought hither from Suratt for an encouragement to merchants that should enquire for such commodities, but here are noe merchants will frequent this porte for trade dureing the warr betweene Sevagee and the Mogull on the adjacent Maine, and therefore attend your orders how yee will have it disposed off." [1]

The Siddi was asked by Shivaji to join him.

Afterwards, Shivaji was busy in his lightning raid upon Surat and some other desperate design[2] with a fleet of 160 vessels and an army of 30,000 men and hence could not concentrate his whole strength against Janjira. It is evident from the preceding documents that up to the end of 1670 there was no serious revolt against Fateh Khan and that the castle had not been surrendered to the Moguls.

11. The Portuguese help the Siddi

During this war between Shivaji and the Siddi, the Portuguese were naturally expected to side with the latter. In a communication of 28th May 1669, the Viceroy of Goa informed the Secretary of State that the fortress of Danda Rajpuri was besieged by Shivaji's men, and that they did not think it expedient to allow it to be taken by Shivaji and thereby to have such a terrible enemy as their neighbour. They were of the opinion that everything should be done for supplying men, munitions and provisions to the fortress to enable the Siddi to maintain its defence until August, when they could effectively relieve it. On 21st August 1669, the same acting Governors passed express

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 6. Pp. 47–48, 49. Bombay to Surat.
2. O. C. 3513; 24th November 1670.

orders to their officers that the Siddi should be helped at all costs. Finding that his plan of conquering the fortress was being frustrated by the Portuguese, Shivaji sent Vithal Pandit as his ambassador to negotiate with the Portuguese. The following notes were exchanged between them.

Shivaji's note to the Portuguese

1. When the sailing boats and patmarins of Sivaji Raje are plying on the sea, the Portuguese should not interfere and molest them in any way whilst going or returning.

2. To the Abyssinians of Danda they will not give any place, or provisions of any kind; and they should issue orders to this effect.

3. Our sailing boats and patmarins of merchandize, which are captured, shall be ordered to be returned.

4. You should send one person in company of our ambassador with your letters to all the captains of your ports, so that they have good understanding with the Subedars of Sivaji and the same should act according the orders of the government.

5. The Imamo (of Muskat) desired us to give him provisions and place in our ports to take waters, as compensation of these things, he would pay us the necessary money and that we should give to them our boats and patmarins. But we answered that nothing would be given to the said Imamo and that he should not be favoured in any way, as we are friends of the Portuguese. For this when the Imamo would come out for fight with us, the Portuguese would favour and help us; and likewise, we should do to the said Portuguese, when they come to fight with the Imamo, paying us the cost of military service.

6. Between us and the Mogul there is war, for this and that we and the Portuguese may be united and not to give place to the Mogul in our lands and neither in your lands.

7. Of the past there is no need to mention; in the future we will not interfere with the Portuguese affairs.

The Portuguese reply to the note

1. Small boats and patmarins could ply freely, but the large ones such as galliots and sailing vessels which go to the coast and have to cross the gulf, should have letters patent, which shall be given to them on the same terms as to the subjects of the Mogul.

2. It is agreed to.

3. As regards handing over the vessels and patmarins which are detained (by Shivaji) from the resident subjects, and merchants residing in the city and in other fortresses and ports of this Estate, and whatever more has been taken from the same persons, these should be handed over in the same way as vessels and patmarins detained from the subjects of Sivaji by us.

4. A person will be sent by the estate, with letters to Captain of the army of His Majesty, to have friendly correspondence with the subedars and ministers of Sivaji-these shall be on the same terms as the Captains.

5. As Sivaji Raje shall help and favour us against the Imamo, in case we declare war, so we should order to give help freely as Friend of the Estate, on declaration of war by Shivaji Raje, either to his Subedars or Captains; we will not give provisions in our ports, neither allow water or any other kind of help.

6. The terms of peace between this Estate and the King, the Great Mogul, are very old, and under these terms forage and place in our ports, cities and fortresses could not be denied to his oppressed subjects, and likewise when Sivaji Raje, his Subedars and Capitains require the same, these should be given to them.

7. Having friendship and good will, old things will be forgotten by both the parties. This should be done with Sivaji Raje Antonio de Mello de Castro-Manoe Corte Real de Sampaio-Seal (chapa) of Sivaji Raje.

Then the following was done:

" Adjustment; " Renovation of peace and amity between the Illustrious Senhores Governors and Captain Generals of the

Estate of India and Sivaji Raje. Whereas there has been some misunderstanding and quarrels between the captains of Sivaji Raje and the subjects of His Majesty, it is time to let us know by your letter and a proper ambassador, if you desire to keep up good peace with the Estate-they will be good enough to grant and revalidate the former friendship under these conditions. That he Shivaji Raje should soon give back without any art or fraud 3,000 pagodas which forcibly and under the cover of good faith and friendship were taken by him, 2,000 to a Malopa Chatim and 1,000 to Santopa Gaunco, inhabitants of this city, and subjects of His Majesty within two months.

The traders and merchants vessels which may come from Balagate to this Island of Goa, and ports and lands of Bardes and Salsette, should not be taken or detained by us, also those from the territory of the King of Portugal may go to Balagate or any other parts, paying these and other dues, although there may be war between Sivaji Raje and King Adil Shah, as free trade is for the good of all.

That the said Sivaji should hand over all the vessels detained in his ports without any pretext, not should he ask any money from the owners of the vessels on account of the expenses incurred upon them. The same should be handed over in the presence of our army, to the owners or procurators in whose company may go the owners of the vessels. Sivaji Raje to be given possession of the vessels which are detained in the fortress of Chaul and in other places of the North.

That Sivaji Raje may not build any fort or stone house at any place in his dominions on the Portuguese frontier unless a river separates the two.

That Shivaji should bear good friendship from both sides- by sea and land and if anything is done unjustly, Sivaji Raje should inform the Governors of India, and in the same manner the Governors to Sivaji Raje; and without firstly communicating, mutual friendship should not be broken and the letters should be

signed by the Governors and Sivaji Raje. The Governors should bind to the following conditions. That the said Governors should hand over all the vessels which have been captured by the Armada of His Majesty and are kept in the city or in the North without payment of any expenses.

That passports should be given to all subjects of Sivaji for all the ports, if they are not enemies of the Estate, paying the ordinary dues-the same as are paid by the subjects of the Great Mogul.

That the small boats and vessels may ply from Karanja to this city with provisions, salt and other things of this kind and should not be obliged to take passports, and in case the Armada meets them, it should allow them to pass.

That all the Armadas and merchantmen of His Majesty's subjects which by any unforeseen cause, such as high seas or by any other fault, should go into Sivaji Raje's ports, he should give them proper accommodation and give them all that is required to keep up good friendship and peace, all the vessels of Sivaji Raje should be treated in the same way in His Majesty's ports.

That since the Sidi of Danda is a feudatory of the Estate, the Governors are in this respect bound to defend him, in case it is required of the army of His Majesty. This cannot be done without offence to the above treaty of peace with Sivaji Raje who is the enemy of the Sidi; to avoid all misunderstanding on the point, the Governors, having taken part with the Sidi (in the late war) as they are bound to do so, should try their best to have instructions from authority, and settle the matter between Sivaji Raje and Sidi with satisfaction; for this Sivaji Raje should send his orders and power to Vitula Pandit his ambassador in this Court to adjust the said matter.

Both the sides should have a good understanding and firm friendship by sea and land; if anything is done out of the way, Sivaji Raje should offer satisfaction to the Governors and likewise the Governors to Sivaji Raje; and without having recourse to this way of satisfaction, peace and friendship should not be

broken; this peace and friendship should be signed by both the Governors and Sivaji Raje. Goa 10th February 1670."[1]

In their letter of 28th January 1670, the Governors wrote to Lisbon, in which they depicted their enemy in worst colours.

"Sivaji Raje has made himself master of the Konkan and levies taxes by ways which the inhabitants take ill and therefore abandon their lands. He makes a very undesirable neighbour. He is not firm in his promise and he is to be dreaded more when he pretends to be your friend: he lives on theft and cunning; this is the fellow who entered Bardez in the year 1667, at present we have to defend our lands with great caution."[2]

12. A small fleet against Janjira in 1671

In 1671 Shivaji sent a small fleet to blockade Janjira after the rains to stop the depredations of the Siddi on the coast. He was trying hard to obtain big guns from the English as well as the Portuguese, but both diplomatically refused to sell any cannon to him, since the conquest of the castle by Shivaji was in reality a danger to the port of Bombay.[3]

"Wee cannot learn at present that Sevagee is makeing any great preparacon at Sea; only a small fleet against Danda, neither his army yet in fields; soe that those alarmes (wee presume) arise from the old proverb "a burnt child dreads the fire;" wee shall be very inquisitive after him, and advise from time (to time) what wee hear.

The Sedy of Danda hath burnt Tull and other great Townes of Sevagees in sight of us.....Sevagees last fleet arrived here two dayes since from Dabull. Their commander-in-chiefe assures us of noe other great preparacons at sea, and that his master was at present in his great castle Rayaree."[4]

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji Pp. 30–34. 2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji P. 34.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 1; 30th September 1671;
   F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Pp. 32–33. 8th November 1671;
   F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 7. 30 November 1671;
   O. C. 3585. 25th September 1671.
4. F. R. Surat. Vol. 106. Fols. 26–27. Bombay 23rd Oct. 1671.

The English took all measures to hurry up the fortifications of Bombay against surprisal by Shivaji.[1]

"Wee shall study direction and warily proceed in answering either Sied Mamuds Letter or the Princes Neshan, and thinke it will be sufficient if we answer Sied Mamuds, though we desire to be better satisfied with affairs at Orungabaud which are rumoured here at present so confused that we cannot write them for credible. Cojah Alladin is now on the Island and we hear upon some late news deferrs his Embassy to Goa. We expect to be troubled with him ere long and detaine the letter wrott him by the President purposely to keep him off. We cannot propose to ourselves any advantages or priviledges he is able to procure the Honble. Company in the Princes court by opening a passage from Orangabaud for the drawing downe of goods to Cullian and Buinde whilst Sevajee is flourishing and hath in his keeping all those passes and Cullian and Buinde; besides the alteration of affair that may happen between Orangzeeb and the Prince is suffitient for us to demurr the proposalls of such a business at this time."[2]

13. The Mogul and Maratha fleets in 1672

It was in 1672 that the Mogul Emperor interested himself in the defence of the castle. A fleet was sent under one Umargee to assist the Siddi.

"There are 12 friggatts come from Goga into this river yesterday commanded by Ummergee with about a 1000 men, we cannot yett learne whether they are for service here, or designed for Danda Rajapore against Sevagee."[3]

"Here is now lying off this Bay a fleet from Surratt of about 20 sailes bound for relief of Dandrajapore. They desired freedome to enter into this harbour, and from our shores to infest Sevagee his country which wee thought not reason nor policy to grant; we wish you had advised us of their intentions that wee might have been better prepared for them."[4]

1. O. C. Vol. 31 No. 3538. 9th January 1671.
2. O. C. Vol. 31. No. 3470. F. R. Bombay Vol. 6. P. 57. 1st September 1670.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 64. Surat 22nd August 1672.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 12. Bombay 31 October 1672.

As the Bombay Government did not permit the Surat fleet to stay in the Bombay harbour, it sailed for Janjira. The Maratha fleet boldly attacked the combined Moslem fleet, but in the fight it lost 50 Machhwas. The triumphant navy came out of the harbour and in the cruise of the coast, it plundered and burnt several towns. Still the Siddi too suffered a heavy loss and hence it was uncertain which side had secured the victory.[1]

There is no earlier mention in the English Records of any fleet sailing from Surat for the help of the Siddis. The first encounter of the Mogul and Maratha fleets is differently described by Khafi Khan. Khan Jahan got together some ships at Surat and ordered a few others to be built. The fleet sailed down to Janjira. One night it attacked the vessels of Shivaji and captured them with two hundred men. One hundred Maratha sailors were killed by tying stones to their feet and throwing them into the sea. From that day the animosity between the Siddis and Shivaji grew more violent. The Raja built a new fleet and there were frequent naval fights in which, according to the Muslem historian, the Abyssinians were often victorious.[2]

14. The Maratha and Mogul fleets in Bombay

Some of Shivaji's vessels took shelter in the Bombay harbour and the English generously extended their protection to them in a curious way in the month of October 1672.

"Wee have thought good to advise you that there is laid up in this harbour six small vessells, belonging to Sevagee with his consent, all new and lately built at Cullian Bhindi, wee give out here that wee have seized on them on account of our demands made to him, and we desire you likewise to give out at Surratt that onely reason why they are seized on here, is to prevent their attempting the Surrat Armada." [3]

1. Orme 114. II. P. 35.
2. Bomb. Gaz. XI, P. 437 places this fight in 1670 on the authority of Duff who says in the note that he was not certain of the exact date of the transfer of the Siddi fleet to the Mogul.
3. F; R. Surat Vol. 106. Fol. 24. Bombay 22nd Oct. 1672.

In December Siddi Sambal came to Bombay with his fleet, and was given a great reception.

"Sidy Sambole of Danda Rajapore, Generall of the Mogulls fleete against Sevagee, coming into this harbour with a fleete consisting of 32 sayl of small vessells, itt was thought fitt to send Mr. Niccolls, the Chiefe Customer of Bombay, to compliment him and to carry him a supply of fresh provisions, as also to send him a small present, according to the custome of their partes, knowing that he may be very instrumentall in doing severall services and kindness in our generall affaires and concernes at Surrat." [1]

The English occupied such a central and strong position that their friendship was sought by both the Siddis and the Marathas.

"There are at present riding in the Bay about 36 saile small and great belonging to the Surratt Fleet which assisted Sidy of Danda Rajapore against Sevagee, of whose success we formerly advised you; the commander whereof doth exceedingly court your President to joyne with him in the warr against Sevagee promising great matters; here is alsoe an Envoye come from Sevagee himselfe in some state and he on the other side courts our President to assist him against the Mogull, promising much on his side. Your President keeps fair with both and trusts in tyme to procure reputation and advantage to your Island from them both." [2]

"The 25th Jany. the King of India's Fleete weighed and sett sayle out of this Port, the Admirall being highly satisfied with his reception here." [3]

15. Shivaji's refusal to join the Dutch against the English in 1673

Early in 1673 Bombay was threatened by a Dutch invasion. The island was evacuated by the common people out of sheer fear. Out of 4000 Christians, there remained only 200 miserable and unserviceable men. 500 Muslims and Rajputs were recruited. On the 20th of February seven Dutch ships anchored in the Bay out of command of the fort.[4] Shivaji was approached by the Dutch

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 1, p. 9. Consultation in Bombay 23rd Dec. 1672.
2. B. P. Unav, Vol. V. P. 37. Bombay 6th Jan. 1673 to Lond. O. C. 3734.
3-4. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. P. 61. 18th March 1673. Bombay to Lond. O. C. 3760. Cf. Carwar to Co. 17 Feb. 1673.

to assist them in capturing Bombay, but he refused to lend them any help against the English. The latter soon came to know of the negotiations and of the noble part played by the Maratha Raja. We learn from the following letter that Shivaji had lost a vast treasure and 15,000 men up till then in his attempt to capture Janjira.

"The other parte of the Enemys Fleete we expected every day, and prepared ourselves for them, for we had certain intelligence that Rickloff (Van Goen) taking advantage of our difference with Sevajee had made an agreement with him to assist them with 3000 men for the taking Bombay, they engaging to assist him with their whole Fleete (of 22 ships) for the retaking Danda Rajapore from the Sidye. This gave your President matter of great consideration, whereupon he dispatched Letters immediately to Sevagee for the diverting him from such a design, proposing with all advantagious offers of peace with him and the Sidy and how dangerous a neighbour the Dutch would be to both of them, Sevagee though passionately desirous of taking Danda Rajapore, against which he hath spent a vast treasure and loss of near 15,000 men, yet we presume, not dareing to trust the Dutch, did not yield to their demand, which we suppose was one chiefe argument joyned with others that the remaining part of the Fleete never came to disturb us, but whether they are gone or continue yet at Vingurla wee have no certain advise."[1]

16. Loss of Danda Rajpuri in 1673

It was in March 1673 that Danda Rajpuri was surprised by Siddi Qasim.[2] Khafi Khan says that he was distinguished for courage, benignity and dignity. He remained armed day and night, and constantly revolved in his mind plans for wresting the fort of Danda Rajpuri from Shivaji. One night while the Maratha garrison was busy in celebrating the holy festival and absorbed

1. B. P. Unav, Vol. V. P. 61. 18th March 1673 Bombay to Lond. O. C. 3760. Cf. Carwar to Co. 17 Feb. 1673.

2. Sarkar, following the Bomb. Gaz., has placed these events in 1671. It has been seen that the Mogul help was given to the Siddi in October 1672. In the following spring Qasim planned an attack on Danda.

in drinking, Qasim himself appeared with some forty ships under the wall of the fort and his brother Siddi Khairiyat secretly landed with 500 men. He led the assault with loud cries. The garrison rushed to repel the attack on that side, while Qasim planting his ladders scaled the sea-wall. Some of the assailants were hurled into the sea, others fell under the swords of the defenders, yet the storming party forced their way into the fort. Just then the powder magazine took fire and exploded with such a noise that Shivaji is said to have been disturbed in his sleep forty miles off at Rairi and to have exclaimed that some misfortune must have befallen Danda. The smoke and the noise made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, and many brave men fell in the *melee*. In the meantime Khairiyat too scaled the walls and the two parties joined hands, and the fort was taken.

Loss of seven more forts

This success was followed up by capturing six other forts in the Konkan, but the commandant of the seventh fort held out in the hope of relief from Shivaji. The assailants pressed forward and kept up so heavy a fire that the commander was afterwards obliged to capitulate on terms which were faithlessly violated. Qasim granted quarter to the garrison and seven hundred men came out. But notwithstanding his word, he made the children and pretty women slaves, and forcibly converted them to Islam. The old and ugly women he set free, but the men he put to death. On this signal victory, his rank was raised and he was presented with a robe of honour by Prince Muazzam.[1]

The preceding account of Siddi Qasim's exploits is full of exaggeration and cannot be accepted as true. The English must have noticed and described the surrender of the Konkan forts to the Siddi, if he had secured any from Shivaji. The Bombay letter of 31 October 1673 throws much light on the point.[2]

17. The Siddi's fleet in Bombay

We find the Siddi plundering the villages on the coast in January 1673.

1. Elliot VII. 291–92. 2. See P. 330 *infra*.

"If you can furnish us with 200 Mds. *morem* (?), it would supply our necessity, till we can furnish ourselves cheaper from Rajapore, from whence we cannot procure any at present in regard Siddys fleet doth infest all those ports, hereafter we hope to procure it much cheaper." [1]

At the end of April the President wrote to Surat to inform the Siddi that he would not be given permission to winter in Bombay this year.

" Yours of the 18th current is come safe to hand wherein we understand the Siddys intention to winter here with his fleet. We desire you if the Siddys fleet be not gone ere this arrives with you to acquaint him that you have received positive order from the Governor of Bombay that his fleet shall not winter there in regard when they were last here they did so much mischief to the neighbouring parts which has proved since very disadvantageous to the island and trade and further that the Government cannot answer the wintering of so many frigates and vesells of War in this port, to the King nor the Hon. Company. We wish you had or could divert them another way, for you may easily preceive our averseness to their wintering here." [2]

It appears that the Siddi had left Surat for Bombay where he arrived on 8th May.

" Here arrived in this harbour the Mogulls Fleete consisting of about 30 saile from Surratt under the command of Sidy Sambull on a designe against Sevagee. The Sidy brought a Sirpaw (a robe of honour) from the Mogull to the President, which the President received at the East India House in great state with due respect to the Mogull, all the garrison souldiers and militia being in armes attending the President to the castle (and) back againe.

The Sidy brought with him letters of recommendation from the Governor of Surratt, desiring that the King's fleets and men might winter in this harbour, which was not graunted them, only 5 of the King's frigatts were admitted to be hawled on shoare at

1. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6, p. 15, 29 Jan. 1673,
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P, 99, Bombay to Surat 26th April 1673.

Mazagaon, the Sidy with all his souldiers leaving this port and going to Danda Rajapore, the Chief Sidyes Castle." [1]

" Siddy Sambole with our (?) Surat frigates and 4 small grobes came into this port on Thursday (8th May) last and very confidently demanded to winter here with their whole fleet, army &c.; they brought a Sirpave down to the President which they pretended came from the King, but though we know there was a small cheat in it, yet.....

The Siddi's men when they were left here committed many outrages wounding and hurting many men and now also since their coming have been rude and abusive.

The Siddy and his men yet remain, but we hope some few days hence they will have a sletch of weather whereby they may quit this harbour." [2]

And acquaint them how base and rude they were to the people here when they were last at Bombay and that in their going up to Suratt they robbed and plundered several boats belonging to this place and kept several men and women some of our inhabitants, so that we were forced to redeem them with money."[3]

In the last week of May, the Siddi went away discontented to his own castle, but a few vessels of the king's fleet, as noticed above, were permitted to stay in Mazgaon.

"Touching the Siddys wintering here we have wrote you at large, he with his men are gone to Danda Rajapore in some discountent, but we concern not ourselves for it. Mirza Mamud Husan remains here with the King's vessells very well satisfied, being a more sober and reasonable man than the other.

Besides a particular guard kept at Mazgaon for the security of the King of Indias fleet, there hauled up, which it is said Sevagee has a design to burn and it concerns us in honour to defend and protect them to the utmost of our power so long as they are with us.

1. O. C. Vol, 34. No. 3779. Bombay Occurrences 10th May 1673.
2. Orme Mss. 114. II, Pp. 64, 65, 67. 17 May 1673; F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P. 107. Bombay 15th May 1673.
3. Orme Mss. 144. II. P. 67. 17th May 1673.

We take notice what you write touching the complaints made by Siddee Sambole to the Governor and have received the letter you sent from Said Mamud with yours of the 26th May, to which letter the Governor has now sent an answer open for your perusal that after understanding the content you may seal and deliver and govern yourselves accordingly.

About the 10th May there came into this road Mogulls fleet from Surat intended against Sevagee under the command of Siddy Sombole of whom mention has been made in our formers who brought a Sirpaw to your President from the King and letters of recommendation from the Governor of Suratt, &c. desiring licence for the said fleet with their men to winter in this harbour. After due consideration of the whole affair we thought good to admit the King's small frigates to be hauled on shore at Mazagaun, but would not suffer soldiers that came upon them to remain on this island who, with their commanders, took their passage from hence to Danda Rajapore, the Syddies Port town."[1]

The English took special precautions to protect the King's fleet from Maratha depredations. "Severall advise having been lately received informing that Sevagees people belonging to the opposite Main hath laid a designe and hath intentions to burne the King of India's friggatts hauled on shoare at Mazagaon, and likewise Myrza Mahmud Hussan acquainting the Governor there of, after debate ORDERED that the *Revenge* frygatt doe fall downe and lye afloate at the mouth of the harbour of Mazagaon to secure the Company's and Mogull's vessells there and that some small boats be kept on floate to be ready on all occations to secure them."[2]

18. Shivaji to surprise Bombay

It was reported that Shivaji had a design to surprise Bombay for punishing the English who had permitted the Mogul fleet to winter in their port. The Government took all the precautions to avert the calamity.

"The Governor having intelligence of certain spyes sent from Sevagee for discovering the passage of Sion and Mochimbo

1. Orme Mss. 114. II. Pp. 78, 83-4, 124. 26 May, 6 June, 28 Aug. 1673.
2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 1, P. 55. Consultation in Bombay 3 June 1673.

where the river is fordable, and there being just susspition that he hath evill designe to make an attempt on the Island in regard the Suratt fleete wintered here, and there being noe place for an enemy to pass to this Island but at those two places, the following orders, after debate, were passed.

ORDERED First that the passage boats of Sion and Mochimbo be wholy taken away and that a Proclamation be issued out forbidding all people whatsoever to pass either of those two ways from Bombay to Sallsett or any other place upon pain of severe punishment.

2. That all persons whatsoever who desire to pass from this Island or come to this Island doe make use of the passage boats of Bombay and Mahim and none else.

3. That two officers be appointed, the one at Bombay, the other at Mahim, for registering the names of all persons whatsoever that doe come on this Island, with their qualityes and cause of their coming on and other circumstances necessary to be examined; and likewise the names of all persons that goe off from the Island and the occation of their going off." [1]

Some time after, the President fully explained to Shivaji's envoy the reasons which had compelled him to accord permission to the Mogul fleet for wintering at Bombay and the ambassador seemed to be satisfied with the explanation.[2]

19. The Siddi building a fort in Nagothna

On being turned out of the Bombay harbour, the Siddi complained against the English to the Governor of Surat and tried to bring them into trouble there. At the same time, he wanted to show his mailed fist by blockading all the passes and stopping all trade with Bombay, and by planning the building of a fort in the Nagothna river for harbouring his fleet. As the safety of Bombay was threatened, the English thought out various methods of dissuading the Siddi from his project.

In a letter of 12th October from Bombay to Surat, it is said that his naval adventures had simply surprised them. Setting

1-2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 1. Pp. 37-8. Consultation in Bombay 23rd June 1673.

aside the sacred oaths taken in the name of the Quran and the Prophet, he had placed his ships in the creeks of Karanja, Nagothna and Pen, and thus caused a great inconvenience to the Island. The Siddi was a more mean and ungrateful enemy than Shivaji or any other cunning man. On account of the shortage of provisions, the English had prohibited the Siddi's ships from harbouring in Bombay. But if the Governor of Surat threatened to turn them out from the city, they should be prepared for the worst.[1]

This letter was followed by another of 17th October wherein the Governor informed the Surat Council that the Siddi was probably determined to keep the creek closed for the whole year, and to build a fort there for inflicting a great loss upon the Island. If the English at Surat were to come away from that city for ten days only, he would soon expel the Siddi from Karanja and Bombay, and take them back to Surat with greater honour and security than enjoyed at that time.[2] Full details are given in the following letters.

Causes of conflict between the English and Siddi.

"The Siddee is quiet of late, but wee heare hath writt abundance of base lies, according to the custome, against our proceedings with him; whereas wee have not done him the least injury, but only secured ourselves from their violence and from famine by want of provisions which they would have brought upon us. It's probable those base lies which he hath wrote, may heat your furious Governor, but wee confide much in your prudence to temporize with him, and the President desires that you would keep things as fair as you can, untill you have gott all your goods down, and if the Siddy doth not give us farther mollestation here, wee shall give noe occasion of disturbance from hence to him, though his People have committed great insolencys on the Island Patekas and this Towne by stealing of cattle and robbing and vexing the poore people, which as yet wee doe not complaine of, but doe not forgett it, more at present wee remember not, but kind salutes to you."[3]

1. Orme 114. II. P. 162. 2. Orme 114. II. P. 166.

3. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. Pp. 83-84. O. C. 3871, Bomb. to Suratt 23rd Oct. 1673.

The Siddi burnt several villages belonging to Shivaji and had the design of constructing a fort in the Negothna river for the wintering of his fleet, but the English opposed this scheme, as the presence of the Siddi's fleet opposite Bombay, would have endangered the security and trade of the island.

"Here in Bombay (blessed be God) wee are very quiet, but the small Fleete commanded by the Sidye, formerly mentioned, hath surprized and burnt severall townes on the Main belonging to Sevagee, over against Bombay contrary to their solemne promise to us, which hath caused some scarcity of provisions and fire-wood on the Island, and somewhat disturbed the poore merchants, and which is worse, the Sidye designes to build a Fort on a little Island in Negotann River just over against your Fort Bombay, which if they doe will prove of very evill consequence to this Island and therefore wee shall endeavour to prevent it what possible wee can and for the present have thought good on this score to forbid the said Fleete or any boats or vessells belonging to them coming into this Port any more or furnishing themselves with provisions here; and were it not for the tender regard wee have to your Honrs: Interest and Trade in Surratt and Bengala, wee should take some other course to check the Sidyes evill designe, for that we judge he is put on it on purpose by advise from the Governor of Surratt to spoyle and hinder the growth of this your Port and Island of Bombay, and therefore we beseech you to give us speedy orders how we are to proceed in such cases, for it concerns you highly to vindicate your right in this Bay and not to permitt any men of warr to neastle themselves here to the prejudice of your Trade, for the whole Bay is yours without dispute and though the Portuguese possessing now Carinjah and Salsett do pretend a right therein, and ought to hinder the Sidye from building any Fort so neer them, yet they out of pure malice to the English permitt their settlement, knowing it will doe us great mischiefe, and wee considering the present circumstances of warr with the Duch and your Trade in this

Shivaji's territory burnt by the Siddi.

The Siddi desires to build a fort in the Negothna Bay.

Resort to force against the Siddi.

King's dominions and haveing noe positive order from your Honrs: to make warr or breach of peace with any of our neighbours were forced to dissemble our grievance, though never soe much affronted, but our chief check is want of order or commission from you; wherefore we beseech you againe and againe to consider the promised and to strengthen us with your wise counsell and orders how we are to act in cases of this nature, and we faithfully promise and assure you that we will not abuse any power you shall please to entrust us with by rash or violent proceedings, but will act with great cautions and serious consultations guiding ourselves according to the necessity of affairs for preserving and promoting your just right, for as inconsiderate quarrels with our neighbours are not justifiable, soe a too susceptible and profound patience in bearing such injuryes no wayes consisteth with your Interest, much less with your Honour. Sevagee holds a faire understanding with us and we with him in a covert way. By the shipping we shall send you a Narrative of our Treaty with him, which is in a manner concluded we hope to your advantage and reputation, and we have made him now soe well to understand us that we persuade ourselves his country will prove extra-ordinary beneficiall to your trade in time." [1]

Treaty with Shivaji almost concluded.

"The councell receiving a letter yesterday from the President and his Councill at Bombay, bearing date the 17th current, advising of Sidde Sambole the Mogull's Admirall passing the Port and blocking up the river of Caranjah within the Bay, with an intention alsoe to build a Fort upon a little Island that is at the mouth of Caranjah Bay which would be of great prejudice to the Island, depriving them of their trade and provisions for the Island which already were very scarce and deare, by reason of his stoping their commerce into those rivers of Penn and Negatam in Sevagee's Countrys, from whence the island ever had the greatest supplys; the case being thus, our President desires the advice of

The quarrels between Shivaji and the Siddi affect the English.

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. Pp. 85-89. O. B. 3172. 23rd Oct. 1673 Bombay.

his Councell here, it being a business of very weighty import, the Councell have deliberated thereon and finding the case to consist of two parts, Viz. the safety and prosperity of the Island in its people and trade and the conservation of our Trade here, and in other parts of the Mogulls territorys, or whether the Companys concerne in their Island or in their present trade here is to be preferred. As to the Island we know that if the Sidde continue long there to stop up those rivers, the people cannot long subsist for want of provisions, and will desert the Island, which depopulation will loose the incomes and revenues, and soe be a great charge on the Honble Company in the maintenance of their garrison and other great charges there. The Honable Company's trade in this king's Dominions is not small, it is of great consideration and ought by all meanes to be preserved, but yett if we cannot maintaine our trade here, without the loss of our Island, wee doe truely think wee may rather hazard the one than loose the other, for soe long as wee keepe our Island wee certainly be admitted Trade, when that is lost wee shall be subject to a thousand insolenceys. But to make a breach with these people at this time (which will certainly follow upon any violence offered to their fleet) will expose our persons to danger and notably hinder us in the lading home what goods wee have for the expected Fleet, which God knows in such cause, how great a loss may be yet added to what wee already expect by dead freight, should they hinder our goods from passing downe; this we know is the sole reason, that binds our friends at Bombay from putting in execution, what they might justly doe, but wee add withall the power of our enemys the Duch, who upon such an action would soone strike in with the Moors, and proffer them the assistance of their Fleet to take the Island, soe that the Councell having duely considered the event of this affair shall give it as their opinion, that they doe forbear offering violence to the Fleet at present, but endeavour what they can by fair means, though it were by a considerable present to the Sidee to persuade him to depart from blocking up those rivers which if he will not, and continues there in building a Fort, wee doe

The loss of trade to be preferred to that of the Island.

Violent methods not to be used to expel the Siddi.

then conclude, that when our Fleet is laden and returns to the Island if they find them there, that they force them out of the Port and wee shall with patience attend the event of it here, in the meantime if his Honr. shall complaine to Bauder or Dileel Ckawns: of the injury and prejudice the Sidde doth to the Island and press them to command him thence it will not doe amiss. This is the result of the Councell." [1]

The Surat factors did not agree with the aggressive policy of the Bombay Council. They informed the latter that the news-writers of the Siddi had written many unpleasant things against the English. For instance, the wheat purchased by the Siddi was not permitted to be taken by his vessels that had to sail off from Bombay without any goods at all. On the other hand, Shivaji, the enemy of the Moguls, was sent presents through their ambassador. The Surat Governor had therefore sent them the message to humour the Siddi with a polite treatment.[2]

20. The Siddi dislodged from Nagothna

While the English were deliberating upon the means of expelling the enemy from the Nagothna Bay, Shivaji pounced upon him with his usual energy and forced him to give up the enterprise. The succeeding letter is important in proving that the Siddi had inflicted an insignificant loss on Shivaji, but had exaggerated his exploits in his correspondence to the King.

" Siddi Sambole hath gained little honour or advantage by assaulting that parte of the Maine over against us, and blocking up Negotaun river, for he hath lost a great many men, hath been cheated of his hopes, for he had thought to bring that part of the country to contribution. but Sevagee sent a considerable strength of about 3000 men to defend his country against him, so that now with shame hee thinks of leaving the place, and in respect of the present condition of our affaires, wee shall neither totally disoblidge him nor yet concerne ourselves much

The Siddi expelled from Negothna by Shivaji.

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. Pp. 90-92. O. C. 3873. Consultation in Surat, 25th Oct. 1673. On account of the blockade, the labour supply to Bombay was also stopped. Orme 114. III. P. 31. 15 Dec. 1673.

2. O. C. 3879. 30th October 1673.

in assisting him, but shall willingly afford him provisions to be sent out to his Fleet abroad, provided he will not trouble this Part, but doubtless he will trouble us, for he knows not what to doe nor where to goe and wee believe at last will turne Pirate and the poore country merchants are allready fearfull thereof, so that wee heartily wish wee had the *Revenge* and *Hunter* Frigotts here to convey merchants vessells whereby we should gaine great reputation, and creditt to the Island, and in tyme persuade the merchants to contribute towards the charge. Now in regard it cannot otherwise be so long as the Siddy continues with his Fleete but that occasion of differences will frequently fall not betwixt us and him, the President hath thought good to write a letter to Mr. Thomas Roach in Agra giving an account of this matter and desiring his asistance to vindicate us against the false aspersions the Siddy hath allready wrote and will write against us. If wee had any able Scrivan here whom we could trust the President would write an Arzdash to the King in the Persian language; but having none who is capable or whom he dares trust, he desires you would do it from thence or send him downe some able man that he may write from hence, for it is fit the King be acquainted with his proceedings and what great dishonour the Siddy brings upon the King in these parts and impossiblities of doing any good against Sevagee hitherto, nor is he capable of doeing any but only plundering a few open villages to seaward, and burning a few Cajan houses, and takeing some cunbis slaves, which is the worst he can doe and what Sevagee not at all values, but this doth not concerne us to write to the King for he must and will be cheated, but it concernes us to vindicate our own innocency from those lyes and calumnys which the Siddy casts upon us, least the king should through misinformation pass some order to the prejudice or dishonour of the Honble: Company's affaires. The President takes notice what you write touching a present to be given the Siddy to persuade him to leave the Bay, but he noe wayes approves thereof, for it would be of dangerous consequences, and would be expected as a yearly tribute, and therefore

Aurangzeb petitioned against the Siddi.

Little harm to Shivaji.

No present be given to the Siddi.

bring a great inconvenience, and loose the Company's right to the Bay, a better and safer way would be to make a present to Ghasty Chaun and desire his strict order to the Siddy that he doe not molest this Bay in the least, but keepe a fair correspondence with us. But neither the one nor the other desires a present on this occasion."[1]

In the 'Bombay Occurrences' of 31st October it is recorded that the Siddi's people who were carrying away the paddy after cutting it from the fields in Shivaji's territory, were surprised by Maratha soldiers. After a sharp skirmish the latter despatched about a hundred men to the other world and then carried the heads of prominent Muslims to Shivaji.[2]

In the first week of November, two gallivats of war and several other small vessels of the King's fleet left the Swally Marine to meet the Siddi's fleet. 6 gallivats and 40 grabs of Shivaji's armada had come out to oppose the Muslim fleets. The English gave a very good treatment to the Mogul fleet in Bombay and hence hoped that the Subedar of Surat and the Emperor would form a good opinion about them.[3]

21. Mediation of the English for peace

The year 1674 opened with the Maratha fleet before Jinjira. The siege had continued for a long time and the Siddi entertained some hope of putting an end to the war through the mediation of the English.[4] In the Bombay consultation held on 6th March 1674, it was decided to authorise their envoy Narain Shenwi to negotiate a peace between Shivaji and the Siddi.

"Whereas the Sidy of Danda Rajapore hath made his applications to the President desiring him to mediate a peace betweene Sevagy and the President having communicated the same unto the Gentlemen of the Councell of Surat, who are very much inclined to goe and treate on the subject, it was resolved that Naransinay

1. B. P. Unav. Vol. V. Pp. 94-96. O. C. 3881. 31st October 1673. The letter of 7 Nov. from Bombay to Agra confirms the above statements. F. R. Bomb. Vol. 6. Pp. 251-2.
2. O. C. 3879.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 3, P. 42; Orme 114. II, P. 206. 23rd November 1673.
4. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 71. 17th Feb. 1674.

in his treaty with Sevagy should endeavour to find and search whether Sevagee bee inclined thereunto or no; and according as he finds him, to advise thereof, which if hee seemes to embrace then to send Mr. Henry Oxinden to him as an Envoy to conclude the old business and confirm the Articles of peace as formerly agreed on; and also to endeavour to make peace and freindshipp betweene Sevagee and the Sidy, which if it pleaseth God to bring about, will tend much to the honor and advantage of the Honble. Company on this Island." [1]

The English were anxious to conclude a treaty with Shivaji and took care not to displease him by permitting the Siddi's fleet in Bombay. The Bombay Council informed their colleagues at Surat in March that they had decided not to allow Siddi Sambal to winter here during the monsoon.[2]

Narain Shenwi was asked to mediate a peace, but he wrote to the President from Rairi that Shivaji had no inclination to talk of peace with the Siddi. It was necessary that Shivaji be given a speedy satisfaction regarding the sheltering of the enemy's fleet in Bombay. He then proceeded to give an account of the naval skirimish between the fleets in the Satavli river.

22. Fight between Sambal and Daulat Khan

" I shall give your Honour what I have heard of Siddy Sambole in a few words, he engaged with Daulett Ckauns navy in Satouly River where there was slaine above one hundred men of the Siddys and 44 of Daulett Ckauns who gaines the victory but is wounded with an arrow and it is reported that Siddy Sambole is likewise wounded, and his hands burnt, he not meeting with good success in the aforesaid river is gone to Haresser neare Vessing–this news Sevajee told me himselfe, now I desire your Honour not to licence the Siddy to enter into your port nor his men to come on shoare, for if you should not thinke convenient to refuse him, it would cause great difference to arrise betwixt us and Sevagee, for soe much he declared to me at first meeting." [3]

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1. Pp. 17–18.
2. Orme Mss. 144. III, P. 24th March 1674.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. 4th April 1674.

23. The Siddi refused admission in Bombay

Thereupon the President again informed the Surat Council that their previous decision of not permitting the Siddi to winter in their harbour was confirmed in view of the strong attitude of Shivaji against it.[1]

Thereupon the Surat Factors requested the Bombay Council to send a sealed letter to the Governor, giving detailed reasons for refusing permission to the Mogul's fleet for wintering in the Island.[2] In pursuance of this request President Aungier made a very strong case against the wintering of the Siddi's fleet for being put before the Mogul Governor of Surat. He stated that Shivaji had prohibited the export of provisions from his territory and there was such a scarcity that the English were themselves in trouble. They would never be able to secure any provisions for the Siddi's fleet. In case the Siddi was given shelter by the English, Shivaji was ready to invade Bombay in alliance with the Dutch whom he would support with 10,000 men for the conquest of the Island.[3]

The Surat Council was won over to the decision of the President and the Factors assured him of their full support in carrying out this policy.[4]

In a few days Shivaji issued peremtory orders to his Subedar of Kalian, Bhiwandi and Nagothna against the supply of provisions to Bombay and for making preparations for a war with the English.[5]

While the English were maturing their plan of not allowing the Siddi to winter in their port, the latter suddenly appeared before Bombay and as fate would have it, a severe storm forced him to seek shelter in the harbour.

"The Sidyes fleete, which lay at the mouth of the Bay, being on Saturday last, 25th current, forced by a violent storme

1. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 98. 9th April 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. P. 143. 7th April 1674.
3. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 102. 18th April 1674; pp. 153-4.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 87, 18th April 1674; 29th April 1674.
5. Orme Mss. 114, III. P. 104, 25th April 1674.

of wind and a great sea withall to come close into this harbor for shelter, they being not able to ride it out withoutg reat hazard and danger of looseing the Kings frygatts, the President thought fitting out of comon civility (in regard they were forced in by stress of wheather) to supply them for the present with what provisions they stood in need of during their short stay in this harbour; where, being safe at an anchor, the Sidy this day sent one of his wintering of the King's five frygatts here. Whereupon, the Councell being convened and the whole circumstance of this affaire againe fully considered and debated and laid open to the Noquedah the great and apparent danger the frygatts would undergoe if they wintered here, in regard of the King's enemy Sevagy in the opposite Maine would send shipps or corrupt some people on this island to burne them as they lay in harbour, and many other dangers and inconveniencys being also declared to the Noquedah, the result of the Councell was that they would not recede from the former deniall and withall confirmed the same. Then the President propounded to the Councell that, seeing it pleased God to force the Sidyes fleete into this harbor, and that he supposed Sevagy might be offended at our sheltering his enemy soe near them, whether Mr. Oxinden should as yet be sent with the present to Sevagy to conclude the old Rojapore difference and confirme the peace betweene the English and him, or no? which being fully considered.

RESOLVED That Mr. Oxinden should gett himselfe ready to goe to Sevagy, but that his journey for the present should be suspended untill the Sidyes fleete be gone from hence, which 'tis hoped wilbe in few dayes if it pleaseth God to lay the high winds and seas."[1]

The English soon sent a deputation to the Siddi to advance arguments against his stay there and to give him an ultimatum to withdraw after three days.[2]

The Siddi, however, did not retire; on the contrary, he began to rob and burn some villages on the mainland. The English des-

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1. Pp. 26–27. Counsultation in Bombay. 27 April 1674. Cf. O. C. 3918 of 28 April 1674. Bombay Occurrences.

2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, 30th April 1674.

patched the *Hunter* to prevent his raids. He further tried to land 500 armed men on the island. Thereupon the English opened fire on his fleet, and he too did the same in return.[1]

The Siddi did not make a move, even though he got order from the Governor of Surat to bring the two great ships to that port.

"To yours of the 18th of Aprill, wee have already given answer and owne the receipt of that and of the 25th, wee have now alsoe yours of the ultimo ditto month, all which treating of the disturbances you have and are like to receive from the Siddeys fleet in your port and the great detriment the island already hath suffered by their wintering there the last yeare, and much more should you permitt them this and haveing perused your severall reasons and arguments both to the Governor and us which wee have endeavoured to make him sencible of, as well by your letters, as by Sied Mahmud, which wee doubt not, they are apprehensive of as well as wee, we have formerly let you know and are still of the same minde, that noe interest here shall inclyne us to consent to the prejudice or ruine of the Companys island and therefore lett not any thought of us make you declyne your intencon of removing the Siddys fleet from you, if you have not already done it, Wee have this day learnt from the Governor's Duan that the Governor about 8 dayes past, wrote the Siddey, what the kings order were, that the 2 great shipps should be brought up Surat, and that if hee kept frigats abroad, hee should pay for hire of them, soe that wee conclude, rather then the Siddee will be at the charge, hee will bring up all the vessells and wee hope ere this you are rid of them, soe that with this wee thinke fitt to dispatch one of your pattamarrs, reserveing the other a day untill wee learne what answer the Governor or Sied Mahmud shall give to your letters, which if wee shall finde inclyneing to favour the Siddee, for the wintering his small vessells

Inconveniences from the presence of the Siddi's fleet

Efforts to send away the Siddi's fleet.

1. Orme Mss. 114. III, 108, 110.

at your Island then shall we deliver a letter as from you letting him know how the Siddeys vessells have gone up the river, plundered the inhabitants of the island and turned them out of doore for which reason, you will not permit any of them to winter there, and have given them orders to victuall their fleett and begone and some other circumstances, this wee have ready drawn up, but shall not make use of it unless wee finde occation."[1]

The request of the English to withdraw the Siddi's fleet is treated with contempt.

"I dispatch away Mathens with these and Sied Mahmuds letter in answer to yours which wee suppose will be noe wayes satisfactory, nor can they write otherwise, unless they had the kings order, when Sied Mahmud was told your resolucon not to permit the fleett to stay there, hee laughed, and made noe further answer, and understanding alsoe that the Governor in his letter to the Siddy had not called away his smaller vessels, the Deputy President when sent him a letter, as from his Honour letting him know how the Siddeys people had plundered some houses on the island and turned the people out of doores and as he had thereupon given when learnt what provisions they wanted for their voyage and be gone in a few dayes, for that hee would not permitt them to stay longer, this was (delivered ?) 3 dayes past, of which wee yet hear nothing."[2]

Reward for the service done in protecting the Siddi's fleet

"Wee have perused the severall papers that passed between his Honour and the Siddee about the harbouring his fleet, with you this Monsoon and the permission and grant you have given the Siddee for the same upon his signing of some articles. Wee doe truly wish you had opposed it, to the uttermost, for they will from this your favour be troublesome to you yearly dureing the warr with Sevagee and they doe look upon the articles signed by the Siddee, as a force upon them, in regard the monzoon was soe farr entered, that they would signe to any thing rather then adventure to sea. The Governor of Surat is concerned at these articles, and sayes it matters not what the Siddee hath signed to since the shipps and ffriggatts are the kings, which wee ought to

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 162. Surat (to Bombay) 7th May 1674.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 164 Surat to Bombay 12th May 1674.

protect and defend, especially being in our harbour. And whence wee think wee have made our Muzra (obeisance) and desire the king may be made acquainted with the favour and service you have done him, and the loss and damage you may sustaine by Sevagee for the same. The Governor tells us not, and sends to the Deputy President to advise his honour to write to him, that hee will protect and defend his shipps and ffriggatts dureing their stay in our Port, and such a letter hee might send to the King in our favour, but wee approve your prudence in makeing the Siddee signe to such articles and would not have you receed upon any expectacion of favour that wee may receive from the king. Our customes are moderate and while wee live peaceably and trade with freedome in his countries, wee expect noe more.

An envoy sent to avert the resentment of Shivaji.

Wee wish Mr. Oxinden good success in his negotiation with Sevagee, and those articles you propound to Sevagee approved of and signed and peaceable settlement in his countries, but wee may fear the Siddees wintering his ffleett at your island may give him cause ill to resent it, and make demurr on the business, if noe worse, which wee should be sorry to hear."[1]

24. Shivaji Maharaja

Dr. Fryer has rightly summed up the position of the Siddi up to Shivaji's coronation.

"This Season makes the Syddy retreat hither (to Bombay) with his Fleet, who from a Lord of Duccan is promoted to be the Mogul's Admiral; or truer, driven to distress by Seva Gi, undertakes this Employment, in confidence to recover his own Dominion on the Sea-Coast, whilst the Mogul's General at Land is to stop his Proceedings on that side. But Seva Gi possessed of his Country, and bidding for his strong Castle at Danda Rajapour Bay, which he has been to defend this Summer, derides his attempts, and is preparing to be install'd Mau Raja, or Arch Raja, at his Court at Rairee, for which an Embassy to keep all right must be dispatch'd."[2]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 87. Fol. 171, Surat to Bombay 30th May 1674.
2. Fryer Vol. 1. P. 195.

H. Oxinden was afterwards entrusted with the duty of negotiating a peace between the Raja and the Siddi, but he was told by Nira Pandit and Moro Pandit that no peace was possible as the Raja had high hopes of gaining the castle during or after the monsoon, Shivaji strengthened his batteries and vigorously pushed on the siege, but even this year he was baffled in his attempt.[1]

There was no movement of the Maratha fleet up to 15th August, as no news was conveyed by the English agents from Rajapur, Dabhol, etc. However, the Siddi's fleet was out for the cruise of the coast.[2] Hence the vessels dared not stir out for bringing salt from villages near Bombay. Moro Pandit, the chief minister on the main, sent numerous messages and letters to the President for supplying salt to his ports in the English vessels, but in spite of repeated refusals, he persisted in his request.[3]

25. Shivaji's ultimatum to the English

The English were at first unwilling to allow the Siddi's fleet to winter in their Island, but they soon found out that its stay enriched the people not a little by the money which he and his souldiers spent there (P. 30 *supra*). Shivaji was naturally enraged at the conduct of the English who, inspite of peace with him, allowed his enemy to obtain from them all the assistance and shelter he needed. Therefore, he sent them an ultimatum to expel the Siddi from Bombay.

" The President having received advice from Sevagee that if wee admit the Sidyes fleets to tarry any longer in our port he will notwithstanding the peace betwixt him and us fall upon his enemy in our harbour and declare warr against us, inserting that wee shew more favour to the Sidy then to him which being seriously considered. ORDERED That the Secretary and

1. Supra Pp. 19–20. 6th March 1674. 4th May 1674. 11th May 1674. 21st May 1674.
2. Orme Mss. 114. VII. P. 159. 15th August 1674.
3. Orme Mss. 114. III. P. 173. 22nd August 1674.

Captain Thomas Niccolls be immediatley sent to the Sidy to give him notice of the message Sevagy sent the President, and to declare unto him that himselfe and fleete must leave this port, they having received provisions and accomodations all the raines, which being now over they may with safety goe to sea."[1]

Thereupon the English not only requested the Siddi to retire, but put an effective stop to the recruitment being made by him at Bombay.

" The Governor and Councill having notice that the Siddy had listed a considerable number of Portugueses and Topasses, inhabitants of this island, in his service in a private and secret way without giving the least notice thereof to the governor which being a thing not to be permitted and may justly give Sevagy offence and cause him to resent it ill whereupon it was agreed on and ORDERED That a generall order be made and published strictly forbidding any person whatsoever to pass off from the Island without leave from the Governor and that the Chiefe of the Port be sent for and acquainted that if any person inhabitant of this Island shall entertaine himself in the Sydyes service (he) shall be severely punished and all his estate confiscated to the Honble. Company." [2]

26. Siege of Janjira in 1675

In the beginning of the year 1675, the siege operations were being vigorously carried on, so that Janjira was likely to fall into the hands of Shivaji before the rains commenced.

"Sidy Sambloe is returned againe with his ffleet into this port, having lost many of his men and being in a very ill condition for want of money; hee talkes of returning to Surratt, wee wish he was well there; Sevagee followes the seige of Rajapore very close and tis thought before the raine will bee master of the place."[3]

Janjira closely besieged.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1. P. 78. Consultation in Bombay 26th August 1674.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 1. P. 83. Consultation in Bombay 4th Sep. 1674.
3. F. R. Surat Vol, 107. Fol. 69. 27th February 1675.

The Emperor orderd two ships to be sent to relieve Janjira.

"The 2 shipps of the kings are ordered to be fitted out to assist the Siddy, with which I fear you will bee troubled at the island this ensuing monsoon, if their be noe harbour for them, within the Bay of Danda Rajapore."

The Mogul fleet to relieve Rajpuri.

In the next paragraph a complaint was made of the high-handed and insolent conduct of the Portuguese Armada in the Indian sea. "Wee look on them little better then enemyes; they doe dayly affront the (English) nation, by the abuses they offer all the vessells of our island they meet at sea forcing money from them, or seizing their goods or stopping their goods or stopping their trade, if they have not passes from the Portugalls, although they weare English colours and have your certificate they belong to the island. Even now Mudan is returned from Goga and tells us, his boat and two of your honours are there embargued by Frigatts of the Armada of Dev (?) because they have not Portuguese passes, and will not be permitted to come thence, untill they have bought their passes, and if they thus arrogantly begin with the boates of the island, our shipping, the traffique of the port &c., honour of the nation will soon decay and be trampled on by a proud and insolent and beggerly people."[1]

The Portuguese lay embargo on Bombay ships.

"Yesterday the Governor received a Phirmaund from the King which orders him to follow Bawder Ckaunes ordere for the supply of the Siddy and his fleet on all occassions, which formerly he refused to doe without the kings immediate orders."[2]

The Siddi to be assisted by the Surat Governor.

27. Shivaji's Armada for Janjira

Shivaji's design was frustrated and he could not reduce the fort to submission before the rains. Hence, he was hurriedly fitting up a fleet in his creek of Jetapur to invest Janjira after the monsoon.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Part II. Fol. 30. Surratt to Bombay 9th March 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 81. Fol. 106. 4th September 1675.

"Wee are now almost and had been altogather ready to haul the *Maybone* off the ground, but that men are difficult to be procured and more hard to be kept by reason a fleet of men of warr that is here affitting out for Sevagee whose servants presse all the carpenters, sawyers, and smiths that they can find to our great hinderance." [1]

Shivaji's fleet getting ready at Jetapur.

"As to fitting the *Maytree* wee have had much trouble to gett Carpenters &c to worke upon her, and after wee had to keep them, the Raja sending downe expresse order for the speedy building severall new Grabbs to be in readynesse to accompany him with his army against Danda Rajpoory, but wee hope she will be ready to waite your Honours orders in a short time....." [2]

Shivaji's fleet against Danda Rajpuri.

"All the newes wee have is that Sevagee makes preparation to take the castle of Danda Rajapore to which end besides his land army he is providing an Armada by sea, but some wise men say that he hath other deeper designes, for his Armada, to wit, to invade some of the kings coast to the northward, while his Armada is employed this way. But his designes are so well layed and secretly carryed on that noe judgement can be made of them till they are executed." [3]

Shivaji's Armada getting ready.

28. The Mogul fleet under Qasim at Bombay

The Deputy Governor of Bombay was asked by the President to allow the Mogul fleet which had sailed from Surat for the relief of Rajpuri to take provisions at Bombay, but at the same time he was instructed to keep up a fair correspondence with Shivaji too.

"As to the Fleete which is now bound to the reliefe of Danda Rajapore, you must not deny them all good neighbourly assistance to wit, wood, water, provisions, and necessarys for their mony; but you must declare unto the Generall that if he presume, or any of his people, to intrench on his Majestie's right,

The Mogul fleet to be well treated at Bombay.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 90. 17th August 1675.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 88. Fol. 99. 17th August 1675.
3. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 125. 7th September 1675.

and rob or plunder or in the least disturbe any boate or vessell from Henry Cunry and Chaul inwards into the Bay, or shall land any men to robb on any parte within said Bay, they doe actually breake peace with us, and must expect noe assistance from us, and if you doe stoutly and resolutely maintain this privilege, you will doe acceptable service to the Honble: Company.

As to Sevagee you are sensible that our correspondence with him hitherto is very faire, and acceptable to both sides, and hope it will soe continue, I pray you to encourage it soe much as lies in your power. for I expect noe meane Emolument to our Trade into his Country: which you know hath bin the subject of many debates in Councell, and I have the lesse to advise because you are already fully acquainted with all our transactions with him."[1]

Siddi Qasim, commander of the Mogul fleet

"Neer the Rivers mouth wee meet the Surratt Armado comanded by Siddy Cossam, brother to Siddy Sambole bound to Danda Rajapore, to whome as occasion serves you must not faile to shew all faire assistance and civill deportment, with regard to those instructions left with you by the president at his departure, for your kind usage of the people belonging to that fleet will be very well taken by the Governor here and the newes thereof will be represented to the King."[2]

The Siddi's fleet brought 2000 men, provisions, ammunition, etc. for the defence of the Island. It appears that Shivaji had removed his fleet from Danda Rajpuri. The Siddi's fleet made a cruise of the coast, and burnt Vingurla and several other towns. Thereupon the Maratha frigates came out to give battle to the Mougl fleet at the end of November.[3]

29. Failure of Moro Pant against Janjira

Shivaji was seriously ill for the first three months of 1676 and was afterwards busy either in watching the revolutions at Bijapur or in negotiating a peace with the Mogul general, in order

1. O. C. 4115.
2. F. R. Surat. Vol. 88. Fol. 113. 8th October 1675.
3. Pp. 166–7 *supra*.

to realize his most ambitious scheme of conquering Southern India. In April Shivaji was seen at Panhala by N. Shenwi and Modi. They reported that the Raja had no design of going on any expedition.[1] Hence up to the end of the monsoon, there was a lull in his activities against Janjira. In the first week of June, Siddi Sambal was replaced by Siddi Qasim as Governor of the Island and Admiral of the Mogul fleet.

The Raja desired to take advantage of the mutual enemity of the Siddis. Moro Pant Peshwa, who had returned to Rairi in June from his victorious expedition against Jawhar and Ramnagar, was entrusted with the task of reducing the Janjira castle.[2] In the letter of 9th August 1676 the Bombay Council reported to Surat that Moro Pant had started with a force 10,000 strong for capturing Danda Rajpuri. He had made up his mind not to show his face to Shivaji till he succeeded in reducing the castle. He cleared up the jungle, and constructed platforms on large vessels to bombard the fort under their cover. Thereupon Siddi Qasim hurried to the defence of Janjira with 4 or 5 hundred men from Bombay.

Having despatched the Peshwa to Janjira, Shivaji himself started in the beginning of October for Barcelor and Anor to conquer Kanara, but he changed his route and got down into the Balaghat for besieging the forts of Belgaum and Vayem Rayim which was at a distance of five days travel from Belgaum.[3] It appears that Moro Pant was baffled in his attempt to capture the castle. Siddi Qasim grew so audacious that he cruised along the coast and retaliated by burning down Jaitapur, the seaport of Rajapur at the end of November.[4] Shivaji was trying to secure a pledge from the Mogul General for not giving succour to the Siddi, but even this could not be affected.[5]

1. Orme 114. V. P. 40. Cf. P. 45 for Shivaji being at Rairi in June.
2. See P. 88 supra; Orme Mss. 114. V. P. 53.
3. Orme 114. V. 61, 63. 2nd and 3rd October 1676.
4. Orme 114. V. 74. 1st December 1676.
5. Orme 114. V. 74. 5th December 1676.

30. Wintering of the Siddi's fleet at Bombay in 1676

The Surat President issued positive orders to the Deputy Governor of Bombay for not permitting the Siddi's fleet to winter in their Island.

" If he doth presse very earnestly and will not be denyed, wee must governe ourselves the best wee can for the Company's Interest; in the meane time wee require you possitively and in plaine terms to declare to the Siddy that you will not permitt his wintering there; and if he talks of staying at Bombay or at Mazagon, you must tell him that it shall never be permitted, seeing he and his men have already been soe chargeable to the Island, not is he a person to be trusted on shore; and therefore if he doth desire it you must not grant it, except you are sure he will goe on board againe in a day or two time nor must you suffer his men to go ashore armed, or too many a time, for the preventing of any mischeife that may ensue. However, wee would have you be very civill in your discourses and arguments to the Siddy and all the officers, representing the unreasonableness of their requests, the trouble which wee have already sustained and the evill consequences that may follow, and fayle not to supply them with what they may want, wood, water, and provisions, and let them have noe just complaint against you in the manner, but suffer none of their vessells to haule on shore by any meanes if you can prevent it. This order wee would have you resolutely and strictly to observe till you heare further from us for wee know not yet how things will goe being at Swally, but intend tomorrow for Surat, where wee shall understand more of the Governors mind, whome wee will dissuade by the best arguments wee can from desiring the Siddyes ffleet to winter there; but if he will not be otherwise sattisfyed wee shall in few dayes send you such directions as shall be necessary for your future Government."

" To this day the Governor of Surat hath not applyed himselfe in the least to us touching the wintering the Sidyes ffleet, wherefore wee would have you continue to prosecute our former directions and not permitt them to winter there and be carefull that you be not overcome with their subtilities." [1]

The Siddi not to be permitted to winter at Bombay.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 38. Fol. 32. 21st April 1676.

31. Siddi Qasim appointed Governor and Admiral

But under the pressure of the Governor of Surat, the President cancelled his previous orders and sent instructions to let the Siddi's fleet winter in the Bombay harbour and to civilly treat Qasim.

"We have already wrote you a letter in recommendation of Siddy Cossum who is now made Governor of Danda Rajapore, and Captain Generall of the Kings Armada against Sevagee (Siddy Sambole being turned out of said office). Ghastie Ckaune Goveronr of Surrat hath commanded the said Siddy Cossum to make what haste he can to his charge and in persuance thereof hath with some importunity prevailed with us to permitt his wintering on the Island Bombay, till the monsoone serves to transport him to Danda Rajapore; he carries with him about 200 peons for his guard on the way, fearing some escounter with Sevagees forces. Wee were very unwilling to admitt soe many troublesome people on the island, but our Governor here being very importunate with us and haveing expressed a respectfull regard, and favourable assistance to our Honourable Masters interest, and promising to signifie this and other our good services to the King, wee have thought good to gratifie him herein. This day Syddy Cossum came to take his leave of the President, declareing his great obligations for the kindnesses received and promising all offices of friendshipp on his part, and whereas the President put him in mind of the unruliness and disorderly proceedings of their men formerly, he assured us that he will now take such care in governing his souldiers, and keeping them inorder that there will not be the least occasion of complaint hereafter.

Siddi Qasim made Governor of Rajpuri.

The Siddi undertakes to keep his sailors under discipline.

Wherefore confirming our former letter of recommendation, wee desire you to treat the said Siddy Cassum with all civility, and to accomodate him with such lodging, during his stay either at Mazagon or Bombay as you can conveniently provide, but wee judge Mazagon will be the best place for the souldiers to quarter in, that they may the lesse meet or intermix with our men for the

The Siddi to be accommodated at Mazgon.

preventing of quarrells between them, but as far the Siddy himself if he desires an house or some lodgings at Bombay, you may graunt them to him, alsoe at his departure you may assist with what boates necessary for his transport to Danda, but it is reasonably expected that he should pay the charge, for he would not have you put the Company to more expence than necessitys or the prudent Lawes of civillity requires but in outward respect and kindnesses you may use such freedome, and obliging discretion, as becomes the freindships wee receive from the kings and his subjects, and consists with the Interest of our Honourable Masters and when he departs the Island, wee would have you procure his letter to the Governor of Suratt, mannifesting the kindness and freindly asistances he hath received in behalfe of the kings affaires during his stay on the Island.

Shivaji to be pacified.

And though probably Sevagee may repine and looke with a jealous eye on this proceeding; yet you must take care to satisfie him with the same reasons which wee formely used, urging the necessity that ly(e)s upon us, in regard our trade lyes soe engaged in the kings dominions, and that wee are as ready to render all becoming offices of friendship to him when it lyes in our way.

Shivaji's envoy interviews the President.

This day alsoe, and at the same time that Siddy Cossum came to take his leave of the President, Sundergee Pervooe, Sevagees envoy, came to visit the President and deliver Moro Punditts letter which was full of kindness; but as to the affaire which Sundergee treats about, wee judge it most prudent to keepe ourselves as unconcerned as we can.[1]

32. Suspension of hostilities in 1677

The Maratha operations against Janjira were suspended during Shivaji's absence from the Deccan from January 1677 to June 1678. The Siddis were busy in quarrelling with each other for

1. S. F. Out L. Bk. No. 2. Pp. 132-133. Surat to Bombay, 9th June 1676. Orme 114. V. P. 41 says that Keshoram (Kisso Rawm), Shivaji's agent at Surat, was dismissed from his office and Sundarji Prabhu was sent in his place by Moro Pandit. 28th April 1676.

the command of the Mogul fleet. Qasim finally obtained the charge at the end of October 1678, but Sambal was so much disgusted with the Moguls and his brothers, the Siddis, that he abandoned the Muslim cause and came over to Shivaji for service.

Nothing of importanee occurred to ruffle the relations between the Siddi and the Maratha Government in 1677, except the event of kidnapping Brahmins from Shivaji's territory. While in Bombay, Sambal crossed in the month of June to the other side of the harbour into Shivaji's territory, seized four respectable Brahmins of the Bhatti village and confined them on one of his ships. In a few days the Governor of Upper Chaul demanded the restoration of the Brahmins, otherwise he threatened the Bombay Government with putting a stop to their trade with the Maratha territory and breaking off the friendly relations between the two governments. The Siddi at first denied that he had the prisoners, but at length admitted it. The Brahmins were set free and the persons who had aided Sambal in this raid, were punished.[1]

33. Means for expelling Sambal from Bombay

Siddi Sambal came with his fleet from Janjira into the Bombay harbour early in April of 1677, and asked the permission of the Surat Council for his stay during the monsoon, but it was refused and therefore the Bombay Government was instructed to turn him out.

"This evening wee received a very formall letter from Siddy Sambole wherein after many vaine pretences he entreats our leave to winter att Bombay himselfe together with all his men and his fleet, and accordingly would have us recommend him unto you which wee will by no means consent unto in regard wee plainly perceive his intentions are not for Danda Rajapore, but he lyes hovering with his fleet about the island and wee cannot at all commend you in what you have connived att his continuance on the island thus long, and never given us account hereof, that our orders might have arrived to you more seasonably.

1. Orme 114. VI. P. 37. 27 June 1677.

However, wee do now require you first in faire termes to declare to him, that it is contrary to His Majesties, the Honourable Companys and our orders to permitt him or his men or his fleett to winter on the island, and therefore he must prepare himselfe to be gone with all the expedition that may be and if you see he will not be sattisfied with this but that he obstinately continues on the island you must then by publique proclamation require all people belonging to the Siddy's fleet to depart the island and prohibite all the inhabitants of the island after three days to sell to any of Siddy's people any sorts of provision or come neer their houses or hold any conversation with them, for wee will not permit him to winter on the Island, and if he stays it shall be at his owne perill and you must declare, that he thereby will utterly break friendship with us. This you must declare to him from us who desire your speedy performance of our orders and answer hereunto." [1]

The Bombay authorities had already served a notice to Siddi Sambal to quit the harbour. However, on the intercession of the Surat Governor, the Siddi was allowed by the English President to continue his stay on certain conditions. He was asked by the Deputy Governor to quit the harbour on the 3rd of May, but he requested the Government to prolong his stay by three or four days more.

" The Governor of Surat wrote a letter to Siddi Sambhal, informing him that the English President had received orders not to allow any strangers on the island, but that he had in courtesy written to the Deputy Governor to allow him to winter in Bombay this year. He desired that " you would have a strict command over your souldiers that they may not molest nor disturb the inhabitants; and if you continue there, keepe but 50 men on the island, and the rest lett remaine on board." [2]

1. Surat Fact. Out. Mss. Letter Book Vol. III. P. 34. Surat 26th April 1677. In F. R. Surat Vol. 89. P. 33. the date of the letter is 30th April 1677.

2. F, R. Surat Vol. 4. Pp. 53-4. (15?) April 1677. Orme 114. V. P. 35. 2nd May 1677.

The English President in his letter of 7th May 1677 stated the reasons which compelled him to cancel his former order regarding the stay of Sambal and also the conditions on which he had been permitted to winter in Bombay.

"On the ultimo Aprill wee wrot you by express to use your endeavours by all faire meanes to perswaid the Siddy to retire from Bombay, for that wee could not permit him to winter there for the reasons then proposed but it seemes your care had prevented us, and you had given your express orders to him to depart, where in you did very well, only wee wisht you had done it more effectually sooner in the yeare, that he might have had noe pretence to have stayd or that you had given us advise sooner that wee might have made provision accordingly, whereas till it was too late, wee were totally ignorant thereof but upon the summons which you have given him, he immediately dispatched a boate to this Governor by sea, desyring him to interpose the kings Authority, and his interest with us, without which wee would never consent, whereupon the Governor sent a message unto us, intreating us in the kings name to permit the fleet to winter there, and that Siddy Sambale might remaine on shoare in regard to his sickness; whereupon after due advice, wee considered the state of the Companys affaires here. Wee esteemed it not prudent to displease the king and the Governor for reasons which are obvious to you, but we sent our Broker to the Governor to represent to him the Companys express order to the countrary, and the inconveniencys which they might sustain, and have sustained by their wintering there, and to desire the Governor that he would send express orders to Siddy Sambole and the fleet that they might observe those following orders, to wit, that Siddy Sambole should keep out but 50 men on shore with him, and that the rest of the souldiers should be either discharged or kept on Board their ships, and not to come on shore without the Deputy Governors Licence, and that Siddy Sambole, and Siddy Cossum should take care that their men give not the least offence to the Government or to any of the people of the Island and if they did that they should be severely punished, this the Governor esteemed

Sambal permitted to continue.

Conditions imposed on Sambal's stay.

very necessary and hath given his orders accordingly to Siddy Sambole which wee send you herewith.

Now wee understand that Siddy Sambole resides at the East Indian House, where like the Hedge Hogg he hath nessetled himselfe, and liking his lodging intends to stay there whether wee will or noe. It is one of our conditions with the Governor that he stay in what place the Deputy Governor and Councell shall think it fit to appoint him, as you will read in the Coppy of his Letters, our opinion is that it is not convenient to permitt soe many strange souldiers to be soe neere the ffort all the raines, but that Mazagaon would be a more propper place for them, yet wee offer this as our advice but doe not give it as a positive order, but doe require you to consider well thereof and having a strict regard of the charge, and trust comitted to you, to give such directions in this affaire, as shall most tend to the security of the fort and Island, and peace of the Inhabitants, treating the said Siddy Sambole &ca., officers and his people with such civillity, and reasonable assistance as they may expect from you." [1]

Instructions regarding Sambal's stay.

34. Sambal unwilling to hand over the charge

During his stay at Bombay Sambal made an effort for being restored to the command of the fleet which he had not given up to the new Admiral. His appeal was rejected by the Emperor and he promised to hand over the fleet to Qasim. The latter sent one Saband Koli to take charge and some time after, he himself too came down to Bombay.

" Siddy Sambole being put out of his employ and the command of these kings ffleet conferred on Siddy Cossum who is now in Danda Rajapore, but hath ordered his Vackeele Mahmud Hossan, to send downe to Bombay 150 men under the command of Saband Cooly, to take possession thereof for him wherefore the said Mohmud Hossan, in the behalfe of his master hath intreated us to recommend the said Sabaund Cooly and his men to your courteous usage and wee do desire you to shew them all the respect and civillity you may with conveniencys and to

1. Surat Fact. Out. Mss. Letter Book Vol. III, Pp. 36-37. Surat 7th May 1677. F. R, Surat Vol. 89. Pp. 35-36.

gratifie them in all reasonable requests, but wee caution you to have an eye towards them that they commit no ryots nor disorders to the disturbance of the peace of the island, and suffer no more (men?) than when he came on shoare, at a time." [1]

In a letter of 2nd August the Deputy Governor wrote to the President at Surat that Saband Koli had arrived at the Island some four days ago and he was helped in every way. Sambal did not give charge of the fleet, because the accounts had not been completed by that time. He was not likely to give up his charge till money was received from Surat.[2]

35. Fight between the two Siddis in Bombay

The delay in handing over the charge of the fleet so exasparated Qasim that he sent Saband with all his force to attack Sambal's house at Mazgaon. In the fray several men were killed on both sides. The Deputy Governor brought about a settlement and both the Siddis soon after left the Island with their men.

" Worshipfull, etc. Tis now severall years that the Siddys fleets have used this port as a place of refreshing and retreat on all occations, but with how much trouble to the Government and dissatisfaction to the Inhabitants your Worships have been but too well acquainted with. It is but a few months past that Siddy Sambole received orders to surrender up the ffleet to Siddy Cossam, but he for severall months made demurrs thereon, because his wife and his children and his family were detained in Danda Rajapore, which he received 4 days past; upon which Siddy Sambole promised to deliver up the fleet excepting one of the great shipps, which he intended to keep to carry up himselfe and his souldiers to Surat, but Siddy Cossam being impatient of having part of his fleet detained from him and instigated by that unadvised Sabaund Colly who came from Surat about 3 months past with 150 men to assist him, did on Sunday last march up with all his force to Massagon, where Siddy

Sambal consented to give charge of the fleet on the restoration of his family.

1. Surat Fac. Out. Mss. Letter Book Vol. III. P. 51. Surat 6th July 1677. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 49.

2. Orme 114, VI. P. 45. 2nd August 1677.

Sambole resided, ere wee were aware of it. Wee immediately sent Captain Keigwin with a guard of horse to keep the peace but ere he could arrive they had begune the skirmish and so obstinate they were, especially Siddy Cossam, that they were parted with much difficulty, having shot 4 of the Companys horses, whereof one is dead and another in great danger, though it pleased God none of the troopers were hurt upon which wee immediately sent for Siddy Cossam to the fort, and having expostulated with him the affront he had put the Government and the bad retalliation he had made us for our extraordinary civillities to him, wee disarmed all his souldiers except himselfe & 2 or 3 more, and ordered him in 4 or 5 days time to send all his souldiers off the Island excepting some few servants for his attendance. The like wee did to Siddy Sambole excepting those guards which were for the defence of the ship. Wee suppose the accident will soe arm your Worships resolutions so as never to cenceede the wintering of the fleet here againe not to suffer any great number of men to remaine on the Island armed..... It would be of great consequence that your Worships made timely complaint of these outrages, not only to the Governour of Surat, but even to the king himselfe, and demand large satisfaction for the death of our horses and the disturbance of the peace of the Inhabitants and hindrance of our trade, merchants being frighted from coming hither by such hostile acts. Wee sent the Cosset on purpose to give your Worships kindly notice that they might not be before hand with a false representation of the action, so shall not inlarge but to subscribe [1]

Skirmish between the two Siddis.

Precautions taken by the English.

Your Worships most humble servants."

The Surat President acknowledged the preceding letter of the Bombay Government and ordered the expulsion of the Siddis from the harbour.

"Wee understand of the falling out of Siddy Cossam with Siddy Sambole at Mazagon, on the island where some eight or

1. Surat Fac. Out. Mss. Letter Book III. Pp. 136-137. Bombay 9th October 1677. Orme 114. VI. P. 56.

more of their men were slaine with as many of their horses kild and taken, being parted with much difficulty by Captain Kegwinns guard of the horse, whereby 3 of the Companys horses are dangerously shot and kild, and for which disturbance of the peace of the island and hindrance of trade wee would have you demand sattisfaction of S. Cossum and commend you for disarming his souldiers and ordering them of the island, which if they doe not obey secure them by imprisonment and send them away by degrees, allthough he writes very confidently to Charles James as if he were in noe fault, but the blame is Siddy Sambloes for not delivering him up the whole fleete according to the Governors order who hath said nothing to us thereof as yet, neither can wee come to speake with him to complain thereof, but wee shall not passe it by soe, whereby for the future wee may prevent their wintering and abuses on the island which cannot stand with its preservation and security so long as they are permitted thereon, it being unsufferable and dangerous."[1]

The fray between the two Siddis in Bombay.

Siddis to be turned out of Bombay.

In the letter of 21st October 1677, the Bombay Government informed the President at Surat that the Siddis were to leave the Island in four or five days more and that compensation for the losses sustained by the Goverment and Sambal be demanded from the King.

" Our last was of the.....coppy whereof goes here inclosed, since which wee have not received any from your Worships. Wee have at length induced the two Siddys to an agreement, so that one is contented to surrender up the others wife and children and the other is contented to surrender up the Armada, so that Siddy Sambole in 4 or 5 days more intends to imbarque on one of two great shipps and goe for Surat, and then the other Siddy will goe on board of the fleet. Wee were willing to be mediatour in this businesse that wee might be rid of them both, and if wee respect the good and quiett of the Island, wee have reason to

Satisfaction for losses to be demanded from the Mogul.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fols. 66-67. Surat 18th October 1677.

wish they may never come here againe exeept it be for a months time to refresh and then be gone againe. Siddy Sambole had an excellent horse killed in the broil, which he values at a great price, for which and all other damages he received, he demands satisfaction of us, for he pretends his hands were bound up from taking his own sattisfaction, and wee must needs say he was very obedient to our orders and has liv'd at Massagon all this raines very contentedly and quietly that wee have not been troubled with any complaints of him, so that when your Worships demands satisfaction of the King for our horse and other damages, that Siddy Samboles damages may likewise be demanded or that they make him sattisfaction there." [1]

36. Shivaji's salt fleet protected against the Siddi in 1678

The salt boats in their coastal voyage were in danger of being captured by the ships of the Siddi. Shivaji requested the English to protect these against his raids. They could not openly perform this duty for fear of displeasing the Mogul, nor did they disappoint Shivaji. They devised a strange method of protecting them.

"Narransinay understanding from the merchant that freighted the *Revenge*, that he intends to send her to the southward, made a request to the Deputy Governor &ca. that they would be pleased to give their orders to the Captain to protect six vessells laden with salt belonging to Sevagee Rajah and bound to Dabull, if Siddy Cossum, the Mogulls Generall against Sevagee, or any of his fleete, should meete with them at sea. Which being what wee would noe way answere, to protect the enemys of one Prince against the other in the sea, without giving just offence to the one or the other, which at present wee are in peace withall, the Deputy Governor would not graunt his repuest in that particular but to keepe a faire understanding with Sevagees Ministers and that they may see our readiness to comply with their desires in what may seem reasonable and justifyable, and not involve our selfes in any dispute with either side.

The English to keep fair with the Mogul and Shivaji.

1. Surat Fac. Out. Mss. Letter Book III. P. 138. Bombay 21st Oct. 1677.

"It was ordered that Captain Minchin should have instructions to take them in his company, and if at sea they should meete with any of the Mogulls fleete that should offer to seize them, that he should acquaint them that they were vessells that belonged to our Island, and that if they offered to force them away then to protect against them for all damage that may hereafter be made to appeare by their seizure of merchants vessells belonging to the Island, but not to fire a gunn or use any hostile meanes to protect them against Siddy Cossum or any of his fleet."[1]

Secret help given to protect the salt boats

"The *Revenge* friggat being let out on freight and the Merchant having dispatched his business, these are to enorder you immediately to sett sail and make the best haste you cann to such ports as the freighter hath consigned you to, which being southerly Narran Sinay, a merchant and inhabitant of this Island having six small vessells laden with salt and now ready to saile hath requested of us that they may saile under our convoy or protection, being fearefull that Siddy Cossum may seize on them as they formerly belonged to Savagee Rajah, but of whom he hath bought them, as appeares by his bill of sale herewith delivered you, and now sends them to sea as a merchant of this island. This his request wee have taken into consideration, and though wee are very willing to oblige him, yet wee doe not disoblige ourselves and cause disputes between princes by acting beyond what may seeme becomeing but as his vessells, and he are desirous that they should saile in your company, as wee are willing to doe him what good wee can, wee think fitt to give you these instructions, that you may know the better how to behave yourselfe if that Siddy Cossum or any part of his armada should make demand or by violence force them, in such case wee would have you to advise them that they are vessells belonging to a merchant of the Island, and that you being bound to the southward he desired our convoy of their intended port, and soe desire them to forbeare the least molestation of them as wee are friends to them, and civily dispute in their behalves as much as possible;

Instructions given to the Captain of the *Revenge*.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2. P. 24. Bombay, 19th February 1678.

but after that you have used the best arguments you cann and they will not be sattisfied therewith, but by violent force take them from you alledging that they are vessells belonging to their enimye and wee are not to protect them then wee doe order you to make a verball protest against them in the King's name for all damages that may hereafter be made (to) appeare by their seizure of merchants vessells belonging to this Island but wee doe strictly require you not to fire a gunn, muskett or pistoll, or draw a sword in the defence of said vessells; and as wee doe but suspect the danger they may fall into and provide you with an answer to them, wee doe require you if you can to convoy them to Dabul, so that they may never come in danger or meet any of the Siddys fleete."[1]

37. Siddi Qasim permitted to winter at Bombay in 1678

A Surat letter of 8th February 1678 instructed the Bombay Government to bring about the release of the families of Siddy Sambal's servants who were detained by Siddy Qasim and desired that Sambal's family might be given all civil accommodation at Bombay.[2] A letter was soon written to Siddi Qasim on this question. To this he replied that the said persons were not Sambal's servants, but were Naikwadis of the fort and their services were needed in that capacity by him.[3]

Siddi Qasim coming for wintering at Bombay.

"The Siddy wee heare is come up with his fleet as high as Danda Rajapore and intends to give us the trouble of wintering here againe; wee finde by experience notwithstanding our endeavour to prevent him, yett he procures order for his admittance, wherefore wee shall not now deny him except wee receive order from your Honour for the contrary, but shall press him to disband the major part of his souldiers for our greater safety."[4]

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8. P. 5. 20 Feb. 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 46.
3. Orme 114. VII. P. 17.
4. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 73, Bombay 28th March 1678.

The Surat Council informed the Deputy Governor of Bombay in their letter of 31st March 1678 that "wee have been importunately solicited by Mahmud Beaque Governor to permit Siddy Cossam with his fleete to winter (in) to the island B Bay (Bombay), which wee have by all possible meanes endeavour'd to evade but which wee could not well doe, if wee rightly consider our Honourable Masters interest in these parts."[1]

In consideration of the fact that the Company traded in different parts of the Mogul's dominions, the Englishmen were forced to let the Siddi's fleet winter at Bombay. But there were several disadvantages which the Company suffered by the presence of the Janjira fleet there.

Losses suffered by Englishmen by the wintering of the Siddi's fleets

"In return for this service the Siddi "hath promised to write bothe to the Governor of Surat and Nabab Dillelle Caune, of the honours and assistances he and his fleete on all occations receive here, which wee hope will take off the apprehensions you are in of the Governors disgust and cause him to use the Honourable Companys concernes courteously. The strong guards wee are forced to keepe at Mazagon and avenues to that island for the security of the Moguls fleete and the Hononrable Companys shipping from—(?) of Sevagee who is very ill pleased with us for suffering them to harbour here of which wee are afraid wee shall hear further in time, is the reason wee cannot with security disband any of the souldiers in present pay."[2]

38. Shivaji's threat to burn Siddi's fleet in Bombay

The Siddi had no harbour to protect his fleet during the rainy season and he consequently used to prevail upon the English to permit his ships to winter in their harbour. Shivaji rightly thought that the protection lent by the English took away the prey from his hands. Then the Siddi had in the beginning of the year 1678 fallen upon the defenceless villages on the coast and carried away men and women into slavery. Hence Shivaji resolved to burn the

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 72.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fols. 98-99. Bombay 19th June 1678.

Siddi's fleet in the Bombay harbour. The English took all possible precautions to meet the sudden attack of the Maratha fleet and at the same time asked the Siddi to leave the port and thus save them from the horrors of war.

"Wee have been for severall dayes hottly allarmmed that Savagee Rajah had certain intentions to attempt the burning the Siddys ffleete at Mazagon, knowing it to be the only obstacle to his taking the ffort of Danda Rajapore; to which purpose he some monthes since sent for Daulat Caun and Deria Sarung, both Generalls of his fleete, at Seg(?) and after having praised them, (and?) their good services and given them severall Tushereiffs, propounded the execution of it to them who out of honour could not deny soe generous a master's desires, therefore willingly accepted the enterprize thereof and with 4000 men (amongst which its reported are severall Laskarrs to ferry them over the passage) tooke their leaves of the Rajah and are come downe to Panwell, a towne opposite against the place; where it is reported they are contriving their passage hither, which way it will be wee cannot imagine without (except) they force it through some part of Salsett, for they have not boates enongh in all these parts to bring them over. The news being confirmed unto us by severall hands both from Narran Sinay our linguist whom we sent to reside at Choule as likewise by the spies the Siddy sent to pry into the Rajah's actions and motions.

Means taken by the English to defend the Island.

Wee thought it not consistent with prudence to be over secure when soe vigilent an enemy is at our doores, nor suffer him to destroy those whom wee have taken into protection and therefore enordered the severall shipps gunns to be placed with cannon basketts where they might best secure the ffleete and annoy the enemy and in regard the avenues to the island were but weakly guarded, an reinforcement of Infantry under the command of commission officers were enordered up to the severall passes and the troops under the command of Captain Keigwin marched up to Mahim, where he hath orders to rendezvous, and send scouts daily to Sion and Mochumbo to descry the approach of the enemy and bring him word that hee may move to impeede their landing and that all things may concurr to a generall resist-

ance of the subtle attempts of the Rajah two manahaun(machines) with gunns in their prows and souldiers with whom were enordered to cruse betwixt Mahim and Mazagon and the two Companys daily to mount the guard at the ffort; soe that now wee esteeme ourselves in a good defensive posture and expect the approach of our enemy not doubting but by the Almighties assistance to repell their attempts if they should be soe hardy to venture on us, which wee beleive will cause them to take second considerations.

The Siddi is requested to go away from the harbour.

This impending storme that seems to threaten us proceeding not out of any disgust that Sevagee Rajah hath taken against any of our proceeding nor the nation in generall but against the Siddy who this yeare hath much provoked him by makeing slaves of the people and Braminys he took in his incurssions into his terytorys, wee thought good to send the coffer the word that he haule his ffleete off and ride in the bay, which would certainly divert the designes of the Rajah and be a security to the Sidy and the kings ffleete, for they are not able to deale with him at sea, he seemed readily to embrace the proposition, but declared his inabillity. The Lascars refusing to worke for want of pay and he had no money to sattisfie them wherefore made his request unto us, that wee would supply him on the Honourable Companys account in their exigency, which wee considering of, having monys sufficient in our Treasury have lent him 2000 rupees to be repaid you in Surat by the Governor to which purpose enclosed wee send his receipt and herewith goes a letter wherein he hath wrott effectually in the behalfe of our nation, which we hope on occation may stand you in some stead, hee is now resolved to floate the fleete which wee hope may prevent our coming to blowes with Sevagys army which would certainly cause a breach of peace and when this island would be in a miserable condition for want of all sorts of provissions. Thus you see what we formerly conjectured is come to pass what troubles and charges wee are likely to be brought in for assisting and harbouring this ffleete which does the king neither service

Consequences of war with Shivaji.

nor honour. These things duly represented to the Governor of Surat or Grandees by men that are able to discourse it without feare and pussillanimity.....wee doubt not but would prevaile with him to order their fleete yearly to Surat and not involve the nation in a warr to protect a parcell of theives, for the Siddy is no better and this wee leave for your performance which if not effected be assured sooner or later wee shall finde the dire effects of war and famine."[1]

39. Daulat Khan not permitted to pass through Portuguese territory

On account of the absence of large ships Doulat Khan could not directly cross from the shore to Bombay. He proceeded with his army to Kalyan-Bhiwandi whence he required the Portuguese to permit him to pass through their territory to Bombay. They not only refused their permission, but closed the pass of Thana by stationing their troops there.[2] Stephen Adderton, Captain of the Bombay forces, sent a letter to Surat in which he said

"I am very glad here the Portuguese has dealt with Daulat Caun, soe its reported, which if they do hold, it will be a great means to prevent Doulat Caun's desire."[3]

The Bombay Government informed Captain Keigwin that the Portuguese were afraid on account of the proximity of Shivaji's forces at Kalyan. The Governor of Bassein had gone to Thana with a large force. Still they were not to relax their watch. Shivaji was bent upon destroying the Siddi's fleet. As the Portuguese were frustrating his designes by not allowing him to pass through their territory, he was highly annoyed and hence he had burnt down two or three hamlets.[4]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Pp. 112-113. Bombay 23rd July 1678. This letter is based upon Bomb. Cons. of 19 July 1678. F. R. Bomb. II, 25-26. On 20th July, letters were written to the captains of the ships to be on the look out for the enemy. F. R. Bomb. VIII. 26-27.

2. Orme 114. VII. P. 30.

3. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. Fol. 24. Mazagon 24th July 1678.

4. Orme 114. VII. P. 31. 24th July 1678.

Still instructions were issued to the Captain of the *Hunter* Frigate to fight the boats filled with armed men or any armed men crossing the sea, and in no case to permit them to cross to the Island.[1]

40. The Siddi's departure from Bombay

The Siddi was asked by Capt. Minchin to pay up the arrears of his lascars with the money lent him by the English and then to go out of the harbour, but he spent away most of the money among dancing women.

"According to your order sent yesterday to Captain Adderton and my selfe wee went to the Siddy and ordered in His Magesties name of great Brittaine to pay his Lascars with the 2000 rupees which your worship lent him and likewise to haule his ships out which he did promise and hauled them out a little way and so left off under pretence of paying his men, and promised to haule them off this morning, but seeing this morning that he made not preparation for it, sent to him to know the reason of itt and he sent word that he had no men and that all his Lascars were gone to Bombay, but the reason that the Lascars left him was that he would give them no more then 2 rupee a peece which was not according to his promise, and if any enemy cometh, there is no possibility of saving any of us, having not any thing elce to acquaint your worshipp at present, only for as much as I can perceive the Siddy minds nothing but his Dancing women whom he hath continually dancing before him."[2]

It was hoped that the danger of Daulat Khan's invasion was over by the proposed departure of the Siddi.

"The Siddy hath launched his whole ffleete which he hath brought downe to Bombay and now rides under our ffort himselfe after much persuasions going on board. This wee hope will divert Dowlut Cauns designes who with his army hovers still about the adjacent parts. He cannot well have any plea to come over now, except Sivagee Rajah is intened to make warr with us

1. Orme 114. VII. P. 31. 27th July 1678.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. Fol. 29. William Minchin from Mazagon. 25th July 1678.

because wee harbour his enemys, which wee beleive will cause him to take up such resolves in the future."[1]

The Surat Council expressed their appreciation on the various means undertaken by the Bombay Government to checkmate the designs of the subtle and bold Raja Shivaji.

"Wee are sorry to find you soe unexpectedly alarmed by Savagees designed bold attempt upon the Siddys fleete at Mazagon which wee hope by the timely notice both you and he hath had, to put yourselves into soe prudent and good a posture to receive him may divert the storme but if it should unhappily prove otherwise, wee shall not doubt but by your conduct and courage to find him repelled with loss and shame, highly approving your handsome care and vigilance in disposeing your men and shipps for their more effectuall service both by land and sea, and which wee doe recommend to your constant observation, since the subtle and sudden motion of this bold Rajah will require a suitable care of his designes.[2]

41. Shivaji severely punishes his Admirals for the failure

The failure of Daulat Khan to force his way to Bombay, was the cause of his being cashiered by the Raja. The latter mounted his cannon on a hill opposite the Bombay fort and had the design of bombarding the city from the opposite shore.

"Sevagees army under the command of Daulat Caune, finding it not soe facile to performe their designed attempt on this Siddy as they had in their imaginations concluded, the Portugualls taking the alaram guarded the rivers of Thana and with neare 40 armed manchuas and wee having resolved to resist them both by sea and land, desisted from their designes and are returned to their quarters; since which wee are given to understand that the Rajah hath cashiered Daulatt Caun his service and severely punished the Subhedar of Baindy (Bhiwindi) who facillitated the designe to him, and now he is resolved to come with his canon which is planted very advantagiously on a hill which shootes point blanke into the ffortt to storme it on all sides, the event of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. 116. Bombay 29 July 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol 114. Surat to Bombay. 5th August 1678.

these resolutions wee must attend, but wee thinke he hath taken right measures to gaine the place."[1]

It appears that two months later even Daria Sarang was heavily punished. It was reported from Rajapur that he was imprisoned and his property siezed.

" Deria Saranga and his sonn are both taken prisoners by the Rajahs order and all they have (is) seized upon, hee stands charged in the honourable Companys broker pagodas 165. 16 Jetts, feare now will prove a bad debt. I have made demand upon our Soobedar and told him that what goods was delivered him was upon the Rajah's account and not his owne; his answere was that he could doe nothing in this business, what was to be done Annage Punditt must doe it, to whome wee have wrotte too, as alsoe concerning our Bucksis whose answere wee weight for.

About 10 days agoe the Rajah had a stout battle with Jemseer Caun (Jamshid Khan) but came off blewly, in which engagement he hath lost not less than 2000 horse besides 4 or 5000 ffoote; here is now greate hopes of better times."[2]

The Bombay Government reported to Surat that the army meant to invade their Island, was sent towards their city.[3] Thereupon the Surat Council expressed delight on the removal of the Maratha army from Bombay.

" Wee are glad to find you soe well freed from the danger of Sevagee and hope we shall be able from hence to remove the Siddy's fleet from wintering with you any more to prevent the like troubles." [4]

A few days after, the happy news of the retirement of Shivaji's army was conveyed to the Company.

" Your Island of Bombay hath bin lately disturbed by some alarums from Sevagees forces, ordered by him to endeavour the

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 128. Bombay 27th August 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fols. 169-170. Rajapore 6th November 1678.
3. Orme 114. VII. P. 34. 16 August 1678.
4. F. R. Surat Vol 89. Fol. 125. Bombay 7th September 1678.

burning this King's fleet wintering there; but by the care and vigilancie of your Deputie Gevernor, etca. all things were in soe prepared a posture to receive them that they were forced to let their designe fall. This gave us occation to represent to the Governor of Surat the hazard of his Masters shipps, as well as charge to us, wherein wee have soe prevailed with him as to importune us no more for their wintering there for the future, which will ease the Island of many inconveniencys and troubles."[1]

42. Failure to storm Janjira

Having failed in his attempt to burn the Siddi's fleet in Bombay, Shivaji made one more effort to storm Janjira both from land and water, when Siddi Qasim himself was in Bombay. The Siddi could not hurry up to the defence of the castle, as he was without money and this was to be supplied to him from Surat. Even this time the Maratha army met with failure.[2]

43. Dispute between the Bombay Government and Governor of Chaul

Mr. Petit, the Deputy Governor of Bombay and his agent Vallabh Mehta, owed money to Bhairopant, the Governor of Chaul for commodities bought of the latter. In case the payment was delayed beyond a certain time, he threatened to seize the property of the inhabitants of Bombay.

" The bargaine of beetlenutts and coconuts which Mr. John Petit and Voll-up-metta bought of the Sebedarr of Chaull is like to imbroyle all the merchants of this island, for he declares hee wants yett of his principall to be paid him 12000 rupees and that he hath two of Mr. Petits letters to show that the said contract was made with him not with Vollapmetta whom he sent thither but as his servant and therefore demands satisfaccon of the present Deputy Governor not making any difference betweene perticular person and the Company which have been civilly answered, but he now declares he will be put off no longer, but will seize on any person

Cause of the dispute.

1. O. C. Vol. 39. No. 4497. 24th September 1678.
2. Orme 114. VII. P. 64. 18th December 1678.

or effects he shall meete with belonging to any of this island, having lately endeavoured to secure our broker Girderdass who being at Cullian Baindy he sent 50 men to seize him but he gott to Tanna and soe escaped. Wat to doe in this exigencie wee know not but thinke it no reason that unconcerned should suffer for the faults of others, this will cause trade to cease much on this island, for Chaule is a port that is very necessary unto us for all things. Pray enorder Vollop-metta to send downe his account with the Subedarr that wee may know how to answere him." [1]

The Surat Council expressed regret upon the forthcoming trouble which had arisen from the private commercial dealings of the Company's officers.

" Wee have perused the papers and accounts you sent us of the Subedar of Choule and are very sorry to find the danger and dishonour likely to proceede from that unhappy affaire to the Hon'ble Companys Estate and factories in Sevagees country if not timely and prudently composed therefore sent for Vollup Metta and compared his and the Subedars accounts together wherein appeares severall differences which he does assure us if wee would permitt him to goe to Bombay he could easily rectify and give a finall and satisfactory conclusion to the dispute depending betwixt Mr. Petit, the Subedar and himselfe and which wee ourselves apprehend to be the best course, but you having cautioned us before not to let him goe downe, wee have deferred to give him leave untill wee hear further from you which let be with speed." [2]

V. Mehta ready to settle the accounts.

(As the amount was not paid, Bhairopant ordered all the boats of the Bombay merchants to be seized in the Maratha ports. Thus twenty or thirty boats and vessels which had gone to buy wood, timber, rice and provisions from the villages on the mainland, were detained. The Bombay Government soon protested against this act of the Governor of Chaul and requested him to release the vessels. If peaceful negotiations did not

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 116. Bombay 29th July 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 126. Bombay 7th September 1678.

succeed, they resolved to use force in recovering the boats, or ask the Siddi to desolate villages on the mainland.

"What wee soe long dreaded true hath at last (been) brought to pass, the Subedarr of Chaule, hath seized on twenty or thirty boates and vessells belonging to this island which went over in several ports of the maine, buying of wood, timber, batty and provissions accustomary and without which we cannot well subsist, the poor merchants came in a full body to complaine thereof, desiring redress, being utterly ruined if some remedy be not put to this evil, the losse will amount to neare 15 or 20000 rupees. A large sum to be deducted from the stock of this place and all these done on account of the debt oweing said Soobedarr by the former Deputy Governor and Vollup Mettah; of which wee have allready wrote you and hee further pretends to know the reason of his detaining of our vessells to which wee expect answers in two or 3 days; which if bring him to a releasing them, wee shall not further trouble ourselves. Otherwise wee think it consistent with our nations and master honour not to bear such affronts which if wee suffer such is the nature of Sevagys ministers that they will impose on us daily, what their tyrannicall humours shall dictate unto them; therefore wee have concluded to use all faire meanes for the restoration of said vessells which if takes not effect, our intentions are the next spring tide to send over a considerble force of souldiers in boats and vessels into Negotan and river and bring them away by force which may be easily effected without any resistance as wee are informed they lying in rivers which are open and no efforts to protect them, nor any souldiers on board but such as will quickly leave them on the approach of any of our forces, their arms carrying terror wtih them and after this is accomplished wee doubt not but to bring them to their ould termes of ffriendshipp, otherwise it were but winking at the Siddy and he would soone lay the opposite maine desolate which wee have hitherto protected for our owne ends and this they are soe sencible of that the Muckadams of towns and heads of the people have left their habitations and complayned unto the Soobedar

Bombay boats detained by the Chaul Governor

The English reduced to use force for their release.

telling him if he persist, they are inevitably ruined and the Rajah like (ly) to loose his dutie for this.....wee hope these things may reduce the Soobedar to reason though he is a very obstinate man, whom wee shall endeavour likewise to mollifie by faire promises of all justice in the case depending between Volup Mettah and him, what further happens shall not faile to advise in due time." [1]

The Surat President on receiving the news of the embargo laid by the Chaul Governor upon the Bombay boats, and the decision of the Bombay Government to recover these by force, pointed out the dangers of such an extreme procedure. He had previously prevailed upon Vallubh Mehta to repair to Bombay and make an end of the dispute to the satisfaction of the Chaul Governor.[2]

The Surat council advised them to adopt peaceful means.

" The 28th last wee wrote you att large, coppie whereof accompanys these, to which (wee) referr you, the last night by Siddy Cossums Pattomarr wee received yours of the 25th of October wherein wee are very sorry to receive the hasty imbargo laid upon severall boates and vessells by the Subedarr of Chowle, belonging to the island upon Mr. Pettitts unadvised dealings with him in company of Volup Metta Banian, from whom he hath demands but how justly will better appeare to you from his owne stating the case wherein wee think he hath great reason on his side, had he to doe anything but such oppressive as Savagees ministers; however since the evil effect is like to fall to the island share it doth behave us goe farr for the wellfare thereof, and safety of our factories of Carwarr and Rojapore, to consider and resolve the best wee may to doe it by fair means, therefore wee have once more sent for Volup Metta to hasten him towards you, who now resolves to accompany Mr. Ogilby on a Chowle Shebarr, who brings you these recommending the poor mans condition and person to your charitable regard and

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fcls. 156-157 Bombay 25th October 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. P. 155. 28th October 1678. Vol. 90. P. 55. 6th October 1678.

security, having already infinitely suffered by this Governour solely upon the score and occasion of the Subedarr, hopeing you have not put your design of force in execution for the freedome of the vessells which if it be as you write that the island cannot subsist without a supply of provisions from Sevagees territories, wee think it great reason not to put things to an extremity since it is odds whether our design may take its hoped effect and which if it does or does not being once attempted, it will certainly occasion if not an obsolute prohibition as an open enemy and many other very great inconveniences, therefore cannot well approve of that course, but try to doe it by some amicable friendly overtures which wee hope will fittly be offered to you upon Vollup Mettas being with you." [1]

The captured boats brought back by Niccolls.

Without paying attention to the peaceful policy commended by the Surat Council, the Government of Bombay decided to release the boats by force and their effort was crowned with an easy success. "According to resolves to release our boates reprized in the rivers of Nagotan, Penn &c by the Soobedarr of Chaule, last Sunday evening Captain Thomas Niccolls was commissioned (copie whereof goes enclosed) with 10 files of men under his command to repair on board the Manchuas, a Shibar and the Companys Balloone and with them to enter said rivers to bring the boates which he did soe effectually that the next day wee saw all of them except 4 which he could not well come at in our port to the general applause and perticular sattisfaccon of the Inhabitants who otherwise had wanted wood to supply their necessitys and this done without firing a gunn or any damage done on either side having before secured the passage (with) boates and stopt all communication with the maine, so that our neighbours were surprized; wee are now in expectation of an envoy from the Soobedar who wrote us a letter wherein he gives the reason of his proceedings, translate whereof wee send you in English that you may better undersand it, but wee find that

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fols. 166-457. Surat to Bombay also Fol. 49 of Vol. 90.

without some satisfaccon given him, for Mr. Pettit's and Vollup Mettas debt there will be no peace betwixt us, for he hath stopt all manner of provision and wood from coming unto us, the latter whereof wee must have either by faire or ffoule meanes, wherefore to prevent the further growth of our differences, wee desire that Vollup Mettah be sent downe with all possible speed to compose the business with him, wee having wrote him that he was coming and when arrived here would doe him all the Justice he could expect from us; which wee hope will satisfie him for the present. *The Soobedarr has promised that Rajah to take Danda Rajapore in 4 months time*, which makes him insist much on our harbouring the Siddy as you may please to read in his letter and wee conceive it to bee against the law of nations totally to harbour them, winter and hawl on shoare, refitt themselves and out againe and if this is not likewise remedied, wee foresee an unavoidable breach will ensue which may be the destruction of the island and total loss thereof, if any European nation take the advantage and joine with the Rajah which God divert.

Differences with the Subedar to be composed.

Harbouring the Siddi's fleet is really objectionable.

As wee had wrote thus far, came in yours of the.....instant by Mr. Oglivy wherein wee observe you are jealous that our forcing his Majesties subjects boates out of the opposite rivers of Negotan and Penn may cause many inconveniencys to happen and totall prohibition of all provitions wee answere we knowe of no great inconveniency can reasonably ensue more than what would have done had wee not effected it, for the Soobedarr acts not this by the Rajahs orders and that the very same time he seized our boats, he sent orders to Rajapore (to which place his command extends) to secure all the English effects there, that wee were afraid ourselves would be the greatest sufferers having to a considerable amount in Batty and other goods there, yett this could not deterr us from acting what was consistent with our nations honour, being it was to be soe easily effected, otherwise wee had been scorned by our owne inhabitants and pointed at by our neighbours, wee desire you to beleive that nothing hath nor shall be acted unadvised by or

Seizure of boats to create trouble with Shivaji.

rashly lent that all things in the end will be amicably composed, if Vollup Metta hath brought downe money with him and the Siddy ffleete be not suffered in the future to remaine here which are the maine obstacles and our taking our owne boates from them which is applauded even by themselves the Soobedarr of Cullian-Bandy advising us to it and promising his country shall be free unto us for all things, our greatest wants as before mentioned will be wood which wee have taken care for and they will want our money as much as wee their merchandize which is nothing but Batty and wood, a months time will wee doubt not put an end to all, if care taken to sattisfie the Soobedarr his debt &ca. which wee recommend unto your honour &c." [1]

The Bombay Council does agree with the view of the Surat Council.

The preceding representation convinced the English at Surat that the Bombay Government had adopted the best means to acquire the captured boats.

" Wee take good notice of your proceedings for the releasing the boates under the Subedarr of Choules arrest, and are glad the action hath succeeded soe well, which with Volup Mettas being now with you will give a faire opportunity to end the scervy business betwixt him and Mr. Pettitt to a friendly conslusion." [2]

44. Bhairopant's letter to Bombay Government

Coppie of Bairrpants (Bhairopant) Ser Subedar of the jurisdiction of Chaule as far as Rajapore, letter in anwere of that written to him by the worship: Henry Oxinden, Deputy Governor of the port and island of Bombay translate out of the Merata (Marathi) Language.

" I received your letter and read it with much pleasure and should esteene it as a favour to lett me know frequently of your health..

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fol. 171-174. Bombay 8th November 1678.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 89. Fol. 166. Surat to Bombay 25th November 1678.

As to what you write me concerning the Moore merchants vessells of your island, I answere as they alwaies used to fetch wood from hence, soe they went to lade at Nagatan where they were reprized by the Magistrates who advised me of the matter: know sir that it seemes strange and (un) just that under the colour of amity and the good correspondence that is between Sevagee Rajah and the English nation the Siddy should participate of all the provisions of wood, corne and other things that are exported from hence, knowing him to be our soe great enemy as not only very much annoyes us, but alsoe robs our country and carryes much people away to our extraordinary prejudice. Sevagee Rajah having sent me to bee Governor of this country and to make warr upon that enemy the Siddy who doth soe much oppose us, I thought it convenient to send to your island 2000 men to joyne with Doulett Ckaunes Armada to doe him all imaginable harme and pursue him wherever he was, it being but reason that our armada should have shelter under ffort as well as his, and I cannot but acquaint you that the very Portugueze themselves did many best...unto us that they did not any wayes succour that Siddy nor soe much as harbour him or his people, but that it was the English only that countenanced and supplyed him with all manner of provisions and also desired me to write unto you, not to consent to his harbouring with you which gives him many oportunitys to infest our country being soe neare us with such facility concerning which matter what you shall resolve by your letter the same will serve to be sent to my Rajah and Anagi Panditt, by which said letter he will be better able to know what will be most convenient for him to contrive to expell the said enemy out of your island with expedition. Touching Vollup Metta's money, wee understand not anything of him but of Mr. Petit for it is our custome that when any Subedar or Havaldar makes any contract of buying or selling whatever is owing the successor of him that made the said contract remaines pleidged to satisfie it, you Sir being Mr. Petit's successor wee doe not doubt but you will make sattisfaction for him..."[1]

The English charged with assisting the Siddi.

The Portuguese did not help the Siddi.

The Siddi should not be harboured.

Mehta's debt be paid off.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 107. Fols. 175-176. Chaul 3rd November 1678.

The end of the struggle

There is no evidence of any further compaign against Janjira. Shivaji was mortified by the defection and revolt of his son Sambhaji from December 1678. He is spoken of concentrating his forces for the defence of Panhala from the beginning of March to the end of July. The long-expected advance of the Mogul Governor and Sambhaji against Panhala began after the rains. But disgusted with the inhuman massacre of the innocent people, Sambhaji fled from his allies and returned to his father. The Mogul army turned back to invade Bijapur, and Shivaji was called upon to assist in its defence. Up to the end of the year 1679, he was engrossed in harassing the besieging army, in supplying provisions to the besieged, and in devastating the Mogul territory (Pp. 200—214 *Supra*). He was also busy in another quarter. Having been disappointed in capturing the castle of Janjira, Shivaji formed the plan of occupying Khanderi in the entrance of the Bombay harbour in August 1679. The English and their ally, the Siddi, put forth all their strength in dislodging the Marathas from that island. Hence the struggle between Shivaji and the Siddi was transferred from Janjira to the islands of Khanderi and Undheri. The details of their hostilities are given in the next chapter.

We can not but admire the spirited and determined defiance exhibited by the Siddis in the long struggle which lasted for about a quarter of a century with the all-conquering hero, Shivaji. It is indeed strange that the one who had swallowed a large part of the Bijapur kingdom, who had made the Golkonda King his tributary, and who had shaken the foundations of the Mogul Empire, should have been baffled in capturing the castle of Janjira after so many heroic efforts. All his brilliant victories seem to be eclipsed by this signal failure of his life. The causes of this life-long disappointment are to be traced to his inferior navy and artillery. His light vessels could never break through the cordon of big battleships placed all round the castle, nor stand the heavy fire of more than 300 cannon with which the towers and bastions of Janjira bristled.

CHAPTER XXI

The occupation of Khanderi

1. Situation of Khanderi and Undheri

Khanderi or Kenery is a small island near the entrance of the Bombay harbour. It is situated eleven miles south of Bombay, six north-west of Alibag, and thirty miles north of Janjira. The Kolaba light-house, which was built in 1867, stands on the highest part of this island.

There is another small island, called Hendry, Henry or Undheri which is only some twelve hundred yards from the mainland. Both these are indiscriminately mentioned as 'Hendry-Kendry' or 'Henry Kenry' in the records of the period, as is clear from the several extracts given below. Even G. Duff makes the mistake of saying that Shivaji occupied Hendry and the Siddi Kendry (P. 136). Orme too wavers between the two, and confuses the one with the other.

2. Shivaji's attempt to capture Khanderi in 1672

Shivaji desired to capture the island of Khanderi and make it his naval base for curbing the naval power of the Moguls and the Europeans. The people of Surat and the Englishmen were naturally alarmed at this attempt of Shivaji. The earliest reference to his design for fortifying the Island is in a Surat letter sent to Bombay on 23rd April, 1672.

"There is a report here (Surat) that Sevagee intends to build a Castle on *Henry Kenry* which the Governor makes one of his arguments for his not letting the President goe (pretending he will helpe Sevajee); which, if true. it concernes us more than the port of Suratt to hinder it, and therefore advise us if you here (hear) of any such thing, and this being at present the needfull, wee rest." [1]

The English were determined to checkmate the attempts of Shivaji. Hence the Council at Bombay wrote to the Council at Surat in their letter dated 1 May 1672 that—

1. Forrest's Home Series, P. 66.

" Wee cannot bear that Sevagee doth intend to build a fort on *Henry Kenry;* if he makes any attempt soe to doe, wee shall quickly put a stop to it." [1]

The English got support from the Mogul government itself. As the work of fortification was proceeding in 1672, the Emperor Aurangzeb entrusted the duty of expelling Shivaji from Khanderi to Omed of Surat and permitted him to spend Rs. 1,20,000 on the project. Then the fleets of the English and the Siddi combined to foil Shivaji in his design of fortifying the place. So finding themselves unable to oppose the three fleets, the Marathas withdrew from the island.

" Thomas Roach, Gunner to the Mogul, to the President of Surat. Dated Dilly 26th September 1672.

" Another passage amongst these papers (a Journall of the Durbarrs affaires for two months time past) was that Nocqadah Omed of Surat had sent an Ardast (Arzdasht) to the King to this effect, that if the King would but disburst 120000rupees, that then he would undertake to hinder Sevagee from finishing that castle which he hath bin soe long a building off upon *Henry Kennary* to which the King gave answere that they should take security from him for the money and lett him proceed; soe that when I had considered of this, I thought it good to clapp this passage into your Ardast-that was one of the maine desires you had to goe to Bombay for, to assist his Majestys servant, the Siddy of Danda Rajapore, in hindering Sevagee from finishing the aforesaid castle; and yett notwithstanding all this, the said Governour of Surat would not let you goe." [2]

The Marathi Bakhars like the Rairi, Shiva Pratapa, Chitragupta, Chitnis, Sabhasad, andeven Shiva Bharata make no mention of the islands. However, the account of the first attempt in Shiva Digvijaya (P. 192) is worth reading:

" The admiral of the Navy was ordered to build another Fort nearer to Janjira. He quickly fortified the island of Underi. Daulat Khan and Maya Naik Bhandari proceeded at the head of

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P. 94.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 106. P. 114.

their squadrons to fortify the island of Khanderi. They were going to build a fort, but English ships came from Bombay, saw the extent of the (projected) fortification, and wrote to Yakud Khan at Janjira. The Habsis informed of the news, got ready and laid a siege to Khanderi with the co-operation of the English and demanded that no building should be constructed on their frontier. The forces were not strong enough to fight the enemies, so the Bhandari concluded a treaty, came away amicably and informed the Maharaja what had happened."

3. Shivaji's attempt to fortify Khanderi in 1679

After the lapse of seven years, the project was seriously taken up by Shivaji in August 1679. The reasons for possessing and fortifying the island have been anticipated by the English in the two extracts of 27 August and 2 September 1679.

" These serve cheifly to informe (you) that wee have received certaine intelligence, both from Portugueze and Jentue corrispondents, that Sevagy Rajah intends to fortifie the island of Hendry Kendry, lying at the mouth of this Bay, and allwayes supposed to belong unto us, and wee humbly perceive it little policy to suffer so potent and voracious a Prince to possess himselfe of soe considerable a post without disputing his title thereunto. His designes herein cannot be otherwise then to have check on the whole trade of this Island and adjacent parts, by keeping there allwayes a a fle (e) tt of small brigantines to cruse up and downe. This wee thought not fitting to omitt advisall of, that you might be pleased to strengthen us by your advice and orders how to proceed, for both men and materialls are come to Chaule for said designe. If he is suffered to build, it will be hard disputing with him hereafter, but at present wee suppose standing on our tearmes and owning it as ours, with a seeming resolution to obstruct him, may make him desist." [1]

Shivaji a potent and voracious Prince.

Objects of fortifying Khanderi.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, P. 28.

4. The English preparation for preventing fortifications

" Being certainly informed that Sevagee Rajah's ministers on the Maine sent over from Tull to Hendry Kendry a considerable number of men and materialls, with an intention to fortifie and settle on the said Island, which will be a very great prejudice and inconveniency to this port, and not knowing or at present perceiving the many other inconveniencys that may follow and arise thereby in the future if wee should quietly suffer them to fortifie and settle thereon without notice thereof, and not question them why they fortifie and settle on an Island that is within our Bay and to which they have noe right of pretence; the severall circumstances whereof being naturally and seriously debated, it was concluded absolutely necessary to prevent them all that possibly wee can in the transporting of men and materiall to the said Island, they having at present but one or two small boats for that purpose soe that a small strength will hinder them, and for that intent it was ordered that three Shibarrs (trading boats) should be with all speed fitted up, and that Ensigne Hughes, with six files of souldiers,[1] should be drawne out to goe on board said Shibarrs and saile downe to the said Island Hundry Kundry, and cruse between that and the Maine, and hinder all boates whatsoever the transportation of men and materials to the said Island; and ordered alsoe that instructions should be drawne out for Ensigne Hughes accordingly that he may know the better how to behave himselfe in the management of this affaire."[2]

Hughes appointed to checkmate Shivaji's attempts.

These instructions were drawn up the next day and Hughes was ordered to hinder all vessels from landing men and provisions at the Island on the ground that it belonged to the king of England. But he was instructed not to use force or violence except in self-defence.[3]

The Surat consultation held on 4th September 1679 records six instructions given by the Council to the Deputy Governor of Bombay. (The minutes are not numbered in the original.)

1. Orme says-40 Europeans.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2, p. 5.
3. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, p. 31. 3 Sept. 1679.

"Sevajees design on Hendry Kendry

Shivaji's preparations to fortify Kenry.

An Express arriving yesterday from Bombay, wherein the Deputy Governor and Councill advise of Sevagee Rajahs intentions to fortifie the Island *Hendry Kendry* lying at the mouth of the Bay (which is an appendix to the Island Bombay) having already sent downe both men and materialls to Chaule for the effecting the said designe. They desire our speedy orders how they shall governe themselves in case he further proceeds therein, which being an affaire of soe dangerous a consequence to permit, and which would redownd so much to the dishonour of the nation and utter discouragement of all trade to the Island, wee doe resolve to returne them these speedy orders. (1) That they immediately erect an English Flag on the highest part of the Island (and if it may be done without any danger from the Mallabarrs); (2) that a file of sould(i)ers be kept there to guard it; (3) and the *Hunter* Friggat be ordered to attend upon them, plying up and downe nere the said Island, giving the Commander orders, in a freindly way to acquaint those that are appointed by Sevagee for the management of that designe, when they offerr to erect their Fort, that the Island belongs to His Majestie of great Brittaine, and that none can attempt any thing upon the place without an open breach of Freindship; (4) and which he is commanded to give them notice of, that if a breach happens the whole world may be sencible, the cause first and only proceeded from them. (5) Likewise that they send advice to the same effect to the cheife Ministers at Chaule, or who elce they shall find most propper to prevent any further proceeding therein; (6) and if the Deputy Governour etca. (as being upon the place) shall find any other method more effectuall, wee leave it to them to make choyce of such fitt meanes as they shall see most secure and be hopefull to the Island, requiring them to advise us of all accidents and occurrences therein as opportunitys shall offerr themselves."

Its effect on Bombay.

The means to prevent fortification.

The minutes of the Consultation were conveyed to Bombay.

in a letter from Surat on the following day. As there is nothing fresh in it, we skip over it.[1]

The preceding instructions issued to the Deputy Governor could not be followed, as Shivaji had promptly carried out his design by employing 150 men with four guns under the command of Maya Nayak for the occupation and fortification of the island.

5. Shivaji occupies Khanderi

" In pursuance of his said designe, the latter end of last month there were transported over 150 men and 4 small gunns, under the command of Mia Naique, a Bandareen of (the) Rajahs, unto whome the Deputy Governor wrott, requiring him to quitt the place as belonging to this Island; to which he returned a civill answer desiring to be excused, that he could not leave it without his order who commanded him thereon, which was Sevagy Rajah. Whereupon wee deliberated what was to be done to stopp the currant of this growing eveill (which will be of so had consequence that the effects in a few months will (be) vissible to the utter discouragement of all merchants, both inhabitants and strangers); and after serious debate wee resolved not to use any act of hostility towards his people on said Island, but to impede what wee could their fortifying themselves thereon.

Maya Naik fortifies Khanderi

Wee dared not to lett them proceed in their unwarantable actions without some just resentment, that Sevagy hereafter might not pretend wee laid no claim thereto and thereby use us with more unkindness.

It will be both dishonourable to the nation and very prejudiciall to the Island (lett what will come of it) to suffer Sevagy or any other Prince whatsoever to fortifie or possess said Island. Your orders herein wee desire may be plaine and punctual, that wee may not err in the putting them in execution, nor hereafter be left to answer for others defaults, nor be deceived with the ambiguous tearmes of the Delphic Oracle *ibis et redibis* &cta.,

The English await orders from Surat.

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19. P. 33.

not doubting but your prudence will give such directions as the exiguence requires. To palliate and moderate our neighbours wee have dispeeded our linguist to the Soobedar of Chaule, giveing him the reasons of our proceeding, letting him know wee could not suffer him to prosecute his intentions without acquainting first your Honour &ca. therewith and receiving the commands therein, which wee impatiently desire." [1]

Ensign Daniel Hughes who was entrusted with the duty to blockade Khanderi, sent to Bombay a report on his doings in his letters of 6 and 9 September 1679.

"The 4th instant wee came to an anchour here about eight of the clock in the morning.

Upon the Island (to the best of my knowlege) they have about 400 men or upwards; most of them are Cabucares. They have raised brest work all round the Island (to where there is any possibillity of landing), such work as is only earth and stone about a yard high; they have 4 or 6 gunns mounted in the valley, guarded with such like worke as the afforesaid; they are full of small hovells all round the Island. Yesternight came Narran Sinay off the Maine and acquainted me that the Haveldar had sent up to Shivagee Rajah the night before to Rairy to acquaint him that wee were here and he said he would be at Bombay this day himselfe. Nothing more of consequence to informe your Workship at present."[2]

Fortifications going on.

Shivaji expected at Khanderi.

"I have not seen the cannoe this three days; if it comes again I will lay hold of it if I can. Their gunns are about the bignesse of our in the boates; their carriages are new made on the Island, whither the Island affords the timber or brought from the Maine before I came I know not. They are allarumd continually by us by one means or another, so that it hinders their work a great matter. They have

Guns and communications.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8. P. 34. Bombay to Surat 6 September 1679.
2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, Pp. 29-30.

made noe attempt to come from the Maine since the first day wee came here, of which I acquainted you of."[1]

On receipt of these two letters the Bombay Council despatched further instructions to Capt. Wm. Minchin and Ensign Hughes. They were not to allow the Siddi's gallivats, as long as they were in the Bombay harbour, to fall into the hands of Shivaji's men.

" If Shivagys armada should arrive during the time of your stay there, suffer them not to give any succours of men or provissions to those on the Island. You will have frequent occasions of advising us of your transactions by a boate which is with the shibarr, which faile not to doe, that you may receive what orders shall be necessary."[2]

Succour to be prevented.

These instructions were partially altered on the following day on account of the great strength of the Maratha Fleet.

" I hear (sic) Doulat Caun, Sevagys Admirall, is coming up with the fleet of...grabs and about eight or ten saile coming towards you and (if) you imagine them to be them, sett saile and come into the Roads againe."[3]

The English to retire on the approach of Daulat Khan.

On 12th September it was decided by the Bombay Council to despatch the *Revenge* for assisting the shibars under Minchin and Hughes. The same day, the Council informed Surat that the envoys of the English and Shivaji were negotiating with each other on the question of Khanderi.[4]

Another consultation was held on the Swally Marine on 15th Sept. 1679, wherein it was decided that amicable means be first adopted to expel Shivaji's men from the Island, but if these ultimately proved ineffective, a resort might be had to force.

1. F.R. Bombay Vol. 19. p. 31. Cf. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 35. 10 Sept. 1679.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8. Pp. 35-36. 10th September 1679.
3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8. P. 32. 11th September 1679.
4. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8. Pp. 6, 33.

" Sevajee fortifies Hendry Kendry."

" On the 3rd Currant wee received advice from Bombay of Sevagees intentions to fortifie Hendry Kendery, and then wee concluded to send downe such orders as wee judged necessary to prevent him. Since wee have received advice from thence that there is 150 of his men seated thereon with foure small gunns, under the command of one Mea Naique (Mia Nayak), who hath runn up breast workes of dirte and stone all round the Island, unto whom the Deputie Governour wrote a letter, advising him to quite (quit) the place, as it belongs to the Island Bombay, who returned answer desiring his excuse for not leaving it without his order who commanded thereon, who was Sevagee Rajah; soe that we are now forced to take the mattter into our further consideration, and to give them such directions as may wholy discourage him from having any further thoughts of seating himselfe there, since it would prove of soe dangerous and pernicious a consequence, and would soe highly concerne the credit of the nation, and utterly impede and ruine the trade of the Island. Therefore wee doe determine to give our orders to the Deputie Governour and Councill that if they find that noe faire meanes will take place with them, but that they rather persist in their obstinacy, and that Dowlet Ckaune shall appear there with the Rajahs fleet to protect and countenance their proceedings, and will not be prevailed with amicably to be gone and recall those settled on the Island, that they fit out the *Revenge* and *Hunter* Friggatts to joyne with what vessells they have, and can conveniently man, and repell them with force as an open and publique enemy."[1]

Occupation of Kendry by Shivaji's men.

Evil consequences to Bombay.

If amicable means ineffective, force may be resorted to

6. The English fleet before Khanderi-13th September to 18th October

The English fleet under Captain Minchin of the *Revenge*, a frigate of 16 guns, proceeded to Khanderi on Saturday evening, 13th September 1679. As heavy rain continued for 36 hours, the English ships anchored at a distance from Khanderi. Relief

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 4. Fols. 69-70.

boats, however, used to come to the Island and return to the opposite main. The fighting strength of the English ships was small and the men were weak on account of illness. Minchin enquired from the Bombay Council whether he should engage Shivaji's armada or his relief-galliots wintout waiting any more for orders.[1]

In a consultation held at the Swally Marine on the 15th of September it was decided that in case of failure of the peace negotiations and the arrival of Daulat Khan's armada near Khanderi, the English should oppose his landing by force with the *Revenge* and the *Hunter*.[2]

Consequently F. Thorpe was informed by the Bombay Council on the 17th of September that provisions and ammunition were sent to him on a few shibars, and that he should go near the Island on one of the shibars to prevent communication and open fire on Khanderi, if he was fired at from there.[3]

On 19th September Captain Minchin informed the Deputy Governor that Thorpe was dead drunk at the time of his visit to him and yet he expressed his intention of leading an attack on Khanderi, but he was warned by Minchin to be cautious. Soon after his return, Minchin heard firing from the English shibars near Khanderi and sent vessels for their assistance. Before their arrival near the Island, two English Shibars were seen returning. Sergeant Nash informed them that Thorpe with two or three more English men was killed. Thereupon a few boats were stationed to prevent communication and the removal of the English shibar from the Island to the main opposite.[4]

Orme's account of the incident is as under:-

"A Lieutenant in a fit of drunkenness landed with the men of his shibar, was killed with 6 other Europeans, the rest made prisoners, and the shibar hauled up on the shore; all before any assistance could be given by the other vessels working against the

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, Pp. 33-34.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4, P. 69.
3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8, P. 36.
4. F. R. Bombay Vol. 29, P. 36. Cf. O. C. 4675 *Supra*.

wind and tide; which the enemy's boats by their construction and oars were much better enabled to surmount; and for several nights following passed to and from the island without interception."[1]

The next day Minchin wrote another letter to Bombay, saying that he had stationed himself very near Khanderi and despatched another shibar to the adjacent creek, but it could not approach the Island on account of heavy firing. In a short time the guns of the Island were silenced by the cannonade from Minchin's fleet. In spite of all the precautions taken by the English to prevent, communication two boats came to the Island and even safely returned to the mainland. The captured shibar of Thorpe was hauled up on the shore and all its equipment was taken away by the Marathas.[2]

Two days later, another letter was sent by Minchin in which he informed Bombay that he could not learn of the condition of the English prisoners on the Island, as no Maratha boat could be captured till then. On 22nd September one boat had a narrow escape from them. There was no probability of any loss or injury to be inflicted on the people of the Khanderi Island, because on the approach of the English boats they became invisible by hiding themselves in the rocks. It was therefore more likely that the English would have to sustain more loss than the Marathas. The latter were executing all their plans by working night and day. Minchin showed his readiness to make his stay near the coast on the expiry of the dark nights, provided he got orders to do it.[3] On 26th September Minchin acknowledged a letter of the 25th from the Bombay Council wherein he expressed his surprise on the wrong information received by the Council regarding the arrival of many Maratha grabs for the relief of the Island, while according to Minchin, not a single grab had succeeded in going there. Two Maratha boats were chased first by shibars and then by a light boat, but the Englsih sustained more loss in this [illegible]rsuit. Shivaji's armada was expected every day and hence

1. Orme's Historical Fragments. P. 111.
2. [illegible]R. Bombay Vol. 19, Pp. 36-37.
3. [illegible]Bombay Vol. 19, P. 38. 22nd Sept. 1679.

Minchin could not dare go into the creek of Khanderi for fear of being entrapped there by the Maratha fleet.[1] On 1st October the Bombay Council decided to call back all the men, because they would have no recourse but to flee before the Maratha armada. However, the President issued orders from Surat to fight the enemy's ships. Therefore all the shibars and galliots were fully equipped for purposes of war. Richard Keigwin was appointed as captain of the fleet, because he had much experience of naval warfare in England.[2]

The Bombay Council informed Surat on 6th October that 200 soldiers were to depart on the next day under the leadership of Keigwin. Since many shibars had already gone out of Bombay, two grabs were hired by the Council and these were to be returned on the arrival of the *Hunter*. It was believed by the English that a rigorous blockade of the Island would soon lead to a shortage of the water supply and to the surrender of the people there. As many of the soldiers had been sent on the ships to Khanderi, 50 soldiers alone were left in Bombay and the Council thought of recruiting 50 more sepoys.[3]

From a letter of the Bombay Council dated 7th October we learn that Captain Keigwin had the *Revenge*, two grabs of two masts, 3 shibars, 2 munchuas, in all eight vessels, 188 European soldiers and several officers under him. Besides there were the seamen and lascars of the crews. He was therefore asked to so blockade Khanderi that its communications with the mainland should be stopped. It was reported that Daulat Khan was coming with a fleet of twenty grabs for the relief of the Island. On its coming within sight of Keigwin, he should intimate to the Maratha Admiral the right of the English on the Island and if the latter did not give up his attempt, he should be boldly opposed and in no case he be allowed to surprise Bombay.[4]

In the Bombay Consultation held on 13th October it was recorded that there was no danger to Bombay, as the Portuguese

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19. Pp. 39-40.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2. Pp. 7-8. 29th September; Bombay Con. 9 Oct.
3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8, P. 41. 4. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8, Pp. 41-42.

had refused to the Marathas permission to pass through their territory. At the same time the inhabitants of Bombay were alarmed by the approach of Shivaji's soldiers on the opposite coast. Hence two shibars were hired to keep watch on their movements.[1] Then the galliots of Daulat Khan's fleet were successful in carrying provisions to Khanderi through the English blockade. His vessels were very small and hence the relief given by them could not be much. Still if some of these boats were captured and shown to the crew of the English fleet, the latter would surely be much encouraged to fight such small vessels.[2]

On the 18th of October the long expected armada of 40 to 50 grabs and galliots came out of the Nagothna creek and without giving an opportunity for parley or negotiations, it bore down firing from their prows upon the English fleet. The Bombay Council decided to send assistance to Keigwin and to recruit more soldiers for the defence of their Island.[3]

7. The naval engagement on 18th October 1679

The account of the second engagement between the two small squadrons of Capt. Keigwin and Admiral Daulat Khan is preserved in a letter written by Keigwin himself on the very day of the naval fight. It is, of course, an interested version. Reading between the lines, one can find that the captain is making light of his first defeat, the headlong flight of the fleet, the loss of six grabs and shibars, and of the surrender of Mr. Gape's Dove with all the men that were in it.

It is also clear that Capt. Keigwin struck his sails and ordered his men not to fire but to remain mute, so that the enemy might have the impression that the Captain of the single surviving ship was ready to surrender. As the Marathas advanced to board the *Revenge*, its Captain deceived them and opened fire when they

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2, Pp. 9-10; Vol. 8, P. 44.
2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8, Pp. 47-48. 16-17 Oct. 1679.
3. F. R. Bombay Vol. 2. Pp. 11-12.

were within pistol-shot.[1] The Marathas suffered heavily by this unexpected assault of Captain Keigwin. Some of their boats were sunk and others were hotly pursued into the Nagothna creek by his single vessel. Their losses are variously stated in different despatches, the number varying from 400 to 600 men. It is, however, strange that the whole Maratha fleet should have run away before a single frigate.

" *Richard Keigwin to the Deputy Govr. and Council of Bombay, dated 18 October 1679.*

Worshipfull Sir and Councill.[2]

I have received your letters by the boates with water, by which you mention of our engagement seen and heard by you. Soe soone as the day appeared, wee see Sevagee(s) Armada drawn out of Nagaun (Nagothna), rowing up to us alongst shoare, keeping the shoare, close on board; at East a fresh land breaze. Wee riding at an anchor (within) musket shot of them, they rowed up as far as Tull just abrest of us, I was going to send to them(?) but they came upon me so fast with the wind and their oars, with their prows upon mee, firing, that I had not time, wee not being able to bring a gun to beare upon them, riding with our heads towards them. Our strength and Shibbars lying aft, were forced to cut and loose our sailes. The fight began about seaven of the clock. I commanded the Shibbars[3] and Manchuas[4] to keepe a little ahead of me, and they kept so far that I had no succour from them, my selfe and Mr. Gapes Grab the sternmost. What accident befell the latter I know not, but he called to me. I haled up our mainsaile in the brailes, for wee could shorten no more saile, for feare of being on shoare; but ½ mile before the Enemy was up with him, his ensigne and top-

Shivaji's Armada.

The Maratha dash.

Mr. Gape's Grab strikes sails and is captured by the Marathas.

1. Cf. Takakhav, Pp. 506–508, Keigwin's Rebellion by R. & O. Strachey, Oxford, 1916. Pp. 36–46.

2. O. C. 4665. Vol.40. 3. Country trading vessels. 4. Strong trading vessels.

saile was struck. The rest of the fleet run from me. Seeing ourselves alone, Captain Minchin and myselfe encouraged our souldiers and seamen, admonishing them what disgrace it would be to Christians to be prisoners to heathens, but courageously to defend and fight the enemy bravely; they unanimously said they would fire and dye with us. Wee promised to shew ourselves forward for their example; wee hald up our sailes; the Enemy thinking wee were as easily swallow'd as the other, came up our sterne with 24 Grobs (and) I know not how many Galvets. I ordered our men not to fire untill the word of command; soe when they came within pistoll shot, and they finding us mute, thrust themselves forward in their boates to enter, but wee discharged our stern chase with round shot and pa(r)tridge, and presently our blunder busses and small shot so smartly ply'd, that checkt their drums and pipes, and in halfe an hour wee beat them from their guns and musquets and brought them by the Lee; some was seen to goe downe to the bottome; they were a greate while before they could goe about; had our Shibbars, Manchuas and Grob(s) stood by me, wee had secur'd the one halfe of them; but God have given us the victory, that with this small vessell wee should defeat 40 saile.[1] Wee presently tackt upon them and chased them into shallow water and they are holed againe in Nagaun (Nagothna). I sent for those officers on board and declared them cowards, nor can they make any defence for themselves, for some endeavour'd to run to Choule, others they did not know where, but they have promised to stand by me better for the future; but the trust wee have in ourselves is more then I can from them thinke; and soe wee ride triumphant againe at Henry Kenry. In time of our engagement there was five boates went in[2] besides Mr. Gapes Grob, which they have hal'd up. If you could fit up a fire boate out of hand, they might be burnt in the

Flight of the Eng. fleet.

Keigwin pretends surrender.

Maratha losses.

Officers censured by Keigwin.

Five Eng. boats sunk.

1. Cf. Orme's statement that the whole fleet, *50 vessels*, fled before this single frigate. P. 112.

2. Orme says that 5 sail of shibars and machwas *ran away*. *P. 112.*

night. I am sorry for the loss, but it can't be remedied. If they come out with his fleet tomorrow, I will fight them, God willing, but am glad to hear of the succour your Worship is sending us, for the countenance of a ship dismays the Enemy. Thus having charity for all men and hoping future amendment, seeing us alone bang (*sic*) the enemy, with the check and admonition I have given those officers, I hope they may doe better, and I remaine

Pleads for forgiveness of the runaway officers.

Your obedient Servant
Richard Keigwin.

Revenge

Hendry Kendry, October the 18th 1679. The releife they have had as yet is but small. Wee want spare musquets, some being split. Wee want wood throughout the fleet which is as necessary as water."

The Bombay Council soon acknowledged the receipt of the previous letter. The two captains were much encouraged to fight bravely in future engagements and to make the sailors more plucky than before.

" Wee have received yours of the 18th wherein you give us an account of the engagement with the Rajahs fleete. In your true courage and behaviour wee are mighty well satisfied and confide in you soe farr as that wee question not but you will behave yourselfe as well if they attempt to engage with you againe; wee cannot but be heartily sorry and ashamed that our countrymen in those vessells that wee esteemed of most use to you should behave themselves soe basely, of whom be well assured that wee shall take particular notice as wee see occassion. Wee have now ready two shibarrs which will be with you as soone as these. With this wee send you water; wood you shall be supplyed withall, with all speed possible. Wee would have you advise us what you are in want of that wee may supply you; you shall have all things necessary; and lett us require you to stand to those principalls you have already showne, and lett them under you (r) Command know from us that if they fear to fight at sea they must and shall suffer on shore in that nature, the law hath

The Council ashamed of the flight of their countrymen.

Soldiers threatened with punishment.

provided for such persons in such a case; and lett them be well assured of the extremity if they behave themselves soe unworthily in the future. All our thoughts are of you and what strength wee cann make you shall not want soe soone as possible wee can send it to you, of which be assured our utmost endeavours is not, nor shall not be wanting."[1]

John Child and others conveyed to Surat the news of the victory secured by Keigwin in the last engagement without any comment on the loss suffered in the naval warfare. They informed their President of the despatch of re-inforcements under Capt. Aderton of the *Fortune* to assist the *Revenge* in its blockade of the Khanderi Island, and requested the Surat Residency to send them as much succour in men and ships as they could.

" Honourable &ca. Honoured Friends.[2]

Yesterday morning Sevagees Fleet consisting of about 60 sayle, came out of Nagaum (Nagothna) River and engaged our Fleet imediately firing at them. What success it pleased God to give us, notwithstanding the ill behaviour of some, wee humbly beg you will reade in the two enclosed papers, being copies of our two Captains letters, Keigwin and Minchin,[3] who have behaved themselves with that courage as obligeth us to recommend them to your Honours notice for the encouragement of deserving persons. We have been forced for the security of the Island to give order for the listing of tenn files (of) men and have fitted up a ship that hath 8 guns and 4 chamber peeces, and in her company goes two shibbars, each two guns and three files of men. This supply wee hope to send to day unto the Fleet, under command of Captain Aderton, who wee are forced to receive into pay. This addition to our Fleet, together with the execution that the *Revenge* hath done, wee account will deter Sevagees people from further attemting to fight us. Were the *Hunter* here, wee might well excuse the charge of hiring this ship now sent and be

One ship and two shibars sent to Khanderi.

Assistance asked for from Surat.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8. pp. 49-50. 19 Oct. 1679.
2. O. C. Vol. 40. No. 4666.
3. Minchin's letter does not appear in the India Office and the B. R. O.

much more secure. Wee looke out for her, but if she should chance to pass us and come to Surat, as we understand Mr. Henry Oxinden the freighter hath order'd her, Wee humbly beg you will dispeed her to us with all speed, and if no imediate occasion for your hoigh, and that you could with convenience spare her with what Englishmen you can afford us, would be very acceptable, although but for a time, for wee are in great want of Englishmen. Our condition as to this is such as wee cannot expresse our need. What assistance you can offer us wee beg may be sent with all speed.

With all due respects conclude these

&c, &c.

From Bombay 19th October 1679.

Mansell Smith, Francis Day, Jo. Child, Hornigold.

8. The Maratha Armada for the relief of Khanderi

The English fleet under Keigwin was stationed to prevent supplies being carried to the Island by the enemy's boats, but it had to retire before the advance of the Maratha armada. The details are recorded in the following documents.

"Capt. Richard Keigwin. Capt. William Minchin.
Ensigne John. Flemming. Serjant Duckett.
Serjant Nash. Serjant Fuller.
Serjant Cully. Serjant Lee.

Savagees Armado rowed up alongst the shoare, not a breath of winde stirring; they stay'd upon their oars off Tull. Our Shibarrs and Manchuas weighing, they being nearer the shoare then the *Revenge*, wayed and came off to us, wee riding within muskett shott of the Island, and not a breath of winde. Captain Minchin and myselfe tooke into consideration that if they should lay us on board wee must of necessity goe ashoare. They all came rowing to us; wee wayed, and had the Manchuas to toe us off, elce wee must have gonne upon the Island they ashoare firing upon us; but when their Armado came within shott of us, they left us and went into the bay, and, soe soone as wee were cleare of the ligde (ledge) of rocks, wee came to an anchour to waite their coming out, but wee declare it as our oppinion wee cannot engage

The English retire before the Maratha Armada

them without the *Revenge* and wee experimentally know, shee hath not roome enough to work betwixt the Island and the Maine, having noe winde and in a tydes way, the tyde being now (in?) flood, therefore wee are come to an anchour cleare of the Island and waite their comming out to fight us, which wee all (are) resolved, God willing, to doe."[1]

"Sevagys Armado came in the night alongst shoare as high as Thull, and in the morning by break of day, with the tyde of flood, rowed upon us, wee riding at an anchour within musquett shott of the shoare, not a breath of winde stirring. Captain Minchin and myselfe tooke it into consideration that if they lay us aboard, if our cable should breake or be cutt by the enemy or anchour should come home, the tyde would heave us ashoare in ½ or a quarter of an houres time; therefore wayed, and caused the Manchuas to toe us, for without their help wee must goe ashoare. Soe soon as the enemy came in shott of us, they left us againe and rowed into the Island and releived itt, the Island still firing at us, having mounted severall other gunns. Soe soone as wee were cleare of the Island wee came to an anchour, which if they come to us now, wee have a cleare birth; wee are resolved to fight them, but with this ship wee cannot fight them betwixt the Island and the Maine to have respect to our fleete and hope a victory, for our smaller vessells they have not strength enough, nor can I trust to their proof, being of the oppinion they are to(o) weak for the enemy. These things I have with haste recommended to your Worship and Councill, that they have relieved the Island to my great trouble, but wee here waite to fight them. The water boate brought us on board your last letter, as wee come to anchour about a mile and halfe from the Island. I have lette the Officers know what you have mentioned and encouraged them what I can, who I hope will now doe better. Wee have not seen either of the two Shibarrs you write of. I

Difficulties of remaining near the Island.

The English fleet retires.

The Maratha fleet relieves the Island.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 53-4. At a Consultation held on board the Revenge, October 20th 1679.

have enclosed a Consultation held on board this morning, soe hope your further order. " [1]

"Wee have now sent out with these our respected friend Capt. Aderton with a shipp that wee have hired and called the *Fortune*. She hath 8 good gunns and 4 chamberpeeces well fitted with gunpowder, shott and all manner of amunition, 5 files Topasses, 30 Laskarrs, and 14 Englishmen, and together with her is sent 2 shybarrs, each 2 good gunns, all things necessary for them, 3 files Topasses and 3 Englishmen each. This strength being added to you wee accountt with Gods blessing you will be wholy able to deale with the enimie, and secure yourselves not only from all hearme, but may soe order it as that noe releife be given in the least to Hendry Kendry; by which meanes wee hope in shortt time to reduce itt without spilling more blood for neeessity, for want of water will in a short time force them to surrender. Wee have now a great part of the strength of our Island with you and therefore have had serious thoughts for its greater security.....

The English fleet strengthened to the utmost.

These are to require all the whole fleete to obey this order, and your mutuall agreeing brotherly together walking in all business hand in hand.

Instructions for the siege.

Pray be carefull in observing punctually the former cautionery orders given as to your feighting Sevagys people, and deviate not from them, but with prudence and cour(a)ge continue to behave yourselves." [2]

The Bombay Council sent Capt. S. Aderton on 20th October 1679 for the assistance of Capt. Keigwin with the following instructions:

" Wee have fitted out the *Fortune* and two shibarrs with 12 files of souldiers and other officers and mariners, all which wee commite to your care and charge till you arrive at Hendry Kendry, at which place wee having a fleete under the command of Capt. Richard Keigwin, which fleete hath already engaged with the

1. R. Keigwin to Bombay. Dated Revenge, Hendry Kendry, 20 Oct, 1679.
2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, Pp. 51-2. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin. 20 Oct. 1679.

enemy that wee lye against, and wee howerly expect that they may engage againe, for which wee provide in this manner, that you immediately weigh and sett saile, and if on your arrivall there you find that the fleete already there be ingaged, that then you strike in with them and use your best endeavours to assist our fleete and destory our enemy; but if it should please God that they are well and at an anchor, then wee would have you goe on board the *Revenge* and deliver our letters to Capt. Keigwin to whome wee have given our orders for your further government, and therein ordered that Capt. Keigwin, yourself and Capt. Minchin consult and conclude on what you shall thinke most necessary against our enemy, and that what shall conclude on and order wee require you to put in execution accordingly, and confide soe much in you(r) good conduct and courage that wee question not but your beheaviour will be to the sattisfaction of us."[1]

The Bombay council was grieved to learn the news of the relief of the Island by the Maratha Fleet and the retirement of the English navy. They sent the following note *to Capt. Keigwin on 21 October 1679.*

" Wee received yours of yesterdays date. Wee cannott but be much concerned at the enemies giving releife to Hendry Kendry, but wee are in hopes it may be prevented for the future, having lent you a supply of the *Fortune* and 2 shibarrs; but if that will not doe it, lett us know from you which way in your opinions may be prevented, and whither Sevagys fleete continues in Naugaun river, that wee may further consider thereon.

Pray be carefull you give not the enemie any advantage, but be prudent and carefull; if any officers &ca. be unwilling or unruly send them to us as prisoners that a course may be taken with them according to their facts." [2]

One Mr. Robert Paris was engaged on 21 October 1679 to navigate the Fortune under the orders of the captain.

" Wee having a fleete allready at the Island Hendry Kendry, which hath on the appearance of Sevagys Rajahs Armado engaged with them and behaved themselves in some part very well and

1. F. R. Bombay Vol. 8, pp. 52-3.
2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 53.

still contiune out, but on consideration wee have thought fitt to fitt out a small shipp called the *Fortune* that lay in this road, the command whereof wee have committed to Capt. Stephen Aderton, who hath our orders how to act; and you wee entertaine to navigate the shipp and therefore expect you observe punctually and follow such orders that you shall receive from him, to weigh and saile downe to our fleete, and at times to obey him either to anchor or weigh as he shall thinke expedient to command."[1]

9. Shivaji's design against Bombay

Bombay was deprived of its defensive fleet by sending its naval force against Khanderi. In such an undefended state, it could be easily captured by Shivaji. It appears that the Raja gave out a threat and began to concentrate his forces on the main opposite Bombay. Thereupon, the Deputy Governor adopted measures to prevent a surprise attack.

News of the English victory sent to Surat.

" Wee wrott your Honour etc. the 19 instant by express and then sent the coppies of two letters received from the fleete that advised of Sevagys fleete ingaging with ours, the success wee had, report speaking since to be this, that 3 of Sevagys graubs was sunk, many disabled now a fitting up at Nagaun, and that wee killed not less then 300 men besides about 100 wounded sent to Chaule for to be cured. The enemy threatens us highly. Wee yesterday sent out the hired shipp and two shibarrs who are joyned with our fleete.

Shivaji's plan to invade Bombay.

Wee hope they will be now able to hinder the enemies giving any sucker (succour) to Hendry Kendry, which hitherto they write us could not be wholy prevented, but with small galvatts continued to supply the Island. Wee look out wishfully for the *Hunter* frigott, which as yett appears not, to the Honble, Companys great charge and our noe small vexation; had wee her here wee should be much more securer then now wee are, and in a condition to goe about destroying the enemies whole fleefe, which is that must be our business, that he may be disabled of boates to

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 51.

transport men over to our Island. He hath got together about 4000 men at Cullean Bundiey, which wee designed, as report speakes to come by the way of Tanna to land on this Island, and to that purpose the enemie sent 4 messengers to the Captain Generall at Besein desireing leave to pass through their country, which was refused them, upon which they threatned to force their passage; but nothing as yett is done therein, but it's reported that they marched their men downe to a place of their owne called Parcell (Panvel) opposite against Trumbay, there intending to imbarque them in 7 large groabs that they have in a readiness. To prevent that and whatever shall be designed against us, our utmost endeavours shall not be wanting.

Bombay requires free hand to destroy Shivaji's ships.

Wee humbly begg you will now take into your serious considerations whether you shall not give us leave to use our utmost endeavours against Sevagy in destroying his country and doeing him all the injury wee cann, for if wee are only tyed up to keepe him from the Island of Hendry Kendry and fight only such vessells as may come to releave the Island, the enemie will have great advantage, may retire to Naugaun, and when well fitted out and (sic ? will) fight againe. Whereas, if wee improve our time, may burne his vessells in the river and destroy his country, to his great detryment, of which please to consider.

Wanted a Europe-ship to batter the Island.

Its certaine Sevagy will not lay down his designe of fortifiing Hendry Kendry by fare words or dealings. If could be spared us a Europe ship to batter the Island but one, two or three days, it would in all likelyhood put an end to all and ease the great charge wee are at in a short time, and that may be done by our shipp's) without damage to them, for the gunns on the Island are but small and cannot reach them, whilst their gunns may doe great execution." [1]

"Wee have news from the adjacent parts that the Rajahs Ministers have drawne downe neare Sabage (?) a party of men

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, pp. 55-56. Bomb. to Surat 22 Oct. 1679.

which they intend to transport to that Island in some groabs and other boates that they have gott for that purpose which though wee cannot have any great apprehension of yett as is becoming, wee are getting ourselves in the best posture wee can to defend our Island; but finding you to have soe considerable a number of men and vessells, nay, to be plaine, almost our whole strength, wee have had some thoughts that you might spare us two shibarrs, but not knowing soe well as you that are out how the enemys fleete workes, wee cannot possitively order you to send in any, but would have you seriously to consider thereof, and if you cann without any apparent danger send us in two shibars; but this wee commend to your serious consideration and to advise us thereof before doe it if you find an absolute necessity for their continuing with you. But that you may come to our assistance and know when to come if occasion requires, these are strictly to require and command you that whenever you shall heare any gunns fired from our fort that then you immediately weigh with your whole fleete and make all the haste unto us that possible you cann, and that you may be sure it is to command you in, wee have given order that a gunn be not fired without our especiall order; therefore expect noe certaine number, but in generall when you see or heare any gunns from our fort. This wee most heartily commend to your punctuall observation in all particulars." [1]

Measures against Shivaji's surprise of Bombay.

Keigwin asked to send two shibbars.

Keigwin to bring his whole fleet for the relief of Bombay.

"Wee can't spare any Shibarrs, but rather shall want more boates for the prevention of recruits to the Island. Last night wee laid waite with our boates with all the care wee contrive with safety to the fleet, yet last night, in the darke, they went into the Island with twelve galvetts. Our endeavours to prevent releife shall not be wanting, but to promise there shall be none wee cannot, therefore leave it to your consideration. Whilst wee

Keigwin incapable of preventing the relief of Kenry by the Marathas.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, Pp. 54-5. Bomb. to Keigwin. 22 Oct. 1679.

were at a Consultation on board, a boate went from the Island; our Manchuas chast her and forct her ashoare; the people of the Maine came downe to her rescue. Our Manchuas fought them an houre and reported to me they kild them severall men; they had a great many foote and horse there. Night coming on they were forced to leave the boate behind them.

Account of a scuffle.

There came from the southward yesterday 37 boats, that is Galvatts, and went into Nagoún (Nagothna) River.

The signalls you have mentioned of firing gunns to call us to Bombay are the best wee can think of, and wee shall be as carefull to observe them and your commands as lyes in our power. The *Hector* Groab desires a recruit of 4 men, they having the like number incapable of service." [1]

Ask for more men

10. Failure of the English to prevent relief

For eight days from the 24th to the 31st of October, the English fleet tried its best to prevent relief being given to that 'curst place,' but the fast boats of the Marathas escaped through the watch and ward of the English fleet and thus fully demonstrated the ineffective nature of the siege.

" The rest of the fleete, the Galvetts that went to Hendry Kendry, wee keep there. They attempted to come out last night, but wee birtht ourselves soe after it was dark that they dare not stirr, halfe our Shibarrs and Manchuas to the Northward and the other to the Southward, and our shipps and groabs to the Westward; were wee certaine their great vessells would not come out againe they should have noe recruit, but wee are loath to seperate for feare they fall upon one part of our strength. Wee should be glad to heare what dammage wee did them last fight. So long as you continue us, you must supply us with two boates of water every day, and more wood. They fired from the Island severall gunns last night and this morning, but did us noe hurt. Here is one sick

The Maratha fleet is confined to the Island.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 57-8. Revenge to Bombay. 23 Oct. 1679. Orme (114) is wrong in saying that 12 passed on the 25th, 5 a few days after. Realy, 12 boats passed on the 22nd, and 7 on the 25th.

man returned (and) five broken musketts. Wee believe the groabs will come out to releive the Galvetts from the Island."[1]

"Wee are mightily pleased with your placeing the fleete in that nature as the enemies galvetts could not pass you, which wee recommend effectually to you, but in that prudent manner lett (it) be done as that you need not feare a surprize, which you must always be carefull of, although according to the newes we have from our spies, wee have noe reason to believe the enemies fleete will even come against ours, for they were soundly banged, lost aboute 600 men and now are useing their indeavours to gett men on board their vessells to fly for Rajapore for their security. Wee are not willing they should leave Naugaun River, because according to the accountt wee have of it it's a fitt place to doe sudden execution on them without any danger, aboute which wee shall consult. In the mean time have a(n) eye to Naugaun Rivers mouth, that if they should goe out, they may not goe without a sallute from your gunns.

Bombay appreciates Keigwin's plan of keeping in the enemy's fleet.

Maratha fleet in the Nagothna river to be watched.

Wee have newes just now brought us that in Naugaun River is 9 groabs laden with rice fallen downe neere the rivers mouth; without them lys 12 groabs but ill manned to guard them for fear of our fleete, and that there is not in the river besides them aboute 7 or 8 galvetts; pray be watchfull and prudent."[2]

"Last night, in the dark, there were 7 small boates gott into the Island undiscovered by us untill this morning; wee shall endeavour to seize some of them at their escape by altring our station, for it must be by ambuscadoe that wee must entrap them, they being too nimble and swift with their oars for us. Wee are glad wee have endamaged the enemy with the losse of so many men. I could heartily wish at their departure from Nagoun wee could meete them at sea, but I feare they will steale away in

Seven Maratha boats carry provisions to the Island.

1. F. R, Bombay. Vol, 19, P. 58. Revenge, Hendry Kendry to Bombay 24 October 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, Pp. 57-8. Bombay to Captain Keigwin, &c. 25th October 1679.

the night and never engage us more; they are men of once bauk'd they can hardly be brought to stake againe. Wee send by Serjant Giles Serjant Lee, a prisoner, and 4 sick men for his guard." [1]

" Wee are now come to the unpleasant business of Hendry Kendry. It's an island seated in the chopps of the bay, of one mile aboute, a meare barron rock 2 leagues from the neerest part of our Island to it and 1½ leagues from the neerest part of the Maine unto it. The Portugeze in former times had thought of fortifieing it but diging for water made them lay downe their intentions, for the wells they made would not produce fresh, but salt water. Its seated soe that if wee suffer any to fortifie there wee must expect noe further trade on this Island than they shall permitt, without wee bee at continuell charge to keep a greater fleete at sea then they cann bring against us. Wee cannott but be sencible this affaire must much disturb your Honor, and it's a sufficient greife to us not only that wee are necessitated to be at a greater charge on that expedition, but to find wee have not that success wee did reasonably expect; doe all wee cann, wee cannott hinder wholy reliefe being given to the Island, but nightly their small galvetts, 10 or 20, pass to and from the Maine to the Island, in the darke unseen by our vessells. What they cann carry wee are sencible cannott be more then knough (enough) to supply the absolute needes of our enemies men; but here lys the evill; if wee doe not beate them from it this Summer wee shall be at a great charge to noe purpose, for in May wee must call in our fleete and their in the raines the enemie will take all opportunitys of fare weather to transport lime, &ca. soe that by September next it may be expected he will have a strong fort and large tankes prepared to keepe water;

Situation of Henry Kenry.

Scarcity of water.

Trade of Bombay would by stopped.

We can not prevent relief of the Island by the enemy's boats.

Time will strengthen the enemy's position.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 60-1. R. Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 26 October *1679*.

soe that it will be a hard matter to gett him off it, whereas now if you please to order a Europe shipp or shipps to batter the Island together with our small vessells, with Gods blessing 3 or 4 days at furthest will put an end to that business and ease the Honble. Company of great charge which wee have formerly advised and now againe humbly begg you will take into your serious considerations." [1]

Hence Europe ships necessary to batter the Island.

"Last night wee birtht our shibarrs and manchuas at Nagoun river mouth in hopes of meeting with some of their vessells going in or out, but wee had not the fortune of meeting with any, allthough the boates which were at the Island went out in the night, but wee think they went to the Northward. There is this day gonn into Nagoun River 19 small boates that came from the Southward. Now Savagees people have seen the new moone wee expect them, but if they intend to come to us againe wee shall be vigilant for their prevention, and carefull in all other your occations, to the utmost of our powers."[2]

The English unsuccessfully blockade the Nagothna creek.

"It's a very great trouble to us to read the daily releife that the enemie gives to the Island; wee had thoughts and great hopes that the additionall strength sent you would have prevented it." [3]

Shivaji sends daily relief to Khanderi.

"There are 16 or 17 galvets gone into the Island this night, allthough wee endeavoured their prevention with all the care wee could. Those small boates goe in by the lights of the Island undiscovered of us, which wee leave to your consideration. The groab indeed is of no use to us for the prevention or hindrance of those boates that pass in and out to the Island, but were wee to engage she might prove serviceable, and hope her fortune will prove better then the *Dove's*, but wee refferr to your prudence

17 galliots pass into Khanderi.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, pp. 59-60. Bombay to Surat. 27 October 1679.
2. Factory Records, Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 61. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay, Hendry Kendry. 27 October 1679.
3. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 58. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin 27 October 1679.

the withdrawing her or not. Wee have received 4 men and six musquetts." [1]

"The weather hath been very bad, the wind at East blowing hard with raine. The *Revenge* hath had the loss of her best bower and small bower anchours; the latter wee have found again, the other wee have not had time to look after as yett. Wee drove about 3 leagues to the Westward of Choule. The *Fortune* and groab drove not above a mile. One of our shibars have lost an anchour. Since this storme wee have not seen nor heard of the enemy, but suppose their galvetts have susteind some dammage, they then riding in Hendry Kendry Bay, the wind and sea being both upon them. Wee intended to have sent our shibarrs and manchuas that night to Nagoun river's mouth to have surprized them at their going in; the two shibarrs nor manchuas are not yett arrived." [2]

The English fleet damaged by the storm.

"The galvetts are still at the Island. Wee intend this night to lay waite for them; I hope our designe may take to seize some of them. The groabs still continue in Nagoun River." [3]

"Wee have writt you this day allready of what hath past, as to our wants and news of our enemys. In obedience to your order for the *Hector* groabs returne to Bombay, wee dispatch her to you the 1st tide. Wee like very well of your galvetts to be sent here, and well mann'd with souldiers, it is certainely your readiest way to prevent reliefe to Hendry. Wee shall want water if you doe not furnish us faster. There will be noe endeavour wanting in us to prevent releife to the curst place. I hope our ambuscade against their galvetts will take effect this night. Wee are allways vigilant for your interest, and ready to obey your commands." [4]

Unable to prevent relief to the cursed place.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 62. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 28 October 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 62–3. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 30 October 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay. Vol, 19, p. 63, Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 31 October 1679.

4. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 64. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 31 October 1679.

11. The Surat council against war

It is reported that the English secured a victory in the engagement that took place on 18th October near Khanderi between the English fleet and Shivaji's Armada. Yet the Surat Council was dispirited. It was afraid of heavy losses in naval fights, of the threatening approach of Shivaji's army against Bombay, and of the inability of the English fleet to prevent the Maratha navy from fortifying the Rock during the rains. Hence the English council at Surat decided

(1) to try for mediation;

(2) failing this, to persuade the Portuguese to join with them in expelling Shivaji's force from Khanderi; and

(3) in case of the Portuguese refusal, to request the Siddi to lay siege to the Island and to withdraw English ships from the place for 'easing the Company of the great charge."

Surat complains of the heavy expense of the war.

"Wee have persued the list of souldiers in pressent pay and find that it will highly advance the Honble. Company's charges on Bombay by the most unhappy businesse of Hendry, and which will fall soe countrary to their expectations, upon their orders for soe strict a reducement, that wee know not well what to judge of the case if it should continue long; therefore faile not to give us the true state of things and your serious oppinion what you think the issue may be in a month or two, or what more time it may require with that force to block up the Island to bring things to a good effect, and what the monthly expence may amount unto above what the Honble. Company hath allotted, that wee may take the better and fittest measure to governe ourselves in this nice affaire, and wherein wee would have (you) rest assured wee shall not be wanting to direct and assist you in what may be convenient to our utmost powers."[1]

"*Consultation held in Surat* the 25th October 1679 whereat were present Thomas Rolt President, Cesar Chambrelan and Henry Oxinden.

1. F. R., Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 64. Surat to Bombay. 24 October 1679.

Relation of the Engagement with Sevagee

The last night an express arrived from Bombay with letters of the 19th Currant, wherein the Deputie Governour and Councill give us an account of a fight that happened the day before at Hendry Kendry between our small fleet that was appointed to ride there to impede the fortifying that place, and Sevagees Armada (consisting of upwards of sixty vessells small and great) command(ed) by Dowlet Ckaune, wherein it pleased God to bless us with victory, though not without the loss of one of our Boates and severall of our souldiers taken in her, which hath necessitated them for their owne preservation to enlist ten files of men, and fitt up a small shipp and two shybarrs that lay then in the road, and sent out to their assistance, soe that this unhappy difference lyes very heavy upon our spirits, in regard to the unexpected charge wee have too great reason to feare wee shall be forced to put the Honble. Company too for the security of their Island...Wee have taken the matter into our serious consideration and after a due discussion of the whole affaire, it doth obviously appeare to us by the small number of men wee have already lost in this dispute (of which wee are uncapable to recruit ourselves) that wee shall not be able long to oppose him, least wee should imprudently bring our selves into soe weake a condition as not to defend Bombay itselfe, if he should be exasperated to draw downe his army that way, which wee have just reason to feare hee will. And it is very certaine that all our repugnancy will prove of little effect in the raines, when wee shall be forced to call in our Fleet, and when he will take his opportunitys to fortifie and store the Island, maugre all our designes, and therefore untill the Honble. Company can be advised thereof, and they shall be pleased to send us more ample orders, together with a further supply of men, wee have concluded on these two propositions. First that the Deputie Governour and Councill thinke of honorably withdrawing them selves in time, and in order hereunto that they make choyce of

Naval engagement between the English and Maratha fleets.

The English claim victory.

The English disheartened by their loss.

The English no match for Shivaji.

Try for peace.

some propper person to mediate in this difference, but which must appeare as an act of kindness and Freindship to us both, and not any desire of ours; but if any difficulty shall be found in this, that it cannot be effected, then that they apply themselves to the Portugall Generall of Basseene and acquaint him that wee esteeme him equally concerned in this affaire for his owne security to be aiding and assisting against this growing evill, whose consequences will prove as prejudiciall to him as to us. But if he shall seeme cold therein, then that they make the best use of the Siddys fleet they can (which will saile from hence in a few days more) and as they find him forward to engage, that they by degrees withdraw themselves and ease the Honble. Company of this great charge. And that they might want noe succour from us, wee had thoughts according to their desires of sending downe the hoigh, but the *Hunter* Friggatt happily arriving to us the last night, wee shall returne her to Bombay in two or three days more, on whom wee intend to send the guard of souldiers wee have here, though wee can ill spare them at this dangerous and busie season." [1]

Negotiations failing, Portuguese help to be sought.

The Siddi to be persuaded to fight Shivaji.

Assistance sent from Surat.

"The 25 came to our hand yours of the 19th, with an accountt of the engagement the day before with Sevagys fleete, commanded by Doulat Caun, the success whereof wee find to our detriment, having lost the Dove groab with soe many of our men, which are to be considered as a great weakening to us, being uncapable to recruit, therefore it will be necessary for us to think of some way either handsomely to compose things with Sevagy or to withdraw ourselves honourably in time, least wee should be reduced to a condition unable to defend Bombay if it should be attempted by soe numerous a squadron, which now you must have a watchfull regard to; and therefore would have you, as to the first endeavour, to find out some persons propper to mediate in the businesse betwixt us, so as not to lett it appeare its our seeking but

The English anxious for peace.

1. Factory Records Surat. Vol. 4. Pp. 82-84.

a free act of respect from us both; if this cannot be effected, then wee would have you lett the Captain Generall of Basseene know that wee hold him concerned in respect to his own security, that he appeare with some force to stop this growing evill to his owne nation as to us in Sevagee fortifying Hendry Kendry. but it according to their natures aud customes they can be brought to doe nothing that is fitt and honourable, then you must make the best advantage you cann of the Siddys fleete, who will now be downe there in a few dayes more, and who if, you finde readily to engage and attend upon this buisnesse, you may soe leave it to him (not by treaty but by designe) as to ease you both of further hazard and some charge, especially the *Hunter*, being hapily arrived here the last night, which has taken us of (f) (as was intended) from sending you the hoigh with our guard, for your better assistance, and who wee shall endeavour to dispatch from hence in two or three dayes more, by whose addition of strength, with the Company's shibarrs returned that were employed abroad, wee hope may be sufficient to carry on your designe of Hendry Kendry and hinder any attempt that may be made upon Bombay and for the better quitt and sattisfaction of the inhabitants; and therefore, when you finde it may safely be done, discharge such men and vessells as you have taken into pay on this unhappy occation, keeping the *Revenge* and *Hunter* continualy as a guard and security to the Island, and upon noe tearmes to be employed otherwise without expresse order." [1]

The Siddi's fleet coming to help the English.

"We have received yours of the 22d past, wherein wee take notice of the damage Doulatt Cauns fleete hath received by assaulting the *Revenge* off Hendry Kendry, which wee feare will be soe farr from reducing that place as to exasperate Sevagee more vigorously to fortifie it and not unlikely to attempt Bombay ittselfe, as you seeme to advise he hath a designe; which hath made us take into our serious considerations the pressent state of affaires with you, wherein upon a due discussion of all circumstances of our great inabillity to carry on a warr with soe potent and scituated an enemy for a place not unquestionable, whithe-

Reasons of composing differences with Shivaji.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 65. Surat to Bombay. 28 October 1679.

wee have a reall right to it or noe, that wee have concluded it more fittly and safely concernes us to come to some speedy composure of this difference with him, especially considering the Honble. Company's extreme averseness to all disputes (how necessary soever) with the natives of these countrys, and the strict injunctions laid upon us for a generall reducement of their whole charges under their Presidency.

Exchange of letters between the President and Shivaji.

Wherefore the President, having received a letter from the Rajah by these Peons from Rajapore, expressed with some courtesy and overtures of freindship, notwithstanding that first unhappy action of Leiut. Thorpe, that wee have thought it very necessary not to omitt soe good an occation to secure his freindship untill wee can receive orders from the Honble. Company how better to direct ourselves, not only in this but in all other affairs of the like nature. So that as you will find by the Presidents letter to Sevagee, coppie whereof is sent you, as likewise of that the President received from him, for your better government, that wee have deputed the Deputy Governour of Bombay for the mannagement of this treaty with him, for the reasons therein expressed, and wherein wee leave it to him, with the advice of his Councill, whither it may be better to send a person (fittly quallified) a purpose to him or to proceed by meanes of the Subedar or Haveldarr of Choule by reason of the great distance it is probable their master may be up in the Country. In the Deputy Governours letter to the Rajah wee thinke it convenient that he expresseth his trouble and much concernednesse that being newly come to the Government of Bombay he should find this dispute and diffrence betwixt us about Hendry Kendry, and of his great desire to reconcile and settle things under a more firme freindship with him; and from which subject wee would have him draw what further discourse he may see convenient, insisting upon the payment of such monys as due to us, the liberty of our factors in his ports to goe and come as our occations shall best require, to deliver up such prisoners as hath been taken in the shibarr and groab, and the vessells restored to us with all perticulars belonging to them when seized, and as to the business

Move for peace with Shivaji.

of Hendry Kendry endeavour to avoid all expressions that may either be laid hold on to strengthen his claime or countenance his possession for fortyfying of itt.

As to what you propose to us for burning his fleete and destroying his country, wee doe noe ways approve, for wee would have the Rajah and all the world know that what wee doe is but in a just defence of ourselves, being assaulted first, for as our duty obliges us (and as the custome among all nations) when an armed fleete enters the ports, to demand who they are and what their designe, as our people did endeavour, but his would not receive, but immediately assaulted us as enemy's, therefore had reason to defend ourselves.

Offensive measures against Shivaji forbidden.

Wee were willing to have complyed with your desires in returning the *London* to you, but upon discourse with the Captain found him to demand soe many days to fitt himselfe that his stay with you thereby would have been soe short as to be little usefull, besides being often allarum'd with partys of Sevagee's forces and having sent you the *Hunter* with our guard, by which wee have not a man left us for our defence if there should be occation, and the Honble. Company's treasure still all in the house and those considerable quantitys of goods at Swally, which doth much concerne us to secure, not only from a surprize of Sevagee, but from what wee doe allmost as much feare, the danger that may arrise from the present distraction of these countrys which are now very great, therefore are forced to keepe the *London* here.

The ship London cannot be spared for Bombay.

What wee hope from the Siddy and his fleete wee find not the least to be intended by these Moors, but, like the Portugueze, designing pollitiquely to leave us singly to the dispute of Hendry Kendry, notwithstanding they are either of them as much concerned to prevent the Rajahs designes in this perticular as wee; therefore it will behoove us (by a speedy and handsome agreeement with Sevagee) not to lett them make any

The Siddi's and the Portuguese help to be avoided

treacherous advantage of us, the Siddy being designed downe to his old station about Danda Rajapore." [1]

" The unhappy disputes that hath fallen out betwixt us and Sevagee, upon his fortifying the Rocke Hendry Kendry lying in the mouth of the port of Bombay, hath soe disturbed the inhabitants of the Island Bombay with feare that wee are necessitated to enorder you, at your putting in there in your coming up the coast of India, to remaine for a security and countenance to the Island untill the 7th of December if the Deputie Governour and Councill shall desire it, but no longer, and to afford them such fitt assistance with your shipps, boates, and men as may not be to the hazzard of their loss. Your ready complyance herein will not only be an acceptable peace of service to the Honble. Company, but likewise be of perticular satisfaction to your very affectionate friends." [2]

12. Summary of proceedings during September and October

A detailed account of the events which took place during the two months of September and October, is recorded in a letter sent by the President and Council of Surat to London. The following items deserve attention:

(1) In August Shivaji sent his men to fortify Khanderi.

(2) The Deputy Governor of Bombay despatched a message to the Maratha officer to vacate the island.

(3) As this demand was not attended to, the Deputy Governor of Bombay sent Mr. Hughes to blockade the island and prevent supplies.

(4) A few days after, Lt. Thorpe was deputed for the same purpose, but his shibar was captured and the party was shot dead.

(5) Then Capt. Keigwin was sent with a grab, six shibars and the *Revenge* to deal with the Maratha fleet. An engagement took place on the 18th of October. Its account is recorded in other documents.

1. F. R, Bombay. Vol 19, pp. 72-4. Surat to Bombay. 3 November 1679.
2. F. R. Surat, Vol. 4, Pp. 88-89. Commission to Captains John Goldsborough and James Cooke. Surat 3 November 1679.

(6) No other engagement took place up to 18th November, but the English fleet was unable to prevent supplies being carried by the Marathas to Khanderi.

(7) Shivaji was collecting an army at Panvel opposite Bombay.

"The[1] Revenge whom wee ordered down from Bombay to Rajapore in March last to bring up those Factors and dissolve that Factory, returned without them, that Governor refusing to let them goe off of the shore untill he had acquainted his Master Sevagee therewith and received his orders, soe that wee shall be necessitated to proceed by some other method than wee at first intended for reducing of that Factory, if not prevented by Sevagees securing their Persons, which wee are now in great doubt of, as likewise those of Carwarr, from an unhappy dispute that hath lately arisen betwixt us, upon the occasion following. Just in the mouth of the Port of Bombay, lyes a small uninhabitated rocke Island called Hendry Kendry, belonging as was ever accounted and concluded to Bombay, as an apennage thereof, to this place. In August last Sevagee ordered some hundreds of men with divers materialls for the fortifying thereof, and was soe nimble and secret in his designe, that before notice was taken of it, had run up brestworkes in severall places to defend his men, and mounted some small guns upon which your then Deputy Governor Oxinden sent to acquaint the chiefe person that had the command and oversight of this worke, that the Island belonged to the King of England, and therefore required him to quit the place, to which he answered he could not doe it without his orders that sent him thether, and therefore desired to be excused, whereupon after a due consideration of the certain danger of Bombay or at least of its Trade, if this designe of Sevagee was suffered to proceed, it was concluded to obstruct him as much as could bee without any act of hostility, therefore fitted out three Shebarrs with 6 files of souldiers under the command of one Ensigne Hughs, with

Englishmen prevented from withdrawing their factory at Rajapur.

Capture of Hendry Kendry by Shivaji.

The English blockade Hendry Kendry by sending Mr. Hughes.

1. O. C. Vol. 40. No. 4675. 18th Nov. 1679. Surat to the Co.

instructions to lye at the Island to hinder all materialls and provisions from the maine where they stay'd about 10 dayes, without the approach of any boat or vessell from the opposite shore; and then were forced to return by reason of the violence of the weather which being over, were again ordered to their former station under the command of one Leivetenant Thorpe (Hughs being sick), but this rash and inconsiderate [1] man contrary to his instructions, when he comes to the Island goes himselfe ashore alone, and in his disputes with Sevagees men falls out with them upon which they shott him and some others in the Shebarr lyeing soe neare the shore that she ran aground and soe was possessed by Sevagee's men, in this action about *15 Christians* of English, Dutch and Topasses were slaine and taken prisoners. After which being advised that Dowlet Ckaune Sevagee's Admirall was designed from Rojapore into the Bay with a great force, and not knowing to what his instructions might lead him, gave order that the *Revenge* and *Hunter* with such other vessells of your Honrs. as was then at Bombay should be fitted out and sent under the command of a fitt person to awaite to coming of Sevagee's Fleete upon whose arrivall to send a civill message to the Admirall that this action of his masters to possess a place belonging to the crowne of England soe cituate, did appear not very friendly or with a good intention, therefore that he should call off his people and desist from any further proceedings upon it otherwise should oppose him, who upon the *Revenge* and a Grab of six guns which was hired, the *Hunter* being absent, *with six Shebarrs* were fitted out and mann'd with such Christans as could safely be spared from Bombay and were sent out under the command of Captain

The second attempt under Lt. Thorpe fails, and he is shot dead.

Shivaji's Admiral Daulat Khan comes to the relief of the garrison.

Capt. Keigwin sent against Daulat Khan.

1. *Bruce* describes Thorpe as " an aged Captain " and Orme speaks of him as " a Lieutenant in fit of drunkenness." These qualifications are not substantiated by this letter.

Anderson charges the Marathas with treacherous dealings by writing that " this officer being induced to land, he and his crew were treacherously cut off." This statement too is not confirmed by this letter.

Even *Dr. J. Fryer* who is certainly prejudiced against the Marathas, writes that " he landing with his men *imprudently* were all cut off by the Barbarians."

Richard Keigwine to lye neare the Island of Hendry Kendry expecting Sevagee's Fleete, who the 18th of October early in the morning appeared to the number of 60 saile of all sortes of vessells, most of which rowing, being little wind, made towards this small English Squadron, and assaulted them with great fury, not suffering any message to be sent to them,

Keigwin's blockade fails.

according to the aforementionded instruction the management and success whereof you may be pleased to read in the enclosed Papers, since which noe further action hath happened, but find that they now conveigh all manner of necessaries by small boats in the night which wee cannot hinder nor have force to attempt them ashore nor power to order your Europe ships (which it pleased God to arrive at Bombay in August, the *Bengalla* and *New London* the 11th and the *Ann* the 21st) to lye before it and batter it, and which is certainly believed would have bin able to have reduced it in 4 or 5 days with their great guns, and without any danger or hazard to themselves but having noe orders in such cases, nor the Commanders instructions to follow them could doe nothing

Bombay in danger of being captured by Shivaji.

therein, this is the present state and condition of the Island Bombay which instead of reducing according to your orders, are forced now to runn you into greater charges, to quiet the Inhabitants from running away for feare and secure your Island Sevagees having drawne an Army nere the Sea opposite to Bombay, which makes us feare he may attempt it, therefore are necessitated to provide what wee are able against it, which wee hope you will approve, give us speedy and positive directions therein, how to proceed for the future, otherwise all will be lost, and which the better to prevent, it will concerne your Honrs. to send out some such Person for Deputy Governor [1] as fitly qualified for such service with 200 good English souldiers and not such pittifull wretches as now there that dare not look an Enemy in the face and who does not amount to your new Establishment."

13. Bombay threatened by Shivaji

The Surat Consultation of 31st October 1679 reveals the diplomatic move of Shivaji in preparing for the blockade of

1. See Notes.

Bombay itself. Having been compelled to send its ships to Khanderi, the Bombay town was without its naval defence; hence it could easily be captured by the Marathas. The expected invasion by a force of 4,000 Marathas caused consternation at Bombay, and compelled the English to come to terms with Shivaji.

" *Consultation held in Surat* the 31st October 1679.

Whereat were present Thomas Rolt, President, Cesar Chamberlan and Henry Oxinden.

Proceedings with Sevagee

The present troubles at Bombay doe daily offerr unto us both matter of discourse and serious consideration, for wee have now againe received a Generall from the Deputie Governour and Councill there, advising that our late action before Hendry Kendry hath highly exasperated the enemy, who had drawne downe a body of 4000 men to Cullean Bimerly (Kalyan Bhivandi) with an intention to come by way of Tannah, and land them upon the Island Bombay; in order whereunto they had sent foure messengers to the Generall of Basseene, desiring his permission to pass them through his Country which he hath refused to doe, soe that he threatens it by force, but are since marched downe to Panwell, a port in his owne territorys, oposite to Trumbay, entending there to embark them on seaven Shybarrs that lye ready for the same purpose, which hath given a generall alarum to all the inhabitants on the Island, And for the preservation whereof they are in great want of souldiers, and must be forced to put the Honble. Company to some further extraordinary charge, and by which our imbecility (*sic ?* inability) to oppose soe nere and potent an enemy doth more conspicuously appeare, and therefore the President being now presented with soe fitt an occasion of bringing things to a good accommodation by the receipt of a letter from Sevagee (brought him lately by the Rajapore peons) which is written (*sic*) in courteous stile, and wherein he seeme(s) inclynable to peace, wee cannot judge it prudence to omitt soe happy an

Shivaji's move to invade Bombay.

Consternation at Bombay.

Inability of the English for its defence.

Shivaji's letter to the English.

overture, and therefore doe conclude to returne him a civill answere, demonstrating our trouble for the occation his people hath given the English at Bombay to quarrell with him about his Fortifying soe insignificant a rocke as Hendry Kendry, which is not in the least becoming a Prince of his eminencie and quallifications, and though wee have a right to that place, yet to show the candour of our proceedings, wee are willing to forget what is past, and therefore have given instructions to the Deputie Governour of Bombay to treate with such persons as he shall appoint about the present differences, which cannot soe well be performed here, in regard to our residence in the dominions of a Prince at enmity with him, where it will not be safe for any of his people to come, nor for us to treate with him; which wee are very much persuaded will produce some good effect; and wee have further concluded to instruct the Deputie Governour in the management of this affaire that he advise with his Councill whither it will be most convenient to send a person to the Rajah on purpose, or to proceed by meanes of the Subedarr of Chaule. And in the Deputie Governours letter to the Rajah wee judge it further necessary that he show some trouble and concerne to find such disputes betwixt us at his coming to the Government and his great desire to compose matters under a more firme Friendship, and from which subject he may urge what further discourses necessary, touching the payment of such money as is due unto us, the liberty of our Factors in his dominions to goe and come as our occations may require, and to deliver up all such prisoners, and what ever elce hath been taken since this dispute about Hendry Kendary.

The English prepare a civil reply.

Shivaji's envoy invited for negotiation.

Suggested terms of the treaty.

The Deputie Governour and Councill doe propose the fortifying the new Bastion for the greater strength of the Fort ... but ... wee doe conclude to deferr our definitive determinations therein untill wee have an account from them what the charge might amount too.

New Bastion to be built in the Bombay Fort.

They alsoe desire that the *New London* might be returned to them to lye before Hendry Kendry and batter the Island, beleiving this to be the most speediest meanes to force them to quite the place...but finding him (Captain Daniell) to demand soe long a time to fitt his shipp that his stay there would be but of little benifitt to them, and wee being often alarum'd with parties of Sevagees men, and not having any of our guard left to defend us and the Honble. Company's treasure remaining still in the house, and a very considerable quantity of goods at Swally, which doth highly concerne us to secure, not only from a surprise of Sevagee, but from the danger that may arise from the present distractions in these Countrys, soe that we have concluded now to send our orders to Capt. Cooke and Capt. Goldsborough to remaine there untill the 7th December and to assist them with their shipps, men and boates as necessity shall require."[1]

Succour to Bombay.

14. The English fleet blockades Negothna creek

The English had failed in preventing relief being given to the Khanderi island. The fleet was strengthened by the addition of the *Hunter*, a frigate of 16 guns under captain Norgrave on 4th November. Thereupon Keigwin changed his plan of preventing the supply of provisions to the Island of Khanderi by blockading the mouth of the Negothna River from the 5th of November and thus keeping in the supply boats. This measure succeeded to some extent, but was not supported by the Bombay Council. Hence the fleet was ordered back to lay siege to Khanderi.

" By our last we wrote you our intent of planting our boates at Nagoun Rivers mouth; they could not remove from Hendry Kendry untill the moone went downe least they should be discovered from the Mains; the enemies galvetts tooke the same time to goe from the Island, and, being quicker in rowing, were arrived at Nagoun before our vessells, and gott in. There were some groabs at the river mouth that fired at our boates severall gunns, but did no hurt. Our people finding their designe frustrated

The English unsuccessful in the blockade of Khanderi.

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 4. Fols, 86-88.

retreated to us againe in the morning, which troubles us extreamly to be thus disappointed. This night wee have ordered 5 boates to ly very neere the Island, 3 to the northward and 2 to the sourhward, to prevent their reliefe. Sir, be assured wee are not idle in endeavouring their hindrances, and were it in our power they should finde it soe, but these little creeping boates deceive us to admiration; when wee have nimble boates of the like nature, wee hope they shall not escape us soe." [1]

Bombay anxious to know the result of last night's firing.

"In the morning early wee heard severall gunns and are now in hourely expectation to know the reason and successe thereof, being in hopes that you have destroyed some of the galvetts that daily give succor to the Island. If it happen so it would be very acceptable newes to us, who think the time long till wee heare it; for it is a great dissatisfaction to us to find that they give daily soe considerable a succor to the Island as they doe, and wee have such a number of vessells at sea and against that place as wee have." [2]

Successful blockade on 1st. Nov.

"Wee have prevented the galvetts from the Island this night by removing our boates soe often that they know not how to work; they drew out 12 groabs at the rivers mouth last night, and crept in again this morning, thinking we would goe downe againe as the night before." [3]

Blockade continues on the 2nd of Nov.

"This morning wee exchang'd some gunns with the galvetts and the Island; wee forc't them back 3 times. The groabs, seeing us engage them, came up alongst shoare; noe wind stirring, our shibarrs and manchuas were forc't to make to us, and wee not able to goe neere the enemye; not a breath of winde in the sky; wee were in hope they would come and fight us, for they

1. F. R, Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 66-7, Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 1 November 1679,

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 61. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin 1st November 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 67. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay Hendry Kendry 2 November 1679.

could never hope for a fairer advantage by reason of the calme, but wee plainly see they decline us; *their galvetts are very nimble and our boates very foule.*

Wee have seized a canooe with 3 men. Some of our people say they see her come from the Island, and some say otherwise; but their confession is nothing but that they came from Bombay; therefore by this boat have sent them prisoners to you to examine."[1]

The Hunter sent for help of the fleet.

"Your advices are noe way pleasing, and the charge of our fleet to noe purpose. Wee cannott longer waite in hopes of better, since every days experience sheweth us worse and worse. Wee doe now therefore send out the *Hunter* friggatt, Capt. Wm. Norgrave who is to be of Councill with you next to Capt. Wm. Minchin, and next to him Ensigne Hughes, who is to obey your orders, and designed by us to be employed to command our small vessells that wee are sure hath a greater strength then the enemies groabs, and hope by his conduct to have a better accountt of them then hitherto hath been given us."[2]

Instructions to the captain of the Hunter.

"The *Hunter* friggatt being fitted, your provissions and all other necessarys on board, as allso Ensigne Hughes and all other men that is appointed for the said friggatt, these are to order you immediately to weigh anchor and saile downe to Hendry Kendry, off of which Island you will find out our fleete consisting of the *Revenge* friggatt, the *Fortune*, 5 shibarrs and 2 manchuas under the command of Capt. Richard Keigwin, &ca. Being come up with this said fleete you are to take with you Ensigne Hughes and goe on board the *Revenge* friggatt and deliver our letter to Capt. Richard Keigwin, &ca., in which letter wee have provided in what station you are to be, and question not but that you will give us that satisfaction that wee expect from you, in giving your best advise and using your

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 67-8. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay, Hendry Kendry 3 November 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, p. 61. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin, 4 November, 1679.

utmost endeavours to destroy our enemie as on all occations shall be thought expedient by you that are appointed for the management of that affaire." [1]

A little skirmish.

" By accident here is a boate bound for Tanna that takes in three wounded men. Our small boates and their groabs engaged very briskly. I can give you noe further accoutt as yett, they being neare us and wee have noe wind, but if it please God wee have a gale I hope wee shall doe some execution upon them, but by noe meanes wee can draw them within shott of us (? the) *Revenge*." [2]

The English ships chase, but fail to capture the Maratha grabs.

" Wee have not had conveyances of (for) giving you an account of the passages of this day the 4th betwixt us and the enemy. Their groabs and galvetts came up alongst the shoare in the night; their galvetts crept to the northward of the Island, their groabs to the southward; our boates followed their galvetts within musquett shot of the Island, but could seize none of them; the *Revenge* and *Fortune* wayed and chas't the groabs in hopes to have cutt them of (f) att the point or lidge of rocks that lyes of(f) Nagoun, that they must goe about, but it proved stark calm and soe escapt's us.

The English fleet was unfortunately bewitched on 5th Nov. too.

The 5th their groabs came up againe alongst the shore to bring the galvetts out. Our shibarrs and manchuas weigh'd and made to their groabs and engaged them; the wind off the shoare, they kept as neere the enemie as they could; the enemy bore upon them with their prows; our boates edg'd neere us but wee could not stir, the winde being just in our eye and tyde of flood; before they were in shott of our shipps they went about againe into the shoare, and made downe to Nagoun River. Wee were in hopes of preventing them as before, but it fell starke calme. Thus have wee been most unfortunately bewitcht these two times, but we can't command wind and tyde. Their force are 15 groabs and 20 galvetts.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8. p. 62. Bombay to Capt. W. Norgrave. 4 November 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 68. Richard Keigwin to Bombay: Hendry Kondry, 5 November. 1679.

Having this additionall strength, the *Hunter*, wee have sent out two manchuas down to sound Nagoun River's mouth; wee having an intent to block them up there, for wee finde they will never engage us if they can helpe it, and wee are loath to be idle, but us(e) our endeavours to destroy our enemys for your interest and our owne honours." [1]

Vessels sent to block up the Negothna river's mouth.

"Your letters have found us at an anchour at Nagoun River's mouth. We anchored here the 6th, about 5 of the clock in the afternoon. Wee are very neere the rivers mouth, and our vessells the inside of us, good ground and secure riding: at full sea they have an advantage of going out two ways, and the water ebs so fast that wee must at once haull off to keepe our boates from grounding. Their groabs wee believe cant come out, nor their small boates never shall to releive the Island againe; therefore desire your approbation to confirme this our action, or how wee may move otherwise to your better information. Now wee hope to have put an end to all their endeavours to the releife of Hendry Kendry with your approbation of our acting; the encouragement our manchuas gave us of the roade and ground brought us to this advantage of the enemy.

Successful blockade of the Negothna Creek.

You are pleased to take noe notice of the galvetts that you formerly writt us off, which now we can't be without to block up Tull; with a boate of force, as the manchua, wee shall now trouble you noe further for water, being within three miles of Choule, but could wish you would order us a correspondent of giving us an accountt of Doulat Cauns actions; it is necessary and wee could the better act. The galvetts appeard at the rivers mouth this full sea, but went back againe, being not able to come out, our small veessells being ready to receive them." [2]

15. The Siddi to the help of the English

The Surat Council once more repeated its decisive policy of making up a speedy composition with Shivaji, by raising the

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 68–9. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 5 November 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 70–1. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. Revenge at Nagoun. 7 November 1679.

blockade of the Nagothna creek. Keigwin left this place with a heavy heart in obedience to orders. The Mogul Government at Surat and the Siddi were much alarmed at the growing naval strength of Shivaji, and consequently both joined to furnish help to the English in dislodging the Marathas from Khanderi.

The Siddi's fleet consisted of two large ships, three frigates of three masts each, and 15 stout gallivats, in which besides the lascars were 700 excellent soldiers. They arrived at Bombay on 10th November and both the fleets joined to conduct a vigorous siege against the Khanderi Island.

Surat President orders for speedy composition with Shivaji.

" As to the businesse of Hendry Kendry wee have wrote you soe largely and full by the *Hunter* and Rajapore peons that wee can add little thereto, except to reiterate more seriously our former judgments of a faire and speedy composition with Sevajee, especially finding you cannott hinder his releiving and fortifying of the Island; for what you propose, to batter it with the Europe shipps, you will find what wee are able to doe with those Commanders by what wrote them and sent you; besides wee ought to be very cautious how wee try our utmost abillity of strength at this time, least wee should faile of successe and soe Sevagee encouraged therefrom to slight our overtures, not unlikely emboldened, or at least exasperated, to invade Bombay itselfe, and wherein in such case wee desire your oppinions whither you are well able to defend yourselves.' [1]

The fleet ordered to raise the blockade.

" Wee have received your letter dated the 10th, with orders for our removall from Nagoun to Hendry Kendry. Wee must confesse wee part from this place with a great deale of regret, for wee have blokt them up, and are so well informed and provided against the escape that wee could secure them here and they should never give releife againe to Hendry Kendry with this fleete; but in obedience to your orders wee will remove the last opportunity of wind and tyde; when the Siddy arrives he shall receive

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 74, Surat to Bombay, 7 November 1679.

entertainment from us as wee to our abillities can afford him with all respect; wee could never have a fairer advantage of our enemys than now, and they will certainly remove the same or next tyde after us, for they had taken ashoare their groabs gunns to secure their shoare for feare of our landing, and on the 8th fired severall shott at us but did noe hurt, wee preserving our powder for their mischeif in case they dare come out. The Govornours of Choule sent us for leave to bring two boates out of Nagoun that the enemy had taken upon suspicion, which wee permitted to come out. Wee are informed by those boates that they intend never to come out so long as wee shall ride here, but are in a continuall feare." [1]

The Siddi's fleet coming to help the English.

"Wee doe not accountt it a difficult matter to destroy the enemies fleete where they are; by the information wee have beleive it to be done with safety, when wee may with security order to assault them in the enemies ports; and although wee commend your diligence, yett it's safest to keepe to orders, and pray be carefull in that wee now see two shipps in sight which wee take to be the Siddies fleete. Wee would have you therefore immediately upon receipt (of) these weigh your anchor with the whole fleete and berth yourselves against Hendry Kendry in the best manner to hinder all releife being given to it; unto the Siddy wee have sent a messenger that wee may informe ourselves of his intentions; use him with all respect and kindness when he shall come up with you." [2]

The English fleet ordered to Henry Kenry.

"Wee have not heard anything of the enemy since our anchouring here this last time. Wee want a file of men for the *Revenge*, 3 carriages and one gunn in exchange of that wee sent on shoare, match English and Country, flints, oars, Cooles, thread and needles, and souldiers in lieu of those went sick and wounded on shoare." [3]

Men and munition demanded.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 71. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. *Revenge*, Nagoun, 10 November 1697.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, p. 62. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin. 10th November 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 75. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay Hendry Kendry 13 November 1679.

"The Siddee about 3 of the clock went about the Island with his galvetts to view the fortifications, and then rowed on board the *Revenge*, but I being on Board the *Hunter* mett him in our boate. He tould me that strength of the Island was not great, and that they had 300 souldiers and 200 bigdreens upon the place, and that he intends to attacque the Island suddenly; in the interim he would willingly advise with me about birthing our boates and his, that there might be noe affront to passe betwixt us. Therefore invited me on board his shipp; I gave him a promise, but tooke time untill Munday that I might ask your leave before I goe."[1]

The Siddi proposes to attack Khanderi with joint fleets.

16. Relative position of the parties on 17th November

The whole position is reviewed in the Bombay Letter of 17th November 1679. The Portuguese were rendering assistance to the English against Shivaji. Though the English position was much strengthened by the arrival of the Siddi, yet the latter was an unwelcome guest. Both were suspicious of each other's designs and each desired to possess the Khanderi Island to the exclusion of the other.

"The loss of the groab *Dove*, as your Honour well observes, is a weakning to us. She had on her 6 files of souldiers, besides officers and laskars, whereof was 20 Eurppeans that wee cannot recrute, and now her gunns are turned against us, planted at Hendry Cendry, where she lyes hauled up. This well made us seriously consider; upon which wee called in the other groab sent out with her, least the like evill might befall her, being (assuredly?) a very improper vesell for that occasion, and to supply their two places tooke a 3 mast vessell into service, and two of the Honble. Companys shibarrs that were lett out, comeing in here from Goa, wee, with the consent of the freighter, freed them of their loadings and sent all three out to joyne our fleete, which was then absolutely necessary.

Estimate of the loss of men on the Dove.

The loss made up.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 75–6. Richard Keigwin &ca. to Bombay Hendry Kendry 16 November 1679.

Wee take due notice of your desires to put an end to this unhappy and chargeable business of Hendry Kendry. Our sense therein is putt downe in two of ours to your Honours of the 23rd and 27th passed, to which wee shall now enlarge in answer to your proposalls. *And first*, of handsomely composeing things with Sevagy by a person proper to mediate in the difference between us. If this way be taken, he will not leave Hendry but fortifie in that manner in short time as not to be beaten off it without great charge and loss, which, when he hath effected, this Island must not only be contented with what trade he will please to allow of, as in a former writt, but will be continually allarumed, soe that you must of necessity be at a continuall grave charge to secure the Island from him, or the inhabitants will be unsatisfied and wholly leave itt.

Danger to the trade and security of Bombay.

To the second: there hath passed severall letters between the Captain Generall of the North, Governor of Besseen and other Portugall Phil (a) llgores and the Deputy Governor to greate content. They have not only promissed wee should not want their assistance, but shewed it in deniing utterly passage to any of Sevagys people through their countrys to assault our Island and imediately manned out (blank) friggatts and (blank) manchuas, which they still keeps in the severall passages prepared to receive the enemie, should he attempt to pass by force, continueing to send nimble advices upon all occassions to the Deputy Governour, being truely sensible of their owne dangers; and the Captain Generall hath been at Carinjah, Sabass, &ca. places, takeing all care and giveing due orders, and our Island from them is supplyed with a great plenty of provissions as ever it had from Sevagys country and as at cheape rates. They taulke of a considerable force comeing from Goa to assist against Hendry Kendry, but this wee must not trust to; and for the Siddys, wee shall make the best use of him wee cann, continueing a watchfull eye over him, for he wee account not to be trusted at all and a very unfitt neighbour for us on Hendry Kendry. His fleete came in sight the (blank) instant, upon which a letter

The Portuguese are rendering full assistance.

Exchange of letters with the Siddi.

was wrot with all caution and sent by two peon, soon after which was dispatched came in one of his galvetts with a letter from him to the Deputy Governour, which wee forbore to give present answer unto, but stayed in expectation of a reply to our first, which came the next morning: upon which, for the greater caution, that he might have nothing under our hands to send to the Governour of Surratt, whereby any disgust might arrise. it was concluded to send off to him the Worshipfull Henry Gary Esqu. and Mr. John Hornigold to taulke with him and indeavour to find out his intentions. His discourse to them was heigh, that he would soone take Hendry Kendry, but wee must block in Sevagys fleete at Nagaun for some time. He had from them but little answer. A letter was sent by them and all wee can understand, he hath a great minde to robb Sevagys country within our Bay, which hitherto hath not been permitted him and is what wee indeavour to devert him from. To day came a messenger from him with another letter ..... Wee doe not find he is ready to ingage and attend on the business of Hendry Kendry, but he is very desirous to have it for himselfe, and if any thing incourages him to adventure on it, will be the necessity wee have brought them to on the Islands. Its now 8 days they (the Marathas) have not had a boate from the maine, and the newes wee have is that the enemies people on it are in great want of (provisions) and that without reliefe cannott hold out above 10 days longer, which wee wish may prove true. To give up this to the King by way of designe may lessen our charge for the present, but of ill consequence (hereafter). For first noe sattisfaction for what lost, our charge on this expedition wholly lost and the poore prissoners never to be released by Sevagy, for he cannott be more exasperated than he is; but if proceed smartly and you give orders to us to use our utmost against his country, or if not soe, against his fleete and Hendry Kendry, wee might with Gods blessing, put an end to all advantageously and honourably; but if otherwise, wee

The Siddi to plunder the main.

The Marathas on Khanderi not long hold out.

Ill consequences of handing over the Island to the Siddi.

shall incourage him to adventure on us here and our charge will be great to secure the Island and keepe the inhabitants on it, who allready begin to be concerned that wee take not the advantages wee have of the enemie. And wee humbly begg you will be pleased to persue what wrote on that subject in ours of the 22 and 27 passed with that discourse; and God direct your Consultations to the Honour of our nation, the proffitt of the Honble. Company and your owne reputations. It is our hearty desires to putt an end to this business with all convenient speed.

Strong measures necessary.

Wee had the 5th instant a smart ingagement between the enemies fleete and our small vessells. The damage wee received was only 5 men wounded, all like to doe well, and the greatest loss any of them will have is only one man that hath lost his hand (among ?) all topasses and coolies. The enemie, wee have from Chaule newes, lost above 100 men then and brought wounded on shoare above 100. They would not come neere our 3 mast vessells, and being noe wind they could not goe to them. They did undoubtedly thinke by what they had seene that they should soone have swallowed our small vessells, but they were quite mistaken, soundly beaten and forced to runn, for all their number; and now they dread us wholly.

Maratha losses in the engagement on 5th Nov.

Wee humbly begg your Honours will pardon us in this, wee are truely troubled wee should have noe more in this letter concerning Henry Kenry, being our express was wholly sent up about it. If your Honour pleaseth to peruse our letter that this answers, you will not finde that wee write you wee cannot hinder them from fortifiing on Henry Kenry soe long as our fleete is abroad. If you feare to shew your strength, expect nothing from Sevagee, but all hard usage. He never yett was known to deale honourably and will not be at peace with any but those that are too hard for him. Wee vallue not his strength at sea and soe long as wee command that on our Island, have noe occasion to feare his great force on shoare. Neither doe wee beleive he will attempt us, but care hath been taken, and this Island is

No danger to the Bombay Island.

guarded with watches that should he come, he will receive a bloudy wellcome, and by a signe from the Fort wee can call in our fleete at all times, soe that wee account ourselves reasonably secure." [1]

17. Plans to checkmate the Siddi

The joint fleets entertained high hopes of the surrender of the Island by the besieged Marathas, but the English were anxious to secure its possession and to foil the Siddi's attempts in this enterprise.

"Wee have this day heard severall gunns, but cannot rightly judge what the reason thereof may be, though wee conjecture it may be from the Island. When the Siddys galvetts come neer the shoare what passeth between them you are to take noe notice off, but mind your owne concerne in keeping your fleete as neer together as possible and as closed to the Island as you cann with conveniency, that at all times you may be in a readyness to lay hold of such advantages as may be made you; and as now in a shortt time wee may reasonably expect by the hard streights they will be putt to; one considerarion whereof, and the thoughts wee have that they will rather resigne themselves up to our fleete then the Siddy, the Deputy Governor hath wrott to the Subedarr that commands in chiefe ashore; which letter you have enclosed to be delivered him in case he should make any signe to you, which if it should soe happen wee would have you act in this nature:—Immediately on sight of such a signe send somebody that may understand him with our letter, and if he should be desirous to yieid to you lett them acquaint him that if he will send on board our fleete fifty or sixty of his cheifest men as a pledge that then you will send and take possession of the Island; and the number of men that wee would have you send ashoare wee would have to be 12 files under the command of such officers as you can spare, having regard to the security of our

The Marathas on Khanderi will soon yield.

Plan to secure Shivaji's men and to possess Khanderi.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, pp. 63-66. Bombay to Surat. 17 Nov. 1679.

fleete; and soe lett the rest of their men be sent on board our vessells without armes, and as soone as you land our men lett imediately our flagg, or such colours as you have that belong to our nation, be put up that it may be but seen: and if this happens advize us imediately that you may have our further orders. This observe and prudently put in execution as occassion offers. Wee wrote you a letter on purpose how you should governe yourselves if the Siddy or any of his people should invite you on board their shipps, to which wee referr you." [1]

" Wee have received your letter dated the 17th, wherein you tax us of neglect of writing and the passages that happened here at Hendry Kendry. There have been nothing of moment but what wee have given an account of. The gunns that have been fired were the Siddees and his Vice-Admirall against the Island who ride within shott; but wee think they spend their powder to little purpose,except the noyse does hurt them.

The Siddi firing on the Island.

Wee are birtht as neere the Island as conveniently wee can, and keep to your orders, and shall be vigilant in laying hold of such opportunitys in case singalls shall be given from the enemy for any parlee of surrender; but you may be assured the Siddy is as watchful to lay hold of the like occations as wee and will endeavour to share with us perforce. Therefore in such a case wee desire to know how wee may act in the defence of itt, whither to oppose the Siddy by force of armes and not suffer them to come on shoare. This wee entrest by the next generall. Their pretences to those things you may best reason amongst yourselves when they shall lay seige and bettery to the place, and have 500 men ready to land, with convenient boates for the purpose, and they to be excluded. The Noquedar (Nakhuda) came on board the *Revenge* yesterday to make me a vissitt, who told me he would haule into two fathom water and then would goe on board the Siddy, and he should do the like with his shipp, and so the

Tha Siddi watchful to take advantage of the surrender

Plan of landing on Khanderi.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8. p. 67. Bomb. to Capt keigwin. 17 Nov. 1679.

rest of his fleete would lay battery round the Island; which he wisht me to doe the like saying then he would land his men. My answer was when I intended to make a battery against the Island I would worp in neerer, but wee served two masters and he could not lay down rules for me to act by. He invited me on board the admirall and so did the Siddy himselfe, but I excused it least I might offend you in itt; but wee entreat you will beleive what wee act or say is for your interest; neither have wee informed any but you (r) Worship and Councill, but it is well known Bombay can quoine (coin) news as please their fancies, therefore desire your more favourable censure of us." [1]

The Siddi and the Marathas firing at each other.

"This morning part of Sevagees fleete came and chast a shibarr that had English collours. The Siddys gallvetts went downe to them, but before they could come neere them, they gott againe into Nagoun River. The Siddys shipp fire ashore every day and the Island to them againe, wee suppose without any hurt to either party. Wee are at an anchour nearer the Island then any of them, but they fire not at us nor wee to them." [2]

The Siddi to be fought, if he challenges the English occupation of Khanderi.

"Wee have had thoughts aboute what you wrott us concerning the Siddy, who wee could wish had never come hither. Wee must be very carefull to preserve friendshipp with him. It soe neerly concernes us, and (we) are perswaded, he will be cautioned how he gives us an occasion of offence. But that you may not be at a loss how to proceed, should he offer to fire against our vessells or this island, when in our possession, or offer any hostile means, and that he proceed therein and not to be perswaded to the contrary by faire meanes, then you are to defend yourselves, standing only on the defencive. And soe God direct you and graunt noe occassion for this order.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 76-77. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 18 November 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 77. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay Hendry Kendry 19 November 1679.

Wee now send a letter to the Subedarr on Henry Kenry. Act privately and send not the letter till you have assurance they are in need and that they seek (*sic?* look) to you. This wee write for feare of loosing any men that may carry it, otherwise snatch at all secure opportunitys. Of this wee are almost sure, that they will not deliver the Island up to the Siddie, but if necessity requires them to surrender the profer of it will be made to us. Therefore, if such a thing should happen, keepe all private as may be and get them to give you possession in the night, that before day you may settle all things and gett our Collours up on it. You give us account of a shibarr that was chased by the enemies galvets and protected by the Siddies galvets, and that the enemies runn into Negaon againe, but what is become of the shibarr you doe not advise us. Wee cannot but admire that you should see soe plainly a shibarr with our coullours chased by the enemie and not send out to her some small vessells, but trust to the uncerttain kindness of unconcerned persons. Though you have order to lye against Hendry Kendry and not any provission made therein relating to such a bussiness as this, wee could not esteeme you soe void of reason as to think you would suffer vessells with our Coullours, nay that belong to our Island, to be taken by the enemie and you lye still and see it and not afoard them the least assistance. This is an oversight beyond expectation, and therefore for the future require you to be more vigilant and carefull in that particular, and give us in your next an accountt what is become of this shibarr, whether she is in the Siddys possession or which way she stood, for noe such vessell is come in here. The gunn that you wrotte for is sent you in this boate with a carriage. The other particulars you shall have by the next. Wee cannott imagine why soe many gunns should be fired this afternoon from the shipps between the maine and the Island. Wee expect it in your next.[1]

Plan to secretly secure the surrender of Khanderi.

Keigwin reprimanded for neglecting the Shibar.

"Wee have nothing of moment to acquaint you of concerning

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, p. 68, Bombay to Capt. Richd. Keigwin 20 November 1679.

the enemy. Wee are on our watches and ready to receive them upon all occations that offers." [1]

18. The Marathas spurn the proposal of surrender

The English proposal to the besieged Marathas for surrendering the Island, was treated with contempt.

" Wee have received your letter dated the 20th and observe your orders, in case the enemy should deliver up the Island to us, that wee protect it from the Siddy, and that if they shall offer to (use) force upon us, wee are to defend ourselves by hostile means.

How the Siddi is to be treated ?

This day, about 6 of the clock in the morning, Sevagees people putt a white flagg on the brab tree upon the hill. Wee immediately sent the manchuas neere the shoare that they were in call of them, but they made noe signe or further shew to speak with our boate. Wee had a consultation whither wee should send on shoare or not, your letter to the Soobedar being not arrived; in the interim your letter comes to hand, which made us forbeare, having noe assurance of their minds or inclinations: therefore sent the manchua againe, but find them mute for making any further signall, therefore loath to hazard our men and boate. It is our oppinion that wee waite longer and observe their further motions, wee being sencible they can send off to us when they please, having a canooe and another small vessell which is fitted to sett out: some way she stole in last night but none of us could ever see her there before. The Siddy sent his Secretary to complement me last night and to invite me on board, who tould me they would fitt out the groab and shibarr to make their escape from the Island, which wee are jealous of, seeing her now fitted with more rigging than formerly, but wee hope they shall never escape our hands, for we will birth our small craft soe neare the shoare that it shall be impossible but that wee must seize them.

A white flag is put up on the Island but no parley.

Fear that Shivaji's men will escape.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 77-8. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 20 November 1679.

For the shibarr, Sevagys armado chest (chased) it, wee see her clear of them and stood to the Northward, what is become of her wee know not; by the ensigne she belonged to the English or their protection, but for us to have weigh'd and gonne after her there was noe need or occation, had wee seen and known her in distresse wee should have helpt her but wee know nothing more of this vessell. The guns that have been fired are betwixt the Siddy and the Island, powder and shott vainely spent; but they have a great master, and the Noquedar tould me it was diversion to fire some times, making me his foolish demonstration rather hatcht by drinck than depending on reason.

The Shibar got clear of Shivaji's armada.

Useless firing betwixt the Siddi and the Marathas.

Since the writing of this letter wee heard the Siddy had sent to treat with the Island. Wee resolved to try our force and know the reason of putting out the white flagg, therefore sent the new galvatt with Serjant Cully, a Dutchman that former (ly) served them, and a Portuguese. The enemy's answer was that if they would come on shoare (and swore by the water they tooke up) they should receive noe damage. They tould them that if they would surrender they should be kindly dealt by and receive our protection against all people. They answered that they would not deliver up the Island, allthough wee stayed here this twelve months, but if wee had any letters or other matters to treat of, they will sware to free agresse and regresse for audience and answer. Therefore wee keep their letter and act according to your further orders; you may freely treat of what you please and employ whom you think fitt without danger. So leaving all things to your prudence, wee are ready to putt your orders in execution to the utmost of our powers." [1]

The Marathas asked to deliver the Island.

The Marathas' stern refusal.

"Last night there came a boate or cannoe into the Island

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 78-9. Keigwin to Bomb. Hendry Kendry, 21 Nov. 1679.

and escapt us all; the great manchua chased and fired twice at her, but going in with the land lost sight of her. The Siddy still keeps firing and the Island to them againe without any hurt to either party. I am continually invited by the Siddy's officers with messages from them, and wee beleive they suspect wee wink att last nights boats arrivall, and wonder wee dont fire at the Island nor they att us, since wee lye soe neare. I askt them if I could kill the Island with our gunns and how many men the enemy had killed them; they say none, then wee think your powder wasted with shame, but had wee better converse, wee think it might be more for your advantage. But these things wee referr to your consideration." [1]

Siddi's suspicion that the English were in collusion with the Marathas.

"Wee doe recommend to you effectually to be very carefull that you give noe occassion of differing with the Siddie, but on your parts in all things comply soe far as may be with security to our fleete and yourselves. Wee are in hourely expectation of letters from Sevages people that wee have great hopes may putt an end to this troublesome bussiness, which makes us forbeare intertaineing thoughts of treating further with Hendry Kendry than allready directed you, which pray observe and if any overtures be made you send us advise with all speed." [2]

Expectations of peace with Shivaji.

"Wee shall observe your orders to goe on at a time on board any of the Siddys fleete, to comply with his freindship according to your commands and interest. The Siddy has sent Capt. Keigwin news concerning the condition of Hendry Kendry, as you will find by the enclosed." [3]

The English friendship with the Siddi.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 79. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 22 November 1679. Cf. a Karwar letter of 24 Nov. to Bombay enquiring how the relations stood between Shivaji and the English, and asking Surat to send a file of topasses for their security there, though they were not molested or hindered till then in their affairs. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, p. 24; F. R. Surat Vol. 108, p. 76.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8, p. 69. Bombay to Capt. R. Keigwin 26 November 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 80. Richard Keigwiu &c. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 26 November 1679.

19. Efforts of peace with Shivaji

Though a renegade from Khanderi gave a harrowing picture of the position of the Maratha force on the Island and held out hopes of a speedy surrender of the place, the English were not sure of these tales and therefore they preferred to see an end of the war by making peace with Shivaji.

" The Siddy sent to informe me that a souldier which served Doulat Caun fledd to Choule and is now entertaind by him. His fault was he should say Hendry Kendry was to be easily taken by a few potanners (?), for which words he had received seveere punishment if he had not made his escape. He reports they have at Nagoun 8 boates ready loaden with rice, butter, oyle, watter, &ca. for the Island, and that Doulatt Caun intends to come out with his armadoe to draw off our small vessells to fight him, and in the interim those boates to give releive to the place; but the Siddy sayes he would permitt them to goe in, and he would, under pretence of chasing, land and take the Island; therefore would keepe his boates full mann'd and watch for this opportunity, thinking it very feazable.

A renegade from Khanderi supplies information about the Island.

He says they have 4 wells, but when he left the Island there was little water in any of them, but were forced to take it up in their hands to fill the jarrs. That they had but 6 Candy of powder and 1000 balls, except what they found in our groab and shibarr; that they have 12 great gunns; they have 560 men, two hundred fire armes and 300 sword men; that they sent for mesures (Mazdurs-labourers) to the Soobedar on shoare and he refused them, saying he himselfe undertooke the work, and promised to fortifie the Island, and he himselfe should dce itt. The souldiers upon the Island are willing to surrender, but Michell Nake, his sonne, and a Mooreman will not consent to it, Sevagy having sent him word he will cutt off their heads if he quitt it, and cutt off their wifes and children which he have in his custody. The Siddy desires wee would back him with our shibarrs in this affaire, when they shall sett upon the Island, and could wish us to lay ready upon our oars at this juncture of

Amount of provisions and ammunition.

The Marathas about to surrender.

time. Sirs, by this man's report they must be in great want, having nothing but rice and salt now to eat, and have many sick men, which may cause a mutiny; wants are the forerunners of disturbances. If the Siddy lands before your Agreement of peace, he takes all to himselfe, and I verily beleive he will attempt itt; he waits for some men from Surratt; there came a shipp yesterday into him, what supply of men he brought them I know not yett, but I could heartily wish you would forward and putt an end to this soe soone as possiblel east it be too late; little time lost is not soe quickly recalled, I hope all things will conclude according to your desires.[1]

By direct peace with Shivaji, the Eng. checkmate the Siddi.

20. Diplomatic dealings with the Marathas

The Siddi had occupied an advantageous position from which he was certain to effectively harass the Marathas. The English conducted themselves so diplomatically that they could please both the Siddi and Marathas. But the latter saw through the game, and waited for the hour when the alliance of the Siddi and the English would be broken and the allies would of themselves retire from Khanderi.

"The Siddys have now birtht themselves, that is their grobs, betwixt the Island and the Maine, something without us. Wee have had noe vissitts from them this two days. The Island are still fortifying. Wee are heartily sorry for the losse of the tanck boate."[2]

The position of the Siddi.

"Our last to you was by Express of the 15th instant. Wee then wrote you that the Pishwah had sent a messenger and worte a letter to us, which wee received the 17th present in the morning and answered the same evening with all expressions of respect, and sent by two of our owne servants, which wee made a necessity for, that he might have speedy advice of the Siddys proceedings against Hendry Kendry,

The diplomatic move of the English to secure possession of Kenry.

1. F. R Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 80-81. Keigwin to Bomb. Hendry Kendry 26 Nov. 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, P. 81. Richard Keigwin &c. to Bombay, Hendry Kendry 27th November 1679.

keepeing a continuall fireing at it, soe that in all likelyhood he would soone carry it, which if he did, the misery that would befall their country must be needs great, which he could not but be sensible of. Therefore, to secure all from further harme, if he pleased to send any one immediately from him to order those on Hendry Kendry to deliver it up to us, that wee would secure it from the Siddy, take care of his people, and further, if it stood not with the Rajahs pleasure, wee should not continue on it; that when the Siddy was gon wee would take our men from it, desireing that it might remaine as formerly uninhabited.[1]

Whilst this letter was gon, came in the *Bengalla* Merchant the 23th present, who wee detained here in hopes of such an answere as that her countenance would have stood us in great stead, but the 27th instant came an answere contrary to expectation, he resolveing not to be perswaded out of Hendry Kendry, and threatning us highly, soe that our faire words or meanes is not like to thrive, for Sevagees people will not beleive that it is out of desire of peace and friendship that wee forbeare his country, lett his fleete secure themselves and not fire at Hendry Kendry but conclude that wee are wholy affraid of them, whilst wee are at a great charge to maintaine a strength sufficient to make good tearmes, that lyes still doeing nothing.

Peshwah's curt refusal

Wee yesterday wrote an answere to the Pishwsh and a letter to the Rajah, which wee heartily wish may have success for wee are sick of our great charge to noe purpose, of which please to consider; and to our sorrow wee must acquaint you this, that if the fleete be kept longer out, wee shall be in want of money. You order us to advise what our charge may amount to more then the Honble Companys Establishment. It is impossible for us to answere it exactly, because of the gunpowder, provisions for men, shott, &ca. charges; but according to what wee think, which will be erronious, wee account on this affaire of Hendry Kendry about 5000 Xs. per month our charges exceed what they would doe

The expense of keeping a fleet near Henrdy Kenry.

1. Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 108. Pp. 2-4, or F. R. Bombay. Vol. 8, pp. 70-71. Bombay to Surat 29 November 1679.

otherwise; and this brings us to humbly begg you will speedily please to consider whether wee shall call in the fleete, or act something that our charge be not wholy throwne away in lyeing still and suffering our enemies to laugh at us, to our great discreditt. The Siddy begins to be jealous of us and is much concerned that wee fire not gunns against Hendry Kendry, and will not permitt him to plunder Sevajees Country within the Bay, the letter wee think an unreasonable request, and much contrary to your orders, for that would certainly exasperate Sevajee mightily and make him conclude us wholy affraid of him, which would encourage his adventuring on us here. The Siddy pretends aboundance of kindness towards us, and lyes at us hard to assault Hendry Kendry with him; that he designes it not for himselfe, but will with us make it a place unfitt wholy for any to come on with security for the future.

The double-dealing of the English to please Shivaji and the Siddi.

Sevajees people on the Island on the 22th instant put abroad a white Flagg, upon which the Siddy sent a boat to them; but they would have noe discourse with them, threatning them highly and calling them aboundance of names. Upon this our fleete sent a small boate to them, who had civill discourse with them (and) asked them what the white Flagg was up for. They answered, a signe to the shoare. Our people asked them if they would surrender the Island. They answered, noe. Then they told them of a letter that the Deputy Govr. had wrote to the Soobedarr, one Mynaque Caperson, that he was acquainted with when at Rajapore, which they would faine have had, and offered free egress and regress to our people, swareing not to doe them any harme if they would come on shoare, pressing them much for the Letter, declareing they would come off to them, but had not a boate, and that Minaque was intended to write to the Deputy Governor. Wee have not heard any more of this as yet but now shall see what is to be done this way.

Pourparlers between the English and Marathas at Kenry.

Wee feare the Siddy will be troublesome to us, should it be surrendered. Defend our selves wee must if he assaults our fleete or men; but wee shall be very carefull to preserve peace

The Eng. anxious to preserve peace with the Siddi.

with him, and nothing but an absolute necessity shall make us give him the least occasion of offence. But that wee may act to your full contents, pray give your orders how wee shall behave our selves towards him, should he doe unhandsomely. Beleive us wee are in great streights. Many things will happen that wee shall want orders how to proceed, and it's 20 dayes before wee can receive any answere, which is a great evill and discouragement, that wee cannot act with safety.

Wrong rumours of the routs of Shivaji and his Peshwah.

Sevagee Rajah is now at place called Puttaghurr [1] about five days journey from hence, to which place he fled with 500 horse to secure himselfe, haveing left the greatest part of his army neare Vizpore, where Dillell Caun engaged him, wholy routed him, and tooke 2000 horse, besides prisoners, &ca. He being soe neare, wee hope for a speedy answere to his Honours and our letters to him. The Pishwah is gon to him, and wee have news that Annajee Punditt will be there to, who wrote us some days agoe, and whose Letter wee have likewise answered. The Pishwah was intended for Surat, but the overthrow he received by one Runmust Caun, a Pattan, who killed his 2000 men and tooke 400 horse, which diverted him."

21. The English waver between war and peace

The Bombay Council, disapproving the peaceful attitude of the Surat Factors, pressed for an offensive to be taken, both by land and sea, against Shivaji. The Surat Council re-considered the pros and cons of the question, but could not agree with the views of the authorities at Bombay.

"Consultation held in Surat the 3rd of December 1679 whereat were present Thomas Rolt, Cesar Chamberlan and Henry Oxinden.

Peace overtures disapproved by the Bombay Council.

The Deputie Governour and Councill of Bombay in their Generall of the 15th past seeme very much dissatisfied at our former resolutions, in ordering them soe pacifiquely to endeavour to conclude our present difference with Sevagee, and restraining them from doing any violence to his country or setting

1. See pp. 208-9 supra.

upon his fleet in the harbour, and only empowering them from hindering him from fortifying of Hendry Kendry, which they declare is most improbable to effect our designe of beating him from thence; But on the contrary that in a short time hee will soe fortifie the place that wee shall be incapable of attempting any thing thereon without great charge and loss to our selves, and then the inhabitants of Bombay must calmely submitt only to such trade as he shall allow of, and soe continually allarum the Island that the Honble. Company must be at a constant charge extraordinary to secure it from him, and to satisfie the people thereon, who otherwise will imediately leave the place; whereas if they had our orders to make their depredations into his countrys, or at least to attempt his Fleet as they might soe convenient [ly] occation, they doubted not but to give a speedy conclusion to this dispute to the Honble. Company's advantage. Whereupon wee have againe taken the matter into our serious considerations, and after deliberate debate, wee doe unanimously agree that such designes cannot be undertaken without some loss of our men at least, which cannot be recruited, and which may prove of too dangerous a consequence to hazzard; and alsoe the Honble. Company's approbation in such proceedings wee are not assured of, who rather in all such cases enjoyne us to act only in defence of ourselves, and not drive things to the utmost extremitys, and therefore untill their pleasure shall be signifyed in this affaire, wee doe conclude to confirme our former resolutions of frustrating his designes of fortifying Hendry Kendry either by treaty or by the Seedy's fleet assisting us to oppose him thereon.

Offensive steps proposed.

Surat Council confirms its previous resolutions.

Serjeant Mauleverer etca. English, taken formerly by Sevagee in the Groab *Dover*,[1] being in great want of provisions and all other neceessarys, have preferred their petition [2] to the Deputie Governour and Councill for some allowance to be made them for releife of their necessitous condition, which they have

The crew of the Dove dismissed from service.

1. It should be 'Dove'.
2. This petition is given at the end of the chapter in section 35.

desired our orders in and whether they shall be continued in pay or not, which wee having duly considered, and perceiving how cowardly they behaved themselves in the time of engagement, doe order them to be stricken out of the Muster Roles, but that they may not wholy perish, that some small allowance be made them for victualls only (if it can be securely conveighed to them) what the Deputie Governour etca. shall see convenient."[1]

Fortification to be prevented through diplomacy rather than force.

The 27th past came to our hands yours of the 15th with the severall papers enclosed, which wee have perused and seriously debated once more what you soe often and earnestly prest us to licenee you as to the prosecuting this difference with Sevagee, soe as to attempt him upon the Maine, and burning his vessells in Nagoun River, which wee doe not only find alltogether unfitt for us, in respect to our present great want of men, not to be recruited when lost, and which cannot but be expected will fall out in such designes, let us fare never soe fortunately; but likewise as to the strict account wee must give the Honble. Company of our proceeding in this affaire, who neither doth allow nor will approve of anything further then a defence in such cases: soe that all wee are able further to doe in this particular is to expresse our great trouble to find ourselves soe confined, and to encourage you to be very studious and active in taking all other advantages and opportunitys, either by treaty, as wee formerly directed you, or by the Siddys fleete, to frustrate this designe of Sevagees fortifying Hendry Kendry, and hope through your prudent management, not only of what is past, but likewise what at present offers itselfe, that your next letters will give us an accounte of a happy conclusion both to our nation's honour, benifitt of the Honble. Company's and commendations to yourselves.

The letters from the Pishwah and Doulat Caune and the Siddy wee have had read, and find in them nothing worthy of much observation; and as for the President's letter to the Rajah, formerly sent you, wee doe approve of your suspending the sending of it, as wee shall doe of your proceedings in this present

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 4.

affaire, when you are assured some other safe method, then what wee shall be able to direct from hence, may better conduce to a speedy and secure conclusion of this businesse with Sevagee, that if possible Hendry Kendry may be surrendered by him to us much rather then to the Siddy.[1]

As the Bombay Council persisted in their views of taking an offensive against Shivaji for the relief of Khanderi, two captains of the Fleet were invited to Surat for consultation. Previous decisions were upheld, and the English fleet was allowed to cruise near Khanderi for preventing further fortifications of the island.

" Consultation in Surat the 12th December 1679.

Deputie Governour presses to fall upon Sevagee.

The Deputie Governour still earnestly pressing for orders to allow him to make incursions into Sevagees country and attempt his fleet in harbour as opportunity should offerr, or elce to call in our own fleet and ease the Honble. Company of soe great a charge, wee have againe taken the matter into our serious considerations, and the better to confirme our owne judgment wee sent for Captain John Goldsborough and Captain John Daniell and desired their opinions in this affaire; who, after wee had declared unto them the great restriction wee are under from the Honble. Company, the great want of Englishmen upon the Island and thoroughly made them acquainted with such orders as had formerly past, they did concurr with us that it would not be prudence too farr to exceed the orders the Honble. Company have given us, nor yet to hazzard our men in such dangerous designes, when wee have scarcely sufficient to defend Bombay itselfe; and as for withdrawing our fleet, wee shall further consider of that upon their advising us their success in their treating with Sevagee, and that they find all their endeavours fruitless in obstructing him from releiving Henry Kendry, which wee doe now couclude to require their speedy answere unto." [2]

Unanimity in following a peaceful policy.

The English fail in preventing relief to Khanderi.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 87–8. Surat to Bombay 4th December 1679.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 4.

22. The Siddi's raids on the coast

In the first week of December the Siddi plundered the Maratha territory on the mainland and took away many people as prisoners. Shivaji remonstrated with the English and they, in turn, dissuaded the Siddi from ravaging the villages on the sea-shore.

Interview of Keigwin with the Siddi.

"I went on board the Siddy, where, after some talk, I espied some slaves they had. I askt them where they plundered them, and he told me Nagoun (Nagothna) River. He askt me what I intended if wee should land together, and that the longer wee left thus the stronger they would be, though they did think they did want water, yett did suppose would hold out longer then wee imagined. They prest me againe towards our intentions for landing and wisht me to give you an accountt of it. I tould them when I intended to land I would come nearer to the Island, and anything that I thought might advantage him as wee were friends I would informe him of. He tould me he would ask my advice in landing, that he had 100 men ready and that all peoples eyes were upon us, the French, Dutch and Portugueze and the Moors upon him, and to quitt or lye long before this place it would be a shame to us. I tould him I was sent there to fight the enemy, which I had done, and shall doe more when any (occasion?) pressents. He tould me there was a Bramin Embassadour from Sevagys with you; my answer was I beleived it not, having noe notice or advize of any such matter.

Escape of two boats.

The boates made their escape from the Island, coming up with the Siddy's galvetts, which haild them; the Sevagy boates said they belonged to such a shipp, naming the ships name, Captain and Pilots, by which stratagem they gott leave to passe. The weather hath been soe bad wee could not ride in soe neare the Island with our shibarrs as formerly, neither will they venture, their ground tackle being bad. He tould me anything he could learne from the enemy he would acquaint me with, and hoped, I would doe the like by him." [1]

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 82-3. Richard Keigwin to Bombay, Hendry Kendry 3rd December 1679.

"The Syddys Galvetts hath been ashoare on the maine in Sevajees country opposite to us, hath burnt foure townes and taken many prisoners. Wee wrote to him yesterday about it, but have received noe answer as yet.

The Siddi ravages the Maratha villages.

Yesterday wee received a letter from the Rajah, furthered to us by Dowlet Caun, with another from him by two of his servants. The Rajahs Letter is full of courteous expressions but absolutely writes he will not leave but continue to fortify Hendry Kendry. Doulet Caun complains much of the Syddys burning his masters townes and carrying the inhabitants away, taxing us as consenting to it. Wee shall to day give an answere to his and the Rajahs letter, resolving to take all opportunity by fair meanes to put an end to our difference with Sevajee with as much speed as may bee, according to your orders."[1]

The Eng. charged for being in collusion with the Siddi.

The English who were waiting for a treaty to be concluded with Shivaji, received a letter from the Siddi requesting them not to stop him from his ravages, as these depredations were in the interests of the English.

"Our last to you was a few lines by Captain Hilder..... since which wee have heard nothing of Sevajee Rajah, but are now in expectation of two servants sent with your Honors Letters to him and one from the Deputy Governor. His answere wee heartily wish will be such as will put an end to the unhappy business of Hendry Kendry, that the Honble. Companys great charge may be taken off and wee at ease to looke into and settle their affaires here.

Expecting the conclusion of a treaty.

The Syddy in answere to what wee wrote him about burn-

1. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 108, pp. 7-8, or F. R. Bomb. Vol. 8, p. 72. Bombay to Surat, dated 4th Dec. 1679.

ing and plundering Sevajees country within the Bay, hath sent a letter wherein he endeavours to perswade us it is for our interests, that the Rajah may be sencible it was for our sakes he soe long forbore those parts. With his letter he sent one Mirza Mahmud Ewas to discourse with us. He told us that it was the Syddys orders to him to assure us that he intends nothing but what might be to our contents. For Hendry Kendry he had noe design to keepe it; all he desired [was] that it might be out of Sevajees hands; that if wee would with him join and assault it, he would, after it was taken, give it up to us or doe as we shall desire, pressing much for the assaulting it. Wee gave him good words and intend to keepe him in expectation till wee receive answer of our letters to you, and see what the Rajah writes us when wee shall better then now know how to governe our selves." [1]

The Siddi's envoy to persuade the English for assisting the Mogul.

23. The Maratha fleet against Bombay

The English came to learn from their spies that Daulat Khan was preparing to come out of Negothna with his whole fleet and intending to land on Mahim or some other place in the Bombay Island. Detailed instructions were given to Keigwin to keep watch on the movements of Daulat Khan and to block the outlets of Negothna. The officers carried out the instructions successfully, but the apprehensions of an attack upon Bombay led the English to open negotiations with Shivaji.

"Wee have certain newes from Naugaune that Dowlett Ckaune is fitting his fleete to put to sea, but whither he intends cannott learne; a report brought us that he intends to stand out to sea for two or three days and when the nights are darke goe into Mahim or land on some other places of this island, which wee cannott give creditt unto; but that wee may be sure would have you be watchfull, and if with security it may be, lett the *Hunter* and one of the manchuas lye at Nagaun Rivers mouth a nights; and being sure Dowlett Ckauns fleete is in the River, every

Daulat Khan's fleet to be destroyed.

1. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 108, pp. 8–9 or F. R. Bomb. Vol. 8, p. 83. Bombay to Surat, 8 December 1679.

morning stand to our fleete, giving you this caution that she be not surprized by the enemies number, but upon sight of them immediately to give notice to the whole fleete by discharging some gunns. If Dowlett Ckaun doth come out, use your utmost to destroy him, but goe not far from your stations ordered you. Wee would faine have some men to exchange for those in our enemies hands, but if it should soe fall out that Dowlett Ckaun with his fleete should leave Nagaun River and escape you, then in such case wee would have one of our friggattes and three of the small craft keep off Mahim every night themselves soe that noe vessell can goe in there without their knowledge, and if it should soe fall out that Dowlett Chauns fleet should steale into Mahim, then the *Hunter* (or) three small vessells by a signe (may) give you notice that the *Fortune* may be sent to them and they doe their best to destroy them on that side, and the *Revenge* and other four small vessells to stand in hither, running up directly to Mazagaon to hinder the enemies escaping that way by which meanes wee shall in all likelyhood destroy them. Be carefull to looke out well that you may, upon a signe from us, immediately come in.

Notwithstanding all the watches you and the Siddie keepe, there is a small canoe rowed by two men that carried letters two and from Henry Kenry to Tull, once in two or three days, of which acquaint the Siddie (and) of Daulett Ckauns intentions to put to sea, and if you thinke of any thing elce that may be advantageous to us in any respect or that wee may have omitted here, advise us in answere hereto, and which pray lett us receive with all possible speed that you may receive from us such further orders as wee shall thinke expedient to be sent." [1]

" The news of Doulat Cauns going to sea for three days wee hardly beleive, but in obedienee to your orders the *Hunter* and great manchua shall goe downe to Nagoun River's mouth to watch his motion. Your orders for Mahim, and likewise if occation, for our coming in, wee shall be vigilant to obey. Your-

Minchin promises to follow the preceding instructions.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 8. p. 85. Bombay to Capt, Richd, Keigwin, &ca. 10th December, 1679.

letter to the Siddy wee sent him by Serjant Willkins and acquainted him, as you have directed, concerning the motion of Savagees fleete." [1]

"What you offer as to the calling in of the fleete now wee have proceeded thus farr, it will not be prudence all on a sudden to withdraw, especially now you are in treaty with Sevagee, which if (it) takes not a good effect and that you find your endeavours in reducing Hendry Kendry fruitless, by obstructing releife from it, which is our only buisness, upon your advice thereof wee shall then take it into our serious considerations whatt fittest to be done in this unhappy affaire. In the meanetime enjoyne you to prevent any open breech betwixt you and the Sidey, since it may produce such ill consequences to the Honble. Company's affairs here.

Starve out the besieged.

Therefore upon a serious debate and discussion of all circumstances in relation to our condition as to abillity and restriction by the Company, if you cannot find Sevagee will be brought to any acceptible tearms of composition, and wherein we would have you remember to add our house at Carwarr, that if wee shall find reason as to our bussiness of merchandize to withdraw our factors for a time, wee may have liberty to leave two or 3 of our house servants of those countrey people to keepe possession and take care of it till we shall returne thither againe (which you may hint will not be long); then we have concluded it would be better to lett it fall into this King's hands then to remain in Sevagees. And wherein wee thought fitt to take the opinion of Captain Goldsborough and Captain Daniell likewise as to whatt you have soe offten pressed us, to attempt the burning of his fleet and makeing an incursion upon his countrey, who joyned with us in their judgments in these particulars; soe that if you see there is noe good to be done with Sevagee, then you may leave the Sidey and him to dispute for it, by some plausible designe of

Terms to be proposed to Shivaji.

Plan to break away from the Siddi.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 85. William Minchin to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 12th December 1679.

not prosecuteing our designe further, which we think may best offer itselfe, from the Sideys attempting within the limmitts of the Bay to burne and destroy that part of Sevagees countrey which hitherto hath and ought to be protected by us.

The Siddy sent me word he did not like his groabs riding of(f) Nagoun River's mouth. Wee may certainly have intelligence by our boates as quick as by *Hunter*, but by the news I sent you yesterday wee beleive they intend not to come out yet awhile, but to sayle to the Northward; we suppose they never purpose it, but if you suspect it, wee with the Siddy can block them up in the River, and likewise prevent releife to this Island; which wee leave to your consideration, nor will not mention any such thing to the Siddy untill wee shall heare from you further. Wee took a cannoe that had some henns in her and pretende they were sent the Siddy from Carinjah, but found them in severall lyes. I sent them on board the Siddy, who beleives them likewise to be rogues, but could find noe letters about them." [1]

Plan of keeping in the Maratha fleet.

"Wee have received our commission for the management of your fleete, etc. that lyes now against Hendry Kendry, by the hand of Mr. Francis Day this 16th instant, bearing date the 15th ditto, assuring your Worship and Councill that wee shall use our utmost endeavours as to the management of the matter you have interessed us with, and as for what orders wee shall receive from you hereafter shall be duely observed. All the generall letters that Captain Keigwin had are in our custody, which shall be dilligently overhauled that there may be noe mistake as to our affairs in hand. About two a'clock yesterday Captain Keigwin did send a noate on board me, which did specify the Siddy did desire our manchuas might goe downe to Nagoun River's mouth along with his vessells, being Sevagee had aboute 16 galvetts at the Rivers mouth going out. Wee sent our manchuas, but before wee and the Siddy got halfe way to Nagoun, Sevagees galvetts did return into Nagoun river againe.

Shivaji's fleet prevented from coming out of Nagothna.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 89. Richard Keigwin, etc. to Bombay, Hendry Kendry 13th December 1679,

Seeing that, our manchuas and Siddys vessells did returne to Hendry Kendry againe.

Here has been severall great gunns fired from the Island Hendry Kendry and Siddy yesterday and this morning, but to as much purpose as formerly. At Hendry Kendry there is about 200 men at worke in the bay upon the wall that goes crosse the bay." [1]

24. Continued cannonading for one month

The firing between the Siddi's fleet and the Marathas on Khanderi continued for more than a month with as little effect as before. The documents in this section trace the cannonading from the 6th of December to 7th January.

"Here is noe news to write but that the Siddy fires every day the Island, and the Island to them againe."[2]

"Here has nothing happen'd of moment since our last to you. Severall guns has been fir'd from the Isle and Sidey, but to noe purpose. Our enemys walls at Hendry Kendry are a great hight, and they doe work very very hard on them." [3]

" This afternoone did arrive the Tanck boat but noe letters Wee being ampler ready to give you accountt what happens here. This morning the Sideys three mast vessells and 5 galvetts did come from Negoan to Hendry Kendry and anchor'd in their former births; the enemy (fired) from Hendry Kendry but to noe purpose.[4]

" 22 December 1679. Wee have nothing to acquaint you with at present, only the Sidey and Island Hendry Kendry doth fire at each other as formerly and to the same effect.

23rd December 1679. There has severall guns been fired from the Sidey and Hendry Kendry since our last to you, but all together as formerly.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 90-1. Stephen Aderton etc. to Bombay, Ship *Fortune*, Hendry Kendry, 17th December 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, P. 85. Richard Keigwin to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 6th December 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay, Vol, 19, p. 2. 19 December 1679.

4. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19. p. 4. (2nd set). Captain S. Aderton etc. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 21st December 1679.

24 December 1679. Since our last to you here has been severall guns fired by the Sidey and the enemy from the Isle Hendry Kendry.[1]

We are sorry to find soe little likelihood of the reduceing Hendry Kendry as we once hoped, and could heartily wish some good end was put to that dispute, that the extraordinary charge may cease and you be the more free to proceed in the reducement of such things as the Honble Company hath appointed.[2]

27 December 1679. Here has nothing offer'd since our last to you but fireing by Sidey and Hendry Kendry all together as formerly.

28 December 1679. We have nothing of moment to acquaint you with between us and Sidey and our enemy.

29th December 1679. Here has been a great many guns fir'd by Sidey and Hendry Kendry but to the same effect on both sides as here to fore.

30th December 1679. Being severall guns fir'd from the Island this day an accidentall shott killed a coolie stone dead and broke the yard in sunder in the middle belonging to the shybar Meaddows commands; the yard is of noe use.[3]

The business of Hendry Kendry hath cost the Company much money. They endeavor to put an end to it, but as yet without success.[4]

2 January. We have not at present more to acquaint your Worships of, only this two days the northerly wind blowing somewhat fresh that our small craft are not able to ride it out, but are forc'd to goe and ly under the Island Hendry, and Seavagees people have brought severall great guns to Tull and this day have fir'd severall times at them.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 5 (2nd set). Captain S. Aderton etc. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 22-24 December 1679.

2. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, p. 8. (2nd set), Captain S. Aderton etc. to 24th December 1679.

3. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 19, pp. 6, 7 (2nd set). Captain S. Aderton etc. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry 27-30 December 1679.

4. F. R. Miscellaneous. Vol. 4, p. 36. Abstract of Bombay General letter to the Company. 31st December 1679.

5 January. Yesterday severall gunns passed from the Sidey to the Island and they likewise to them againe, and this morning the Island fired severall gunns at the Sidey.

7 January. Here is severall guns fired from the Island to Sidy and they at them againe.[1]

25. Preparations for a treaty

The Surat Council, losing all hopes of the surrender of the Island, ordered the Deputy Governor of Bombay to expedite an honourable peace with Shivaji.

"Wee are with yours of the 4th present. Wee have so often and largely discoursed the business of Hendry Kendry that wee account it needless to trouble you any further with our opinion thereof, but shall duely observe your orders in our proceeding to make an honourable, advantageous, and as speedy a peace as wee can with Sevajee, *for Hendry Kendry holds out to admiration*, and now in few days the northerly monsoon will blow hard, that our small vessells will not ride above with security, soe that our large expences on that affaire is like to be to little purpose, Wee could heartily wish you had been pleased to have given us leave at least to have done our utmost against Hendry Kendry; but in all things wee humbly submitt to your better judgement.

Peace to be expedited

Wee have all along kept on foot a Treaty by letters with Sevajee and his ministers. Twoe days agoe wee received a letter from him, and another from the Soobedarr of Chaul, who is impowered to treate with us. Yesterday wee answered the Soobedarrs letter and sent a man of ours with his, for the more speedy dispatch, for the great charge wee are at makes us quite sick. Wee have desired the Soobedarr to send a fitt Person to treate with us, and if cannot doe soe well as wee would, wee will certainly doe soe well as wee can; but wee justly feare Hendry Kendry will continue Sevajees, the ill consequence whereof wee have largely discoursed in our former letters.

The Eng. despair of regaining Henry Kenry.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 8, 9. 10 (2nd set). Captain Wm. Minchin, etc. to Bombay. 2, 5 and 7th January 1680.

Wee have people at every passage to the Island that examines all comers and goers.....

Wee shall observe your orders concerning the prisoners in Sevajees country." [1]

The English employ Indian Sepoys and sailors for the defence of Bombay, and continue in service the soldiers at Surat, as its population was daily expecting a surprise from Shivaji.

Indian Sepoys employed for the defence of Bombay.

"You may judge the small strength wee have to withstand any Europe enemy; there is at present many Portuguese, Topasses, Lascars and Coolys &ca. in your pay that a certaine account cannot be sent of; and it is chiefly caused by this unhappy business of Hendry Kendry, that wee hope God will bless our endeavours and put an end to, wee intend to cleare them of your service soe soon as with safety to your Island wee may" [2]

A Bombay letter of 1st January 1680 shows some anxiety on the part of both the parties to conclude peace and thus save themselves from their troublesome neighbour, the Siddi.

Its importance lies in giving us information on the withdrawl of General Diler Khan from Bijapur, his plundering and murdering expeditions in the Bijapur territory, the vain protest of Sambhaji against such a cruel policy of the Mogul General, Sambhaji's flight to Bijapur, and on his return to Panhala,

The proceedings of the peace.

"Wee[3] are with yours of the 13th instant. It hath layen somo time by us in hopes to have sent you by this, your returned express, some acceptable news of our proceedings in that unhappy business of Hendry Kendry; but to our sorrows wee have not as yet that success wee could wish. Wee take due notice of your orders in that particuler and shall be truely carefull to act accordingly: wee have all along kept on a Treaty with Sevajee; it is now come to this: three days agoe wee received a letter from him. It runs much after the same rate his former did. He acknowledges the two wee wrote him, but takes noe

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108, p. 30. Bombay to Surat. 22 Dec. 1679.
2. O. C. 4688. 31 Dec. 1679.
3. F. R. Surat. Vol. 108, pp. 84-25. Bombay to Surat 1 January 1680.

notice of your Honours. It was furthered to us by the Soobedarr of Chaul, with a letter from him selfe by our own servant (that) wee in our last advised wee sent to him, togeather with two of Sevajees and two of his servants. His letters expresseth much desire for peace, with large promises on his part to use his utmost that wee might have all reasonable satisfaction in what wee may demand: that he had ready a person to send to us by his masters order to treate with us and know on what tearmes wee would be friends, but dare not adventure him because of the Syddys Galvetts that pass to and thro (*sic*, fro) continually in the Bay; therefore would remaine at Battee, whether he desired wee would send a boate to secure said person to us. Wee therefore consulted on it and the other day dispeeded our Balloone thither with one Ram Sinay and a file af musqueteers, which wee looke may returne to us hourely. What success wee shall meete withall wee shall in another advise. It will certainly not be such as wee could wish, but hope it may be to your contents, to effect which our utmost endeavours will not be wanting. The Syddy will be much concerned at us, but whatever falls out, it shall be our greatest care and study to have noe falling out with him, it soe mightily concerning the Honble. Companys interest. But for Hendry Kendry, wee feare it will continue Sevajees, for it holds out to admiration, and now in few days the Northerly Monsoon will be so fresh here, as noe rideing at Hendry Kendry for small vessells.

The Marathas admired for holding on Kenry against the Eng. and Siddi.

Your Honours news of Sevajee wee have here for truth, and that wee wrote you of him and his Pishwah is likewise confirmed, soe that he hath both lost and gained. Dillell Caun, with Serga Caun and Sombajee Rajah, hath robbed Hattane, after which burnt it to the ground and tooke aboundance of prisoners, about which the two latter were dissatisfyed, being for releasing the prisoners, but Dillell Caun would not heare to it, soe they both left him and went to Vizapore, and since Sombajee Rajah is come to Pernolla, into which castle he was received with 500 horse and 1000 foote, and the Rajah is gon thither to meete his son. This is the news in these parts."

Sambhaji's alliance with Diler Khan and his return to Panhala.

The terms of the treaty with Shivaji Raja were considered by the Bombay Council on 8th January, 1680. These were embodied in the letters sent to the Raja's officers on the mainland.

"According to the president and councells orders, the Deputy Governour have been for some time on a Treaty of Peace with Sevagee and his Ministers, but till now could never receive from them satisfaction sufficient to proceed therein and conclude a peace. And now, they having offered the Deputy Governour etc. to make such demands and proposalls as they shall thinke reasonable and just and send them by a messenger of our owne, and they will take them into consideration and put a small period to the treaty that hath been soe long depending, which proposition of the said Ministers being seriously considered and also the great charge the Honble. (Company) are att in keeping out a fleete.

Treaty not in view.

It was unanimously agreed on that proposalls should be drawne out, and that Ramsinay being an able and sober man, quallified to discourse with the Subedarr in our business, should be ordered to gett in a readiness to carry them." [1]

26. The English demands from the Marathas

Six demands were made by the English to the ministers of the Raja for concluding a peace between the two parties.

(1) The money due to the English and the inhabitants of Bombay from Shivaji Raja and his subjects be immediately paid.

(2) Men and articles of the *Dove* should be returned.

(3) Free access shall be given to Bombay ships in Shivaji's ports, and the wrecks shall in future be restored to the English.

(4) The cost of war should be paid by Shivaji.

(5) The English factors and their agents should have full freedom of movement and trade in Shivaji's territory.

(6) The treaty be confirmed in writing and by oaths.

Both Annaji Pandit and the Subedar of Chaul gave their consent to fulfil the preceding articles, but no distinct mention was made regarding the restoration of the wrecks.

1. Bombay Consultation. 8 Jan. 1680.

"Proposalls made by the Worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor of the Island of Bombay and his Councill unto Sevajee Rajahs Ministers, to be confirmed by the said Rajah for the concluding a Peace between the English Nation and him.[1]

1. Wee demand the money belonging to the Honble. Company in your countrys, as also to other our inhabitants, which money you are to satisfy (them) immediately.

2. Without any consideration your people did quarrell and tooke from us one new Groab, one Shybarr, the Groabs boate, with the English men and others that went therein, as alsoe the armes and other things, vizt., gunns, balls, powder, musketts, pis tolls, anchors, sailes, swords, and all elce which you have taken, (many other particulars) all which you are to returne to us againe.

3. That all vessells that come from any place to this Port, of Bombay, or from hence shall goe to any other Port if they give notice that they belong to Bombay, you shall not stop nor hinder them; and in case of any storme whereby any vessell (that goes from Bombay or comes hither) shall breake any (either) mast or heime, you shall not take the said vessell nor goods, but otherwise you shall send the said vessell and goods into this our Port (=our Port of Bombay).

4. Without our knowledge you landed your men on the Hill in our Port and brought thither your fleete, which when wee heard (not knowing where your fleete was bound) (intended) for, wee therefore sent out our fleete to know your designe. Whereupon your men, without takeing any notice thereof, did unreasonably fight; wherefore wee were forced to keep our great fleete there to (till) this day, and the charges that wee have been at in the said fleete you are to pay us.

5. The Factors that wee have in your countrys shall remaine there in tradeing during our pleasures and noe restraint laid on them whatsoever, but shall be free to come, stay and goe without any hindrance being given them; and if it shall be thought fitt at any time to call for our English men away from any place or places in the Rajahs dominions, as our conveniency (conveniencies) or occasions may require, that they may (shall)

1. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 108, p. 48. In F. R. Bombay Vol. 2, a few readings are different. These are given in brackets.

not be hindered in goeing off the shoare, and be free to make choice of one, two or more of the country or other servants to take charge of our Factory House, and what may be left in it; and the said servant or servants soe left shall freely enjoy the possession of the House or Houses, &ca., without any disturbance and nothing meddled with that may be lost in House or Houses; and when any Factor or Factors shall be returned to the said place or places, they shall freely trade without any hinderance whatsoever, and none of their servants of what nature soever be in the least manner imposed upon.

6. As formerly there was a Treaty made in writing between us and you, soe likewise it shall now be observed and shall not differ in the least if you sweare upon Mahadev; therefore accordingly you are to make a new writing sealed and signed by Shivaje Rajah for himselfe and his successours, and then wee and our successours will observe the same."

(In the Factory Records Bombay, Vol. 2, the following lines are given more.)

"These proposalls being exactly translated into the Morattee language, were sent by Ramasinay (as enordered) to Annagee Punditt and the Subedarr of Chaul."

Ram Shenwi presented the English demands to Annaji Pandit and returned in company with a Maratha envoy who brought a reply to the proposals of the English as well as counter-proposals from the Marathas. The proceedings are recorded in the Bombay Consultation of 16th January 1680.

"Ramsinay being returned and with him a messenger of the Rajahs, who hath brought with him Articles signed and sealed by the Rajahs Ministers Annagee Punditt and the Subedarr of Chaule with an engagement by letter that the said Articles shall be confirmed under the Rajahs seals and have alsoe made some other proposalls that they desire may be inserted in ours, which proposalls being well considered of and all circumstances thereof seriously debated, it was concluded reasonable that they should be replied too and included in our Articles, And the said Ministers reply and proposalls, with the Deputy Governour and Councills answer thereto, are as followeth:[1]

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 2, p. 3.

" Annajee[1] Punditt his reply to the Deputy Governor and Councills proposalls with promise by letter to see all confirmed under the Rajahs seale.

1st. That what is due by Shivajee Rajah [*sic*] to the Honble. Company and also what is due by our Inhabitants to the Merchants of your country, wee shall immediately order to be paid.

2nd. You write your men without my licence did fight with[2] yours, in which engagement your Englishmen and others as likewise vessells with its appertinencys (appurtenances) came into our custody, all which you demand from us. To which I answer that you ought to keepe Friendship with Shivajee Rajah and that hereafter there be noe difference between us; and as to your men and vessells and all elce that is in our custody, I have given order to be delivered to you.

3rd. You write that the Factors that are in our countrys shall continue in tradeing during your pleasure, and that when you please to send for the Englishmen that are there, you will keepe servants, natives of the country, to looke after and take charge of your house and goods as shall be left by any of your Factours in any Factorys in our dominions, and that when the Factours shall returne, they shall freely continue in tradeing without any hindrance to them or their servants. To which I answer that they may freely goe and come and stay (as you shall think convenient.)

4th. You write that all vessells that shall be bound from Bombay to any other port, or others that are bound from other parts to the Port of Bombay shall have noe hinderance from us, and that in case of any stormes, whereby any vessell may breake her mast or helme, that wee shall not take the said vessell nor goods therein. To

1. Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 108, pp. 44-45.

2. In F. R. Bomb. the reading is defective:— " you write that our men without our licence did fight with yours." It ought to have been:— " you write that our men without our licence did fight with yours. "

which I answer that they may freely goe and come without any hinderance or prejudice from us in the least, and as allways they did freely pass, soe they shall have free passage for the future.

5th. You write that according to the Treaty formerly made between us upon Oath, wee should observe the same for the future. To which I answer that according as it was allways observed, in the same manner wee will observe the same for the future,[1] and that wee shall not be wanting in performing the same on our side, nor you ought to faile in doeing the same.[2]

6th. That according to the above written articles you may be sure that wee will observe the same for the future; therefore you may withdraw your fleete from Cundry. Syddy Cossum by your forces came to Undry and have landed on the same, to whome you may speake in a fair manner and command him to leave the said Undry. And as to the Factours in our countrys,[3] wee shall give entire compliance to all the above written; but you ought not to give any aid or assistance to our Enemys, but otherwise to continue in our friendship, and if on your side you breake the same, dont you lay the fault upon me afterwards."[4]

"Soobedarr[5] of Chauls reply to the worshipfull John Child, Deputy Govr. of Bombay, and Councills proposalls with promises to see them confirmed by Sevajee Rajah his master.

1st. You write that wee must pay the money belonging to the Honble. Company and to other your merchants by our inhabitants. To which I answere that I consent to the same and that wee will order that the money belonging to the Honble. Company [to] be immediately paid.

1-2-3-4. In the copy of the F. R. Bomb., the readings differ as follows; " we will still observe it; " " neither ought you faile therein on your part; " came to Hundry and hath landed; " factors that are in our country; " " lay not the blame on us afterwards."

5. The words in brackets are in the copy preserved in the F. R. Bomb. Vol. 2, but not in the Surat Factory copy.

2nd. You write that all vessells that shall be bound from Bombay to any other port, or others that are bound from other parts to the Port of Bombay shall have no hindrance from us, and that in case of any stormes whereby any vessell may break her mast or helme, that wee shall not take the said vessell nor goods therein, but otherwise wee shall send the said vessell and goods unto the Port of Bombay. To which I answer, (that) tis very well and I accept the same.

3rd. [This is almost identical in wording with 3rd. of the preceding document, except that, at the end, for "To which I answer &c." is substituted: "All which I accept of."]

4th. You write that there was a fight (an engagement) between your and our men and that they had noe order for the same. Therefore you demand your Englishmen and others, as also the gunns, vessells and all elce that was taken. To which I answer that it is very well, and that with (the Raja) Shivajees answer I will returne the same againe, (and) which I promise to performe.

5th. You write according to the Treaty formerly made between us, wee should observe the same for the future without any differences in the least upon the Oath of Mahadev and that a new writing be (made), signed and sealed by Shivajee (Rajah) for himselfe and his successors to performe the same. To which I answer that tis very well, and that I accept of the same.

According to the above written five Articles I doe accept and will have them confirmed by Shivajee Rajah upon oath."

27. The Maratha demands

The Maratha demands from the English were to the effect that (1) the English and Siddi's fleets should withdraw from Khanderi; (2) as long as the Siddi's fleet is not withdrawn, no succour should be given to the Siddi from Bombay; (3) there be a right of extradition for runaways; (4) the Siddi be prevented from entering the creeks of Shivaji's country; (5) merchants from

Maratha territory be given free access and be well treated, (6) and one Daudkhan be expelled from Bombay. The English consented to all the demands, and thus peace was restored between the English and the Marathas.

"Annajee Punditt and the Soobedarr of Chauls proposalls to the Worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor of Bombay and his Councill in the behalfe of their Master Sevajee Rajah.[1]

1st. The Syddys Fleete which came with your assistance, you must command them to withdraw togeather with your Fleete.

2nd. In case that you cannot make them withdraw, they pretending to be servants to the King of Mogull, then you may doe one thing, which is not give them any succour, nor allow them any ammunition, nor boates; and that wee may have notice thereof while the Fleete doth not withdraw from Cundry wee will keepe in Bombay one spy and tenn men to know whither or noe you give them any succour.

3rd. All persons whatsoever that shall absent themselves from our country to your dominions for debts, you shall deliver them to us, but if you say that it's not custome to deliver them, then all debts due by them or other things laid to their charge shall be taken notice of by your ministers of Justice.

4th. None of our Enemys should be suffered to enter into the Rivers of Negotan or Penn, it being soe agreed between us in the first Treaty, but now through the difference between us the Syddy came there and tooke severall prisoners, which you must see them delivered, and that for the future by noe means you must suffer them to enter in the said Rivers, which you must performe.

5th. That the inhabitants of Shivajees country shall freely come and goe to your dominions to trade and buy merchandize, to whome you shall see them not be abused.

1. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 108; pp. 46-7.

6th. Daudacaun, who assisted in Bombay in the Siddys service, did come into our country and doe us very much damage; therefore you must turne him off the Island. According to the above mentioned articles, you may send them confirmed.

" The worshipfull John Child Deputy Governor and his Councills Reply to Annajee Punditts and the Soobedarr of Chauls proposalls sent them sealed the 18th January 1679/80.

1st. You write that in case wee could not make the Syddys Fleete withdraw, they pretending to be servants of the King of Mogull, wee should not give them any succour nor allow them any ammunition, nor boates, and that while the Syddys Fleete doth not withdraw, you would keepe a spy and tenn men on Bombay to give you notice thereof. To which I answer, that as to the amunition, vizt., gunns, powder and ball, they shall not have any of us, but water and provisions, if they will have it, I shall not hinder them, for soe as there is noe hinderance for you, soe there shall be none for him, and as wee have friendship with you and have our Factorys in your countrys, soe wee have the same friendship with the King of Mogull and have our Factorys in his dominions; for which reason here will be noe hindrance for water and Provisions; and as for the rest that you desire as aforesaid, I accept of.

2nd. You write that if any inhabitants of your country should absent themselves to our Island, that it is not our custome to deliver them, and that wee should take notice of their debts, or any thing elce laid to their charge. To which I answer, that when any of your inhabitants shall absent themselves to this Island, you must acquaint me of them, and then wee shall take notice of them in our Court of Justice, and according as their cases will require, Justice shall be done to them; but if any one be so poor that he be not able to pay, he shall be in prison untill he give satisfaction.

3rd. You write that noe Enemy shall enter into the Rivers of Negotan and Penn, and that it is soe agreed between

us in the first Treaty made, and that now through the difference between us wee should not suffer the Syddy to enter there. To which I answer, that it is very well and that wee will not be wanting in doeing our endeavours to hinder the same in what possible wee can.

4th. You write that the inhabitants of Shivagees (the Rajahs) country that shall come to our Island to trade, that I shall not suffer them to be abused. To which I answere that tis very well and I accept of the same (it shall be as it was ever) our care that (they) be not wronged in any manner).

5th. You write that Daud Caun did assist on this Island in the Siddys service and that he had done a great deale of injury in your countrys (mischiefe and injury to your country); therefore you would have mee turne him off the Island. To which I answere that any one that assists in this Road and shall presume to doe any injury (to your country), he or they soe offending shall bee severely punished and turned out. According to these articles I send them unto you."

The Articles on the Rajah's part were signed and sealed by Annajee Punditt and the Soobedarr of Chaul.

In the Bombay Records the following para succeeds the preceding account.

"The proposalls sent by Annagee Panditt and the Soobedars being debated on and seriously weighed, it was concluded that they should bee answered too as in the foregoeing Articles and that they should bee fairely transcribed in the Morate Language and confirmed as usuall, which being finished and the Deputy Governour having discoursed very amply with the messenger that came from the Rajahs Ministers for the better understanding of our Treaty and better confirmation of our friendshipp, he with a Messenger of our owne was dispatcht with the said Articles to be delivered on our part to Annagee Punditt and to make demand of our prisoners and vessell that was taken by their Armado in the engagement that our fleete had with the Rajahs off the Island Hundry Cundry and to returne againe with their answere soe

The English envoy sent to get confirmation.

soone as possible that wee may now order our fleete to come in and ease the great charge the Honble Company is att in keeping it out."[1]

28. Fulfilment of the peace-terms

It has been seen that the Maratha demands were duly considered and accepted by the Bombay Council. The fact of approval was conveyed to Shivaji's ministers through their own envoy, Ram Shenwi by name. This ambassador returned after a few days with the treaty signed by the said ministers.

"Ramsinay being returncd with Annagee Punditts and the Soobedars answere to the Articles that were sent them by him, with which and such other particulars as they were by letters from the Deputy Governour and verbally made acquainted withhall by Ramsinay being well sattisfied, have sent us their promise that as soone as possible our prisoners should be restored to us and have given us an order for one hundred candy of beetlemutt, groab, etc. that was taken by them on condition that wee would withdraw our fleete from Undry Cundry. The long treaty that wee have had with them, being brought to soe faire a period,[2] the President and Councills orders relating thereto being taken into serious consideration and thoroughly weighed in all the circumstances thereof, and beeing too sensible of the extraordinary charge that the Honble Company are att in keeping out a fleete that is not soe offencive to our enemy as to bring them to better termes then wee have already done, and finding the President and Councill in all their letters order us to conclude a peace on the best termes wee could bring them too; all these particulars being thoroughly discussed. It was unanimously concluded and agreed to order the fleete to come in, and that an order be sent accordingly tomorrow to Captain Aderton, etc. requireing them on their receipt

Fulfilment of the terms.

The Eng. fleet unable to coerce Shivaji.

The Eng. fleet withdrawn from Khanderi.

1. In F. R. Bombay Vol. 2, pp. 3-8, there are a few different readings. F. R. Surat Vol. 108, p. 47. These are shown in brackets in the text.

2. By 27th January the treaty had been concluded and the fleet was withdrawn from Khanderi. Yet Orme (124) says that the treaty was concluded in the middle of March.

thereof immediately to put themselves in a sailing posture and to weigh from Undry Cundry and come in directly up to the Fort." [1]

The Surat Council expressed its satisfaction on the terms of the treaty in their letter of 20th February 1680.

" We are glad to find the Treaty with Sevagees Ministers well approveing of your proposalls and proceedings therein, hopeing Sevagee will confirme whatt Annajee Punditt and the Subedarr of Choule hath agreed too and not faile in a punctuall performance thereof in each partcular. And which we may (be) the better and more timely assured of, would have you at the receipt of this, make choice of the *Revenge* or *Hunter* which most fittest and may be best spared and send her to Rajapore to take in those factors [2] and bring away such part of their bucksis thereof that a good success may be expected from his prudent endeavours, and least there should some interruption arise to hinder those factors from leaveing the shoar, from the debts they have contracted, would have you send downe to the amount of 3000 Rupees in such specie as most current there, if your cash can afford it, which we suppose may be sufficient to cleare all." [3]

The Surat Council sent the following account of the treaty concluded with Shivaji in their letter to London.

" After exceeding trouble and difficulty, wherein Mr. Child, your now Deputy Governour, hath used great paines and industry, a peace is concluded with Sevajee (1) wherein (we) have been forced to permitt his possession of the Island in the mouth of your port of Bombay, finding wee were not able with our present strength to force him from it; (2) what vessells taken from us, he is to make satisfaction for, and on which account wee have allready received 100 Candy of beetlenuts; (3) likewise what men he tooke in them to returne back, which is performed, (4) and

Reasons of peace with Shivaji.

1. F. R. Bombay. Vol. 2, pp. 9–10. Bomb. Cons. 27. Jan. 1680.

2. An Order was given that Captain Norgrave should take care of their vessels, protect them and see them secure into Rajapore.

3. F. R. Bombay. Vo. 19, P. 19.

liberty for your factors at Carwarr and Rajapore to come away at their owne conveniencys; (5) and to cleare his former account. To which purpose the *Hunter* is sent downe to Rajapore to bring off those factors, with such effects as are to be delivered towards the extinguishing his old debt; 6) but for Carwarr, wee are forced still to continue your servants there least it might create a jealousie in Sevajee of a new breach with him, when wee are gott cleare, soe immediately to withdraw both after the agreement, and to cause a hindrance in the ready performance of this new treaty, besides the want of a vessell to bring them off; except should have sent the *Revenge* and left the Island without any guard of shipping, which wee could not safely doe; therefore shall order them to be in a readiness against the arrivall of your Europe shipping, when shall not faile to bring them away and totally dissolve that factory.

Compensation given by Shivaji.

Rajapur and Carwar factories to be dissolved.

The present state of this country is under such unhappy and uncertaine distempers that wee know not well what to write your Honrs. for a truth more then that both your servants and your estates are continually under such eminent hazards that wee know not well which way best to proceed for their securities, through the dayly nearer approach of Sevajee to this citty with the armys of one of this Kings sonns resideing at Orangabaud, whome it is hourely expected should rebell against his father and joyne with him, fame having some time since given him out to be dead in the war with his Rashboots, thought by severall circumstances it appears not to be true, yet hath frighted all people and places soe as to put such a generall stop to all manner of trade, that wee are under great perplexity and doubt how wee shall be able to procure cargoes for your next shipping and dispose of such geods as wee have still by us, and which for some better security have sent the greatest part to Swally such as wee have suddainly the least hopes to put off, our guard being returned againe from Bombay, who wee have appointed to that charge."[1]

Disturbances on the rumour of Aurangzeb's death.

1, B. P. Unav. VIII, Pp. 29-30. O. C. No. 4699, Vol. 40. 8 April 1680.

" We arrived in Coopers the 1st March and accordingly sent your Worships letter by the Company's peon unto Mr. Thomas Mitchell etc. which came to his hands at Jettapore He immediately came on board and acquainted us of the condition and civillity of Sevagees Ministers. The next day we arrived in the town, went to visit the Subedar and to congratulate our againe friendshipp with Sevagee, who was very glad to here it, but told us he had no advice of it from the Rajah or Annagee Punditt. Then we delivered the letter, which when he had read, was very well satisfied, and all the merchants in generall are likewise." [1]

The English at Rajapur.

" Your Factory of Rajapore wee have at last (though not without great difficulty) wholly withdrawne, being forced to pay those bills wee at first refused to accept from your servants there, whose Accounts will make appeare the fitness, and wee hope the following reasons our necessity thereof, otherwise that most unnecessary Factory must still have continued an unproffitable burthen to you, for such to whome your servants was any ways indebted, kept that watchfull eye upon them, they could noe ways privately all remove, and to have come away publickly the Governour would not permitte them, especially without full satisfying what they owed, and next the discreditt and prejudice it would have occasioned to your affaires in all other places which wee hope will be found sufficient motives for your approbation thereof; as likewise (what we have in a former given) for the continuance of Carwarr another yeare, to which humbly beg you will be pleased to be referred, and to folio 81 of our Consultations Bookes upon that business." [2]

The reason why the Factory at Rajapur was not permitted to be withdrawn by Shivaji.

29. Struggle for Undheri

Having been foiled in his attempt to dislodge the Marathas from Khanderi, the Siddi took his fleet to the other island called Undheri on 9th January. He landed his men and guns on this rock without any intimation to the English, and declared his

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19. p. 22. Rajapore to Bombay 9th March 1680.
2. O. C. 4794, Swally Marine, 23rd January 1680.

intention to fortify it as a check on Khanderi. Then he opened fire on Tull, continued his cannonade against Khanderi, and vigorously proceeded to fortify his new acquisition. Shivaji's fleet made three attempts to come out of the Negothna creek on the 13th, 18th, and 26th of January for surprising Undheri, but failed on all occasions, and was twice signally defeated by the Siddi.

" Our enemy on the hill the batty lyes on at Hendry Kendry, has stak'd out a worke just by the batty on top of the hill, and have raised it about 6 or 8 foot above ground; it is worked with chynam.

Firing continued from both sides.

The day that the Sidey went on shoar at Hundry, he planted a great gun on Hundry against Tull, which has been fired on them severall times, but we understand not of any execution it hath done to Tull people.

Here has been a great many guns fir'd from the Isle and Sidey since our last to you touching fireing, but not more damage done to our knowledge than you have account of here.

The tanck boate did arrive yesterday with wood and water and a yard for the shybar and was forc'd to goe and lye under Hundry, along with our small crafft, the weather being soe bad they could not well ride it out.

The first skirmish near Undheri.

13 January. This morning we found the want of coolys for our small crafft, for about one a clock this morning Sevagees armado was gott up from Negoan to Hundry, thinking to surprize the Sidey on Hundry he being there on shoar. There was a great many guns fired on both sides. What damage done to the enemy we can't tell; but there is none done to the Sidey. All our fleet weigh'd on the allarum. The shipps stood into 3 and 2½ fathome water. Our small crafft made to the Isle (of) Hundry, but noe sooner gott to the goeing in but they mett with one of the Sidey's galvetts, which tould them the enemys fleet was gon they did not know whyther. But before we had news of it we saw Sevagees fleet make towards Negoan. They haveing soe

much the start of us and being in soe shoal water, it was in vaine to follow them." [1]

"Last[2] night the Sidey sent on board me. After his messenger had passed the customary complements, I found by his discourse that the Sidey had thought that Sevagees armado would vizitt him again at Hundry, desireing we would be very ready to send our small crafft into Hundry, if the enemy should approach in the night. I gave him the answer: "Lett our enemys appear by night or day, none should be readier to destroy them then we, for here we was for that purpose.

The English assure the Siddi of their help against the Marathas.

The Sidey continues ashoar at Hundry still, and is at work very hard on those works we wrote to you about heretofore.

Here's fireing dayly by the Isle Hendry Kendry and Siddey to the same effect as formerly.

15 January 1679-80. Wee have nothing of moment to give you account of. Here has been a great many gunns fired by the Island Hendry Kendry and by the Siddy. The Siddes boates goes forward apace on Hendry.

19 January 1680. Yesterday morning about 7 a clock Sevagees fleete did show themselves of(f) Negoan rivers mouth. We and Sidey sent over small crafts towards them, butt before they gott a quarter of the way, our enemys Armado made all the saile they could into Negoan river againe.

The Maratha fleet out for the second time.

About 12 a clock last night we had sight of 2 galvetts. We hailed them and they answer'd "oupna" (Apna=ours), but we were not of the opinion they did belong to the fleet, by reason our small crafts and Sideys were at their births. Besides, we have an order along us, after the watch gun is fired, none of our boates or vessells stirr without a speciall occassion. We fired severall gunns, but it was to little purpose, for they flew like lightning. It is supposed

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19. Pp. 11, 12. Captain S. Adams etc. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 14th January 1680. Captain S. Anderton to Bombay. 11 and 13 January 1680.

2. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, p. 12. Captain S. Aderton etc. to Bombay. Hendry Kendry, 15, 19, 21, 24 and 27 January 1680.

by all they was bound for the Isle Hendry Kendry, but being discri'd, turn'd tale and fled, for this morning those vessells that was in the Bay before are there still.

Firing continues without effect.

21 January 1679-80. Yesterday about 4 a clock evening the Sideys ketch went between Hundry and Tull and there rides as a guard vessell to Hundry. The Sidey continues at Hundry still and fortifies apace.

24th January 1679-30. Here is but little fireing from the Isle Hundry Kundry and Sidey here of late but severall guns fired from Hundry and Tull. The Tull people at the point of the Palmers over against Hundry has made a little works up and there their guns are planted against (the) enemy, but we understood not of any execution done on either side.

The 2nd engagement between the two fleets near Undheri.

27 January 1679/80. Yesterday [1] just at morning star seeing, Sevagees fleet did arrive at Hundry and did endeavour to take the Isle Hundry. But the Sidey behaved himselfe very well, for the Sevagee had all the force he could well make. He had above 30 groabs and galvetts, There was a great number of gunns fired on both sides and we believe a great deale of damage done to Daulett Cawn's Armado, for the next tide of flood we saw aboundance of pieces of vessells drive by us and 8 dead men. The Sidee had 3 men kild and 7 wounded. Wee used our utmost to send our small crafft into Hundry, but the wind being right in our teeth and tide ebb, they could not stirr.

Just at dawn of day Dawlett Cawn's fleet made for Nagoan. We and Sidey weigh'd, thinking we might have had a brich with our enemy, but it proved but little wind, and that wind there was at East by South and afterwards South East which was as contrary a wind as could blow.[2]

30. Struggle with the Siddi near Undheri

The importance of the treaty concluded between the English and the Marathas can be judged from a Bombay letter sent to Surat on 31st January 1680. The letter describes the naval fight

1. Orme (123) wrongly gives 27th as the date of this naval battle; see next letter also.

2. F. R. Bombay Vol. 19, pp. 13, 14, 15, 16.

between the Siddi and Daulat Khan, the reasons why both Shivaji and the Siddi were dissatisfied with the English, and gives the news of the conclusion of their treaty with Shivaji.

" Honble. Sirs [1]

The dayly expectation and great hopes wee have had for upward of a month of putting an end to the unhappy difference with Sevajee...was the cause wee have been so long silent, but now that...wee have in some measure had success in the Treaty with Sevajee shall give and answer to your severalls with us... and advise of all things worthy your knowledge that hath happened here since our last to this day.

Treaty concluded with Shivaji.

Wee could heartily wish Hendry Kendry business had never been; the latter is that Sevajees people are gone on, and holds out to admiration of all. A full account of it wee have sent you in formers. The former is a small rock of about a mile about, between Kendry and the maine, where the Syddy hath placed himselfe with about 3000 men and 10 great gunns, at which Sevajees people are much concerned. Dowlett Caun hath assaulted him twice in two severall nights, in hopes to surprize it, but the Syddys watchfulness and good intelligence from Choul hath frustrated his design. On the 26th instant before day was a hott dispute between them. Dowlett Caun came out with all vessells, assaulting Hendry in three places, and had 3000 men to land, but the Syddy beate him off with the losse of four men and seaven wounded; but the news from Chaul is that Dowlett Caun hath received great damage, hath killed outright 200 men, and about 100 more wounded, and hath lost severall vessells. Gunns are continually exchanged between them. Sevajees people have brought a gunn to Tull that reacheth to Hendry, but hath not done the Syddy noe great harme, and the Syddy has gunns that reacheth to the

Naval achievement of the Marathas.

The Siddi captures Henry.

Skirmishes between Daulat Khan and the Siddi.

1. F. R. Surat, Vol. 108, pp. 39-42. Bombay to Surat 31st. January 1680.

maine which hath killed severall. What the end of this will be time must produce, but certainly portends noe good to Bombay, and a more than ordinary care and watchfullness is required here now, for there is noe trust to be given to any conditions, although nere [never] soe firmly made, with either Sevajee or Syddy. The potency of the former you well know, and the latter hath 2 great ships, 53 mast frigotts, one ketch and 26 galvetts, in them about 700 men, and on our Island is a great quantity of Moore inhabitants that against him are not to be trusted, therefore humbly begg your advice and orders how to manage affaires. The Syddy and Sevajees people are both much concerned at us, the latter that wee have killed him soe many men and hindred his fortifying Kendry, which if wee had not meddled, might have been made secure from the attempt of any enemy long before this; the former that wee have drawne away our fleete and left him alone, and cannot comply with many of his unreasonable requests, without heaving our selves again into an open breach with Sevajee, which is that which wee see he strives at. He lys at us for gunpowder, shott, lead, gunns, gunnners, 50 in 60 men with small armes, a morter peace and shotts fixed with men to play them, and 20,000 rupees. But wee put him off with arguments and good words and lett him have nothing till the 26th instant, when considering all things, after mature debate, found wee could not avoide stopping his mouth with(out) the lending him 4000 Xs.

Bombay in danger.

The Siddi's fleet.

Both Shivaji and the Siddi cross with the English.

The English lend help to the Siddi.

Wee are now to give you an account of our Treaty with Sevajees Ministers. Many letters and messengers hath passed between us. Our utmost endeavours have not been wanting by all ways and meanes whatever to put a speedy good end to it But notwithstanding all, it was the 28th present before wee could with any handsomeness call in our fleete, which came here to an anchor yesterday. Wee have thoughts on Monday to discharge all our coolys and Lascarrs in the small vessells, but for the musqueteers,

Conclusion of the treaty and withdrawal of the squadron.

thinke to keepe them in pay till muster day, which will be the 26th next month, and by that time wee shall have your answer to these, be settled somewhat here and better know how to govern our selves, and the charge will not be much.

Our proposalls to the Rajah is enclosed. What of them Annajee Punditt hath agreed unto and promised us to gett confirmed by the Rajah is likewise now sent, together with Annajees Proposalls to us and what of them wee have agreed unto, all which wee heartily wish may prove to your contents. Our last demand you will see noe answer given unto, but Annajee Punditt in his letter tooke notice of it and hath promised to use his utmost endeavours with the Rajah on our behalves. Wee have stood up to the utmost soe farr as with prudence wee could in respect to your orders &ca.

Comments upon the terms of the treaty.

Our Balloone is at Batty, from whence wee hope she will come tomorrow or next day with our people. For the Shybarr and Groab with what rated in them that was taken, the account thereof is enclosed, which they have agreed to satisfy us for.

JOHN CHILD &ca."

(Here follows an Abstract of Ammunition, stores, &c. belonging to the *Dove* Grab and Shybarr *Lyon*.)

A Further account of the naval battle fought on 26th January between the fleets of Shivaji and the Siddi can be gathered from the letter of 2nd February 1680. The Deputy Governor emphasises the difficulty in which he is placed by the orders from Surat not to oppose the Siddi, and expresses his fear that any help given to the latter will incense Shivaji.

"Our last was dated the(?) ultimo passed month, coppie whereof is now sent; the same day was a hott dispute between Sevagee Rajahs ffleete and the Syddys, the engagement lasted about 4 houres in which the Syddy tooke 4 groabs, 2 shybarrs and 2 galvetts of the Rajahs, killed as is reported, about 500 men and tooke 160 prisoners, with the loss onely

A bloody encounter between the Siddi and Marathas

of 8 men killed out right and 20 men wounded. Yesterday the Syddy sent in hither three of the groabs he has taken of the Rajahs, towed in by three of his galvetts, which we thought did become us to take some notice of. We therefore sent for his noquedah and discoursed with him about the unreasonableness and unhandsomeness of this action, especially at present, because our business with Sevagee. He at first was high and warranted the action, but after further discourse and perswations, being all the weapons of warr wee must make use of, he was brought into a seeming better humour and promised they should not stay but would send them away back to the Syddy. However to our trouble they are removed but just below our sandy Bay, where they as yet lye. What alteration this may make in our business with Sevagee, time will produce; wee cannot but expect, he will be much concerned that wee doe not onely entertaine and afford all necessarys to the Syddy his enemy, but that such vessells of his as are taken should immediately be brought in here and secured by us for the Syddy; it's certaine tis this port is a great cause of all the troubles he receives from the Syddy, for had he not this port to ffriend he could not remaine long in these parts; from hence is he supplyed with most things for his ffleete and island; for the Portuguese will not afford them (Siddi's fleet) anything-onely now and then a little water, and that not often He (Siddi) robbed lately a small towne of the Rajah's neare Chaul, upon which the Portuguese seized one of his groabs and 2 galvetts, tooke his men out of them and put them in prison, keeping all till Syddy had brought back from Danda Rajapore what men etc. he had carried out of the said towne and delivered up to them; and this may be more reasonably expected from us for what the Syddy may robb and plunder within our Bay. He is now growne very high, soe humbly begg your order how to proceed. He lyes at us hard for morter peeces, granadoes, shells, lead, gun powder, small armes, gunners, and men to ply small armes, chirurgions etc. and by what wee can understand, he is resolved to winter here. Wee are truely sencible, he will be at a great trouble to us, but that wee are not concerned at, but feare our charge will

The Siddi sends captured boats to Bombay.

Treatment of the Portuguese to the Siddi.

The English assist the Siddi with men and munitions.

be encreased and that wee shall be forced to keepe a large quantity of men, not onely for the security of the Island (for he will have a great strength, and wee know he is sufficiently treacherous), but likewise for the security of his ffleete from any attempt of Sevagee. Please to consider of this and send your orders, how wee must behave ourselves towards him, in all his demands etc. He comes on shoare with his boates and men and will not be denyed by noe fair meanes nor perswations; 5 and 6 galvetts at a time, his men armed, and two hundred at a time. Its certaine neither prudence nor safety for us to suffer it, but your orders must be obeyed. We well know the necessity we lye under, soe that we must have patience and doe the best wee can, but think it our dutys to give you this timely notice, that you may strengthen us with your orders and use your interest with the Governour of Surat that things may be better between the Syddy and us. Our baloon (sail boat) is not as yet returned from Sevagees country, wee hourely looke for her." [1]

Expense and danger involved in allowing the Siddi's fleet to winter at Bombay.

There are further complaints of the troubles with the Siddi who has brought the grabs taken from Shivaji's fleet to Bombay.

"Wee have great troubles given us by the Siddy. The grabs he tooke lyes still here. Wee can by noe ways, or meanes persuade him to carry them away and bring them in as his owne and not as prizes taken from the Rajah. He is resolved to doe us all the harme he can heare from your honour etc. He hath been very baise with our men, offering great pay to severall, and striveing all that lyes in him to make a generall disturbance on the whole Island. His people hath much abused our customer and tobacco Renders which wee have complained of to him, but to noe purpose, and his men in quantityes come on shore, and will not be denyed. This may be a very great evill, therefore wee humbly begg you will please to consider it, and send your orders.

The Siddi's men and fleet force their way into the Bombay harbour.

Our baloon is not returned from Sevagees country as yet neither have wee had any news from them these eight days,

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fols. 49-50. Bombay 2nd February 1680.

which makes us somewhat concerned. There is here a flying report that our prisoners were sent downe towards the water side, by Annagee Punditts order, but upon the Syddys and their fighting were stopped in the way. Wee have sent a messenger privately to bring us certaine news of the balloon and our people, who when returned to us, wee shall write you." [1]

The letter of 9th March 1680 describes further aggressions on the part of the Siddi who has sent about 13 galvetts into the Penn River, seized a boat belonging to the Island, robbed her and severely wounded a man. All protests have been in vain. He has since written an impudent letter and has robbed four towns on the same river, upon which Shivaji's ministers have seized some boats belonging to the Bombay Island. The Bombay Council represent the impossibility of keeping fair with the Siddi under these circumstances.

"Wee have by us three of your honours etc. which wee have thoughts to answere by a sea conveyance being come over to us from Sevajees Ministers our Shibarr laden with 100 candy of white beetlenutt, who had sailed towards you yesterday, but for her greater security in respect of the strength and number of Mallagott ready to convey her up to you, and did then hope to dispatch them towards you tomorrow. But instead of that, from what hath happened, wee are necessitated to send this humble express to you, that wee may have soe soon as possible your orders and directions in an affaire of soe weighty a concerne which wee shall here lay before you.

The Siddi's fresh raids into Shivaji's territories.

Yesterday [2] the Syddy sent about 13 Galvetts into Penn River. There meeting with a boate belonging to the Island, they sett upon her and have wounded one man with a deep wound in the arme, robbed the boate and carryed away a man. This is short of what threatened by the Noquedah, as by the enclosed petition of the Moor merchants, etc. The man wounded tells us the person that cutt him is an inhabitant of this Island and dwells at Mazagaon, where his wife and family is, but he (is)

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 101, Fol. 54. Bombay 9th February 1680.
2. The Siddi made his raid on 8th March, but Orme (124) places it on 27th February.

in the Syddys service. Wee have done our utmost to perswade the Syddy to better behaviour towards us, but all good words and deeds prevailes not at all with him, but from our great patience and sufferances he is now growne very imprudent and hath left of(f) good words, as per his letter enclosed and translated into English.

Four towns robbed.

Yesterday he hath robbed four townes in Penn River, burnt many houses and carryed away aboundance of people upon which Sevajee Rajahs Ministers are much concerned at us and have seized boates belonging to the Island, others being forced to run away that brought us that unwelcome news. Wee are truely sencible how much it concernes us to keepe faire with him in respect to the Honble Company's interest at Surat etc. places in the Mogulls dominions, but cannot see with any security to the Island how he can be suffered to act in this nature longer here. If your Honour etc. can perswade the Governor of Surat to give him orders not to robb within our Bay, and that he desists from that, wee shall doe well enough with him for all things elce. Your honour may pleade it is from Penn and Negotan etc. places on the maine within our Bay that wee are supplyed with all sorts of provisions, soe that wee shall not be able to supply the Kings fleete, and must want ourselves if the Syddy continues to robb those places, for the Portuguese will not afford us anything because the Syddy hath dissguested them. It is for the King's fleete's sake wee undergoe great troubles from all our neighbours, and the Syddys baseness increaseth it, whose design is onely to keep himselfe in employment and matters not what he doth. Wee humbly begg your orders and directions may be plaine in answer to these, and wee heartily wish your interest may be such with the Governor of Surat as may procure such an order from him to the Syddye as wee have mentioned. Wee have not as yet received any advices from Sevajees ministers concerning what mischiefe the Syddy may have done them, but justly feare they will demand and expect from us the same that the Captain of Chaul did, which wee advised your Honour etc. in ours of the 2nd past, or otherwise wee must not expect any peace with Sevajee. Wee have wrote at large in severall letters concerning the Syddy

No peace expected with Shivaji.

and therefore shall not inlarge further, onely this, if you respect the security of this Island or looke for any revenues you must not suffer the Syddy longer to behave himselfe as he doth; and therefore once more wee humbly begg you will be plaine and possitive in your orders to us concerning this, and as nimble as may be, for a day may be of great import in this most unhappy affaire." [1]

The Bombay letter to Surat dated 18th March 1680, speaks of the confirmation of peace by Shivaji.

" We are very glad the management of the business with Sevajee is to your likeing. He hath confirmed all as per a paper enclosed translated into English for your better understanding. A hundred candy of Beetlenutt is sent us on account our demand for satisfaction of the two vessells lost, now laden on a Shybarr and sent towards you."

As regards the Siddi who has " grown insufferable " on account of his misdeeds and insolences, they assure the Council that " he hath not any reason to complaine of unkindnesse from us, but that which discontents him is the withdrawing of our fleete and making peace with Sevajee. Wee assure your honour he hath not any reason to complaine of unkindness from us, but that which discontents him is the withdrawing of our fleete and making peace with Sevagee, wee endeavour all wee can to please him, and are always ready to gratify his requests thinking to persuade him to better behaviour, by our civility towards him, but find it will not doe, he hath persuaded a man away that belonged to the *Hunter* whom wee have demanded but to noe purpose, and is watchfull to gett more, offering to give them pay from 30 to 60 rupees per month, a man which makes us wee cannot with safety proceed in the regulation as otherwise wee would. On musterday last wee discharged about 100 men, many of them the Syddy hath entertained, those that wee gave 5 X's and 10 X's per month he hath entertained at 9 and 16 rupees per month and paid all mens pay beforehand." [2]

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108, pp. 58–9. 9 March 1680.
2. F. R. Surat Vol. 108, p. 63. Bombay 18 March 1680.

"Yours of the 9th past and 9th present we have received and should sooner have given answer to them had we not been hindered by the dayly hot alarums of Sevajees army drawing neere to Suratt which hath caused us to remove to Swally allmost all such goods of the Honble Companys as lay here unsold in their warehouses by reason our present condition is such, for want of sufficient strength of English to defend the house, that we could not hope for any security for them here, and the troubles still continuing.....that we can have no ways as yett any fitt opportunity to informe the Governour (who is soe much disgusted at our conclusion of a peace with Sevajee) of the ill carriages of the Siddey to his people...Therefore give the Sidey plaine and publique notice if he continues these abuses to us, you have orders to furnish him with noe more money nor provisions, and likewise further to use him in such a manner as he will find the evill of it in the end, by causing such breach betwixt us as may prove harder to reconcile then the warr with Sevajee....."[1]

Shivaji expected at Surat.

Harsh treatment with the Siddi.

"If[2] you shall find your Island of Bombay may be soe considerable to you, as to deserve the removall of soe ill and nere a neighbour, and who by the scituation of the place just in the mouth of your Port; will wholly disturbe and discourage all trade to your Island (if not a prologue to its sudden loss as Captain Goldsborough and the other two Commanders can well inform you), you must send us out shipps and men.

The Syddy Admirall of the king of India's fleete, hath taken and fortifyed another little Island neare to that of Hendry,[3] called Kendry, from which Sevagee's forces have attempted to beate him off, with great loss of men, and divers of his vessells, which hath soe puft up the Syddy, that he now presumes to give laws in all that Bay (solely your Honrs' Royalty) requiring all vessells from your Island to take his passes, otherwise will seize on them;

Hendry captured by the Siddi.

1. F. R. Bombay, Vol. 19, pp. 22-23, Surat to Bombay 24th March 1679-80.

2. B. P. Unav. VIII. 24, 31.

3. The names have been interchanged.

besides his men coming in great numbers ashore, are so insolent and abusive, that your Deputie Governour and Councill writes us, that they are not able to bear it, and that if it be not suddainly remedyed, some dangerous consequences will ensue. Our intention was to have complained to this Governor thereof; but he is soe exasperated at making a peace with Sevagee, that he not only encourages but abets the Syddy in these abuses, which your affaires here will not suffer us at present otherwise to remedy, therefore it will highly concern your Honrs. speedily to take some effectual course for redress of these growing evills (with divers others in your affaires here, too many now to be repeated), otherwise you will suddainly lose your Island, and all your northerne trade."[1]

Insolence of the Siddi.

31. The Siddi claims the right of searching boats

The Siddi who had taken possession of the Island Henry opposite Khanderi, began to search all Bombay boats bound for Shivaji's territory on the ground that these were supplying munitions of war to his enemy. The Bombay merchants petitioned the Government to save them from the oppressions of the Siddi.

" The humble peticon of the Bombay Merchants
Humbly sheweth

That your worship was pleased to issue out a proclamation therein declaring that all the merchants of this island might freely goe and trade in the Sivagees country to buy provisions and other goods as formerly, whereupon your people sent severall boates to the maine for the same purpose, borrowing money upon a voyage, of which having notice the Naquedah (Admiral) of the Syddys armado called (?), came to the custome house and publickly declared before severall persons that without his leave noe boates nor vessels should goe to trade in the said country and that whoever should presume not to obey his command herein, should forfeit the boate or vessell and would send the same to the ffort of Undry Cundry, and accordingly your petitioners having sent a balloon to the river of Garapa they meeted with some of the Syddys boates to whome they declared that the said balloon

1. Surat to London, 8th April, 1680. O. C. 4699.

belonged to Bombay, but notwithstanding all the aforesaid the said Syddy by force of armes entered the said boate and wounded a Moore man called Darvesjee (Darvesji) and tooke prisoner one marriner of the said balloon, and robbed all that they could find therein, whereby your petitioners are not able to make any voyage to those places by the reason of the said Syddy, in which consideration

Yours petitioners humbly begg your worship to take into consideration this affaire and to find out some way to prevent such evill abuses for the future and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray &c....." [1]

"The English from Bombay sent a Manchua with flying colours to show their nationality to Chaul. This vessel was fired upon, seized and carried to Hendry by the Siddy's fleet. Where (at Hendry) being examined, the Syddy told them that he must and will serve all boates soe, be they what they will that comes out of our port, to see that their enemys be not supplyed with amunition by us; and since the Dutchman that left the Companys service and runn to him, there is allsoe an Englishman ran away which wee suppose to be entertained by him." [2]

There is a long letter from Siddi Qasim to the Deputy Governor of Bombay. It was complained by the English that by reason of his raids into Shivaji's country the import of provisions had been stopped, and hence the inhabitants of the Bombay island were heavily suffering. He replied that he had orders from the Emperor to desolate the territory of the Raja and hence could not disobey them. If the English, however, procured an order from the Governor of Surat for removing his armada from Khanderi, he would immediately follow it. He then charged the English with making a treaty with Shivaji without his knowledge, and pleaded inability to act upon the old agreement of not raiding the Raja's territory, until the Marathas evacuated the Khanderi rock. The letter ends with an interesting para on the services of gunners.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 55. To the Worpll. John Child, Deputy Governour of the port and Island of Bombay.

2. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fol. 74. Bombay March 25th 1680.

" You write me concerning a gunner and I would faine know what service you want by him, but if you have need of him and will content him by paying him what is his due, you may send for him. I have taken severall gunners from our enemys, and have many others, therefore by that reason I shall not be revenged and besides you have one of my gunners in your service who if he be contented to come to me, you may give him leave and send him to me." [1]

32. Shivaji's position in 1680

The Surat Council's letter to the Company written on 24th January 1680, presents a very fair view of Shivaji's position just before his death both with respect to the English and the Great Mogul.

"As to your factorys of Rajapore and Carwarr, wee have already advised you of our endeavours to withdraw your servants from Rajapore the last monzoone, but was hindered by that Governours not permitting them to leave the shore, and this year the unhappy business of Hendry Kendry hath prevented us, soe that untill wee can come to some good agreement with Sevagee in that business, there is noe getting them from thence.

The Eng. factors not allowed to leave Rajapur and Carwar.

Wee are glad to read all your other peace goods prove soe well in their kinds and to your likeing, except as to their dearness which wee shall not be wanting on our parts to prevent for the future, by endeavouring to gett them as cheape as the present bazars will afford them, with submission to the unhappy troubles of these countrys, which makes all things much worse then otherwise they would be, and soe insecure that wee are under a constant feare what greater ill the next day may produce being soe continually allarmed with Sevagee and besett with dangers on the

Surat in perpetual dread of Shivaji.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. Fols. 59-60. 9th March 1680.

one hand or the other, that it much takes us off from serving you as otherwise wee might doe.

The 532 barrells of gunn powder you note to be remaining at Bombay, of which 300 you would have sold and its produce remitted to Surat, wee dare not now doe, not knowing to what necessity wee may be forced for the defence of your Island against Sevagee; therefore untill wee see what this business of Hendry Kendry will come too, wee are necessitated not only to suspend your orders in this, but in divers other particulars for the better securing your affaires there, which wee hope will meet with a good approbation from you.

Gunpowder wanted for war with Shivaji.

In October last dyed in Surat one Daniell Parve, a Dutch Commissary who arrived but the last yeare and took upon him the direction of their affaires here. And the 15th December arrived two great Dutch shipps from Batavia, Zeilon and Cocheine, and hath brought great quantities of divers sorts of goods, as per list sent you, but it pleased God wee had the good fortune before their arrivall to dispose of all your plate copper at 18½ rupees per maund, notwithstanding the French sold theirs but at 17¾, and had not Savagee soe early in the monzoone made his incursions into this King's dominions, about Orangabaud and Brampore, in which bold attempt he hath sacked and burnt Chopra and Dungon, with divers other places under the very eye of this King's sonns, resideing in Orangabaud with an army for the security and protection of those parts, wee should not only have been able to dispatch your shipps soon (the ways by these distractions being stopped, and your Caphalas running great hazard, as you may please to read in a letter sent us by your factors in Dungom), but likewise cleared your warehouses of the greatest part of your remaining goods, and proceeded in a much more forwardness to have brought you quite out of the usu(r)ers bookes.

Some European goods sold at Surat.

Shivaji's incursions into the Mogul territory.

Wee have deferred till now to take further notice of the business of Hendry Kendry in hopes wee might have received advice, before your shipp's dispatch, of some good composure of those unhappy troubles, for finding it a mistake which was first advised us, that the want of fresh water upon the Island would have necessitated Sevagees men to have surrendered it in few days, wee considered not only the great charge, but the uncertainty of success, and therefore gave your now Deputy Governour and Councill orders, upon the President's receipt of a friendly letter from Sevagee upon the first business, wherein Thorpe and others miscarry'd to take all opportunitys of a faire agreement with him, since he is resolved not to be withdrawne from designe of fortifying that place, but by force, which wee are soe unable to doe for what of men and other fitt materialls requisite thereto, that untill wee can receive such, with your orders how further to direct us therein, wee have thought it prudence to palliate things with him untill then, and which wee are now in hourely expectation to heare some result of; soe that if you shall find your Island of Bombay may be soe considerable to you as to deserve the removall of soe ill a neighbour, and who, by the scituation of the place, just in the month of your port, will wholly disturbe and discourage all Trade to your Island (if not a prologue to its sudden loss, as Captain Goldsborough and the other two Commanders can well enform you), you must send us out shipps and men, with a fitt person to manage in person such a designe, otherwise little will come of it."[1]

Reasons for making peace with Shivaji.

Ships and men demanded from the Company to remove Shivaji from Khanderi.

"Your affaires upon your Island Bombay wee bless God are in as good a posture and condition as wee could well hope, for after the soe great troubles and charges it fell under in our late dispute with Sevagee, which being now composed, hath given us opportunity to reduce and settle many things to your profitt."[2]

33. The policy of peace leads to a treaty with Shivaji

The Surat Council had demanded further supplies of men and munitions on new ships under experienced commanders for the

1. O. C. Vol. 40. No. 4691. Fols. 9, 12, 16, 22, 29.
2. O. C. Surat to London, 24th Janu. 1681.

conquest of Khanderi, but the Directors counselled them to adopt a policy of peace in India.

Their views on the question of the re-occupation of the Khanderi Island, present an interesting reading. This policy of peaceful commerce was observed for three years only, because afterwards it was totally reversed, and a campaign against the great Mogul was vigorously launched by the Company and the King of England.

Directors' views on the affair of Hendry Kendry

"Now [1] we come to treat of the business of Bombay, which by the hostilities lately entered into with Sevagee about Hendry Kendry, renews and aggravates our further charge and trouble when we hoped we had arrived to an undisturbed and prosperous posture of affaires, and that the Island Revenues would have quite eased us of further expenses and have yielded somewhat of retribution for those excessive charges we had laid out upon it. But we are sorry to find it otherwise upon this unhappy quarrel we are fallen into, tho' upon what grounds began by Sevagee we know not; but however it be, the conduct of our men by Lieutenant Thorpe was very unhappy who either through drunkenness [2] or great unadvisedness ran himself into the loss of his life, and his party into that mischief which befell them, so that foolishly if not madly they fell into blood before you used the medium of accommodation for peace, and the endeavouring it afterwards when Sevagee had obtained and maintained his post, and could not be removed from it, we doubt will either be to noe purpose, or noe wayes to our honour or advantage. The onely way of removing him and ending that business with reputation and good success had (in all likelyhood) been to have used the present opportunity by engaging our shipping then at hand to have assisted our other forces, and by their countenance and with the help of their guns and men they would soone have driven them thence, and (thought God's blessing upon their endeavours) have determined the controversie, an oversight in warr not to be retrieved. And whereas you say you had not power to command our shipping to goe upon that service we wonder at it, and that you should be so overseene, seeing

All the ships of the Company should have been employed.

1. L. B. Vol. 6, 302, London. 15th March 1681, from the Court of Directors. 2. Cf. O. C. 4675 on p. 411 *supra*.

it is expressly in their charter parties to serve us in Trade or warrfare, and had you put them upon it, no doubt they would have observed your orders and though we think it not fit to exert that power upon every slight occasion, yet in case of such emergency it had been most proper to have required it.

And whereas in this great emergency of affairs that have happened by hostility with Sevagee an extraordinary expense befalls us, wherein nevertheless we hope that you will husband all things the best that may be yet when that trouble some business shalbe over, as we presume it may be ere this, we would have you to reduce all things, so as to keep within the bounds of our Establishment.

Expenditure to be reduced.

We have now sent out 70 soldiers for Bombay, besides the 10 with a Corporal designed for Surat for compleateing the two Companies there, furnished with their Armes proper for them, and moreover 200 barrells of Powder, 12 small peeces of ordnance and Pettereroes with shott for them and a ton of Match which Captain Keigwin saies in case of warr may be of great use upon the Island and are wanting there, therefore we have provided them.

More soldiers sent to India.

What [1] or how to advice you in the unhappy business of Hendry Kendry we know not, for want of that information we might have had from you, but in general we must needs say, that peace and not warr is the Element in which Trade thrives and flourishes and tis not the interest of a Company of Merchants to launch into those great charges which unavoidably attend it, especially where the opposition is considerable and the event very hazardous, therefore if peace be not concluded. we would have you endeavour it, if it may be upon reasonable terms, if not, to make your defence the best you can, and as occasion shall require to order the assis-

Peace, not war.

War if honourable peace not concluded.

1. B. P. Unav. VIII, P, 62. London to Surat. L, B. 6, 302. 15th March 1681. Cf. Co,'s letter. 16 July 1680; Surat letter, 3rd Sept. 1680.

tance of our shipping that we be not wanting to ourselves in what may be for our security and advantage.

Notwithstanding all we have before (in this letter) writt about Hendry Kendry or Bombay or the officers, soldiers, Powder and ammunition we have sent by these ships we think it needfull to explain our meanings more fully to you vizt. We doe not intend you should in any hostile manner seize upon or attempt to recover the possession of Henry Kendry because we are (as we ever were averse to all kinds of warr in India not onely for that we would not naintain our Trade by blood and the lives of men, but it would be very great imprudence for us at this distance being merchants and engaged in commerce) to contend with those great and mighty Princes which might soone obstruct our Trade and ruine us, but we account it a better way to keep a firm correspondence with all the Princes where we traffick, allthough it some times occasions the making of presents, wherein if there be cause for it we would have the same managed with great frugality, and you may observe that the Dutch though they doe engage sometimes in warr upon Islands, yet they dare not meddle with those great Princes upon the Maine lands and besides we do not think the place worth contending for unto blood, especially lying that distance, but if you should be injuriously assaulted at Bombay we would have you defend yourselves as well as you can, and for that end onely have we sent such large supplies as aforesaid, and in regard we have sent you soe great a recruit of English soldiers, if you have noe enemy that you feare may suddenly attack you, we would have you upon arrival of these soldiers to compeate your Companies, to discharge the like number of Portuguez, our resolution being to keep strictly to our Establishment lately made for that Island, to which we require Your conformity. "

Friendship and not war with Indian princes.

Khanderi not worth contending.

Defensive war only.

Further on it is said:

" As to the first we are not a little troubled as to the unhappy

hostilities broken out between us and Sevagee upon his siezing Hendry Kendry, but most of all that there should be so miserable a conduct by Lieut. Thorpe, as to have so much blood shed in that quarrell, and so many Christians lost and taken. We know not what pretences Sevagee makes to that rocky Island nor what his intent is in possessing and fortifying it, but it lying at so great a distance from Bombay (for we understand tis 7 leagues) we thinke it not adviseable if he hath possessed and fortifyed it, to prosecute the recovery of it (at least for the present) by force of armes, but hope you may have ere this arrived to some amicable termes and a fair compromise of the difference with him which we the rather are perswaded to believe from what our Deputy Governor hath written to Mr. John Goodier in his letter of the 6th January 1679 which is of later date then what we received from thence. But if it should be otherwise, and that the breach continues which we would have made up) if it may be upon reasonable termes in which case we would have you use your utmost endeavours to defend and preserve our Island of Bombay in case you should be in any waies invaded or assaulted. As an additional supply we have sent you now 70 soldiers to recruite your two companies by our shipping, with Powder, small Gunns &c."[1]

Hendry-Kendry need not be recovered from Shivaji.

Compromise to be made.

34. Justification of the policy of peace

A reply to the preceding letters is sent by the Surat Council in their letter of 23rd January 1682 from the Swally Marine. Herein the President justifies the means and policy adopted in the late war with Shivaji by his predecessors at Surat and Bombay. It brings out the real condition of Bombay and states the reasons for being unable to coerce Shivaji.

"Your island of Bombay is much more a greater burthen upon us then all your other affairs; besides lying surrounded with soe many ill neighbours as Sevajee, this king and the most insolent Portuguese who all in their severall conditions continually minister to us, most unexpressible difficultys of living in peace with them.

Critical condition of Bombay.

1. L. B. Vol. 6, 317.

For as to Sevagee, or as now (more properly) Sombagee his son, in the unhappy difference of Hendry Kendry, where Lieutenant Thorpe soe inconsiderately and rashly[1] with divers others lost their lives and wherein seems to be charged some errors upon your President and Councill in not giving you the grounds and reasons of his difference with us, for those (till then disregarded and barren Rocks, which wee were not then able to doe not now, further then an ambitions and Pollitick aime to lead him to some other more considerable acquisition of Empire, and whereas to Thorpe &ca. losse wee are soe farr from any just blaime therein, that until the advice of his miscarriage wee knew not of Sevagee's possession of the place: as Mr. Henry Oxinden (then your Deputy Governour there and now at home) can well informe you; notwithstanding it fell out about your ships arrivall from England, at which time (if any) had been most propper to have employed them, which wee could not then direct, nor was any motion (to that purpose) made from thence, untill John Child going down Deputy Governour on the *New London*, after the dispatch of the Anne and Bengalla, downe the Coast of India, and who only proposed, your ships battering the place might reduce it; but was found more difficult; for this Kings Fleete consisting of severall ships of good force, with divers small vessells well mann'd, could neither damage them with their Gunns ashoare, nor hinder recruits or provisions, from the Maine. The place being soe situated and unaccessible for large shipping, and but one small place (with security) for boats to land at, soe that whatever should have been done in that particular would have proved but a dangerous attempt, and wherein found ourselves not fully impowered, tho' provided for in Charter party yet if you will be pleased to cause to be laid before you, and read the severall letters that past on that occassion from your Deputy Governour and Councill there, to your President and Councill here, with our answers from the 27th of August 1679 to the 31st January 1679-80 the time of advice of

Justification of the policy adopted by the English in India

Khanderi could not have been captured by big ships even.

1. Cf. pp. 410-11. *Supra*. Surat to Co, 23 Jan. 1682. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. Part III, Fol. 17.

the conclusion of Peace wlth Sevajee, wee hope you will find that wee proceeded by such fitt measures as your then affaires most justly and urgently required from us, and which wee hope has succeeded much more considerably to your advantage than vainly imploying your shipping to the great disappointment, not only of their ladings, but hazard of dispatch home. Notwithstanding wee must confesse, if you resolve to continue the possession of your island Bombay, and that its revenue should by wayes answer its charge; you must not only unvest Savagy from Kendry and the King from Kendry; but bring the Portuguese to some better termes and friendly behaviour towards us, otherwise that most unhappy, incomparable place will prove nothing but a constant trouble and damage to you." [1]

Compromise with Shivaji the best policy.

More vigorous measures proposed.

On the 31st of January the Directors too despatched a letter to their agent here, ordering them to effect all possible retrenchment in the military expenses at Bombay.

" Our rash expence at Bombay be retrenched, if it be not done already, that at least it may not exceed the bounds of our Establishment, but rather we hope and earnestly press it upon you to reduce the same to a lesser summe which now you may well do upon composure of affairs with Sevagee, to which end we have in our former letters written as effectually as we could, and do now confirme againe, requiring your utmost care and conformity that we haye not failure therein." [2]

Retrenchment after peace with Shivaji.

35. The Surrender of the "Dove"

A short account of the capture of the *Dove* in charge of Sergeant Mauleverer, his surrender to the Marathas, the removal of the prisoners from Khanderi to the fort of Saira garh the condition of the fifty-seven prisoners therein and his request for supply of provisions and medicines, is given in a letter of 6th November,

1. O. C. 4794. F. R. Surat Vol. 90. P. 17. Swally Marine, 23rd January 1682.

2. L. B. Vol. 6, P, 467, London, 31st January.

bearing no endorsement, but secretly sent to Bombay by Sergeant Francis Mauleverer.

"We the persons that were in the Groab *Dove*, it being our bad fortunes to be the sternmost in the fleet, and being so opposed by sea and land, that being no longer able to withstand their force, were forced to yield to their mercy, where we do remain prisoners with the others taken before, and being in great necessity for want of provisions, as well as clothing and medicines for the wounded men, do humbly request your Worships aid and assistance to these; for here is several of the men that are wounded ready to perish for the want of such things as are proper for their wounds. We are of English, Dutch and French, 20, and Portuguese 28, besides 9 Lascars here; besides 5 killed outright and 1 dead here; so hoping your Worships will not fail to send us money, wherewithal to relieve our necessity[1] we remain."

Petition for supplies during imprisonment.

The details of the surrender of the *Dove* groab are to be found in the evidence given before the Deputy Governor by seven men, six of whom had been released by the Marathas after the treaty.

36. Declaration regarding the seizure of the Dove

" The declaration of the following persons on their examination by the Deputy Governor and Councill how the *Dove* grab was taken by Dowlett Caun in our fleetes engagement with the Rajah off Island Undry Cundry.

FRANCIS MAULEVERER, Serjant, and Commander of the groab *Dove* declares that on the 17th October in the evening he received orders to hall the said groab into the bay of Cundry as close as possible, which he did, and there continued all night, and in the morning the Rajahs fleete came out of Negaun River and made towards our fleete and came up with it about 9 o clock, at which time the groab was the sternmost of the whole fleete and very much into the shoare, which the enemy perceiving, and the advantage

Mauleverer's evidence.

1. Orme MSS. Vol. 116. Pp. 105-6. From Francis Ma(u)leverer, Sairagurr Fort. 6th November 1679.

they had of her, bore wholy up to her in the manner of a half moon, and the groab being very narrow and having noe conveniency for any great gunns in her sterne, nor roome to ply soe many small shott as in any manner to defend themselves or save the vessell, and two men being killed that fired out of the sterne soe discouraged the lascarrs that they ran over board, and I being called to the *Revenge* for reliefe from them, by order of John Nailor the Pilot of said groab, the topsaile and ancient was struck, and wee being overpowered by the enemies fleete and none of our owne by us to assist us in any respect, were taken by the enemie.

Clarke's evidence.

ISAAC CLARKE declares that the said groab was ordered to warpe into the shoare as neare as possible the night before the engagement with the Rajahs fleete, which was done, and the next morning received orders to weigh, which they did, and being a little out, they were ordered to anchor againe, and soe continued till they see the Rajahs fleet very neare them, and then they weighed but by reason of the fleetes standing to sea, and the groab being the nearest into the shoare, she was the sternmost and the Rajahs fleets having the advantage, made wholy to her and encompassed her with the most part of their groabs; but before any of them came on board her and entered their men, the topsaile and ancient was struck neare a quarter of an houre, by order of John Naylor, but before they were struck they did fire severall great gunns and small armes at the enemie; but the groab being very narrow and having noe conveniency for great gunns in her sterne and roome for noe more then four men to ply their small shott, and two of them being killed, the lascarrs running over board and the men goeing in the hold, the vessell was delivered up to the enemie.

She lowered her sail a quarter of an hour before being boarded.

RETURNE ROPER declares that after a small engagement in the groab *Dove*, that by John Naylor the topsaile was struck neare a quarter of an houre before the Rajahs fleete entered any men in the groab, and that he with the rest of the soldiers were commanded by the Serjant to lay downe their armes and to goe into the hold on John Naylors telling

Roper's evidence that all men hid themselves in the hold.

the Serjant that if they did not they should be all cut off when the enemie came on board and that 2 manchuas in which was Serjant Duckett and Fuller that was ordered to engage with them, sailed and rowed from the groab and afforded them noe assistance; and in all other particulars he agrees with the other declarations.

(Here follow similar declarations by three others of the crew.)

The *Revenge* frigott being onely and nearest of our fleete to groab when she was taken, Captain William Minchin was sent for to make a report of what he knows about her being taken, who produced his Journall wherein he had noted what to his knowledge happened in relation thereto, vizt.

Captain Keigwin seeing the Rajahs fleete come upon us with the wind at East a small gale and our shipping with her head towards them, that wee had not, nor could not bring a gunn to beare upon them, and the tyde of flood comeing on, he called to weigh. I told him it is too late now, for before our anchor is up they will be aboard us, therefore if you doe any thing, you must cutt. Then he ordered us to cutt, at which time all our small craft was hovering about us, and likewise the *Dove* groab was come close to us. Wee loosed our foresails and mainetopsaile and stood to the Southward to gett cleare of the Island, then loosed our mainsaile in the brailes. Serjant Mauliverer called to us twice. Wee answered him and bid him that he should keepe them off with his small armes till wee were cleare of the Island and then would laye by for him. All our fleete at this time was upon the runn, saile and oares, and the enemys fleete wholly bent downe upon the *Dove*. He never made any resistance but lowered his topsaile and struck his ancient and lay by for them to come on board. I heard 4 or 5 gunns fired and as many musquetts, but the first was when they could barely reach them, but them he did fire, she was forced to lade without board, which was soone left off. He fired some shots into the shoare and was near to the Island Cundry, and that is all that Captain Minchin doth mention of this particular of the *Dove* in his journall, and more he cannot informe the Deputy Governor and Councill.[1]

Surrendered without resistance.

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108, pp. 66–68. March 1680.

Here follows a petition of Francis Mauliverer and the rest of the English prisoners for pay during the time of their imprisonment.

"To the Worshipful John Child, Deputy Governor of the Port and Island of Bombay etc. Councill."

The humble petition of Francis Mauliverer, Issac Clarke, with the rest of the English that were prisoners in Sevajees country.

SHEWETH That whereas your petitioners having endured very severe inflictions by their imprisonments, could not in the least suspect their pay for the time, especially since imprisonment, was not sought for by them, but accidentally fell out soe by the state of warrs and their obedience in complyance with orders.

Petition for pay during imprisonment.

Wherefore your petitioners humbly implores your Worships etc. serious consideration and commiseration of their conditions by granting their pay for the time of imprisonment." [1]

(A similar petition was tendered by John Naylor, etc.)

37. Dr. Fryer's account

The stratagem of Captain Minchin and Keigwin has been frankly approved by a religious man like Dr. Fryer, but the Maratha conquerors are dubbed "Barbarians" by him. Writes he:-

"Our English ships had no sooner left the Port at Bombaim, but that Seva Gi had posted several Hundred Men on Henry Kenry, a Rock in the Mouth of the Bay, on pretence of hindering the Syddy's Men going in and out; whereupon a small Bark, with an old Captain, being sent to demand their Business there, and he landing with his Men imprudently, were all cut off by the Barbarians.

After this Action, Seven Prowes and one small Ship (the Pink) were ordered to lie at an Anchor and block up the Avenues before the Rock; which seen by the Barbarians on Shore, the first fair wind they Manned out Forty Gallies, at whose approach our Prowes fled all but one, which was easily vanquished; and the Pink feigned a fear likewise, whereat they being encouraged. Boarded her with a terrible noise, who cleared her decks with her small shot, and blew some Hundreds up from her Poop, and then

1. F. R. Surat. Vol. 108, p. 68. March 1680.

plying her great Guns, on those who were Board, sunk Four of their Gallies, and put the rest to flight; which made them more afraid than at the first onset, being glad to bear away with the rest; however they in this skirmish succoured the Besieged with Five Boats laden with Provisions."

A month after they appeared again with all their strength, and the English being recruited with another small Ship, engaged them, and gave them the rout, following them into their own Harbours, where they got hastily ashoar and drew up their vessels under some small Guns planted to secure them.

Whilst our Fleet were busy in this Enterprise, and left some Boats to shut up the River Tull, the Syddy came before Henry Kenry, where he lies with his Fleet: who, should he get footing there, would be as bad a Thorn as Sevagi." [1]

The naval glory and political prestige of Shivaji, the "terrible plunderer," were mightily enhanced by his stand against the English and the Siddi. The popular view has been frankly expressed by John Fryer in these words:—

"Amidst these Wars and rumours of Wars, we quietly lay down our Arms, and leave Seva Gi and the Syddy alone to contend for our stony piece of Ground on Henry Kenry; how much to our Honour or Reproach, may be gathered from the Language we have daily cast in our Teeth; "Why Vaunts your Nation? What Victories have you atchieved? What has your Sword done? Who ever felt your Power? What do you Possess? We see the Dutch outdo you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like Men; every one runs you down; you can scarce keep Bombaim, which you got (as we know) not by your Valour, but Compact; And will you pretend to be Men of War or Cope with our Princes? It's fitter for you to live on Merchandise and submit to us.

But for all these Revilings Seva Gi makes them tremble here, forgetting that twice their Safety has been owing to us, from falling th[illegible] into the hands of the terrible Plunderer."

1. John Fryer's East India, Vol. III, Pp, 163-165.

38. Chronology of the events of the struggle for Hendry Kendry

1672	Shivaji's attempt to capture Khanderi failed.
August 1679	Shivaji occupied Khanderi with 150 men under Maya Naik.
3 September 1679	Hughes was sent to hinder the Marathas from occupying Khanderi.
4 September 1679	Hughes anchored near Khanderi in the morning.
12 do. 1679	Envoys of the English and Shivaji began to negotiate with each other.
13-18 do.	The English fleet near Khanderi.
19 September 1679	F. Thorpe landed on Khanderi and was killed. His Shibar was captured.
20 Sept. 9 Oct. 1679	The English fleet could not prevent relief being given to Khanderi by the Marathas.
18 October 1679	Naval engagement between the English and the Maratha fleet.
20 October 1679	Captain Aderton of the *Fortune* sent to the aid of the English fleet.
19 October to 18 Nov. 1679.	The English fleet unable to prevent relief being given to Khanderi.
31 October 1679	Bombay to be blockaded by Shivaji.
4 November 1679	The *Hunter* sent to the help of the English fleet which consisted of the *Revenge*, the *Fortune*, 5 Shibars and 2 Manchuas.
5 November 1679	Smart engagement between the fleets in which the Marathas are said to have suffered much.
6 November 1679	Blockade of the Nagothna creek by the English fleet.
10 November 1679	The Siddi arrived with 2 large ships, 3 frigates and 15 gallivats. The English fleet withdrawn from Nagothna.
16 November 1679	The Siddi made a survey of the fortifications of Khanderi.

17-30 Nov. 1679	The Siddi and the English suspicious of each other; the English inactive, but the Siddi continues firing on Khanderi.
2 Dec. 1679	The Siddi plundered the Maratha territory opposite.
6 to 7 January	Firing between the Siddi and Marathas continued.
8 January 1680	Terms of the treaty with Shivaji considered by the Bombay Council.
9 January 1680	The Siddi occupied Undheri.
13 January 1680	First skirimish between the Siddi and the Maratha fleets near Undheri.
16 January 1680	Ram Shenwi returned to Bombay with the Raja's messenger who had brought the Articles of Peace signed and sealed by the Raja's ministers.
18 January 1680	The Maratha fleet came out of the Nagothna, but went into the river again on being pursued by the Siddi.
26 January 1680	Daulat Khan defeated by the Siddi.
27 January 1680	Treaty concluded.
28 January 1680	The English fleet withdrawn from Khanderi
February-March	The Siddi plundered Maratha villages on the opposite coast.
18 March 1680	The treaty was confirmed by Shivaji himself.

CHAPTER XXII

Shivaji and the Portuguese

1. Dearth of material

When Shivaji commenced his raids into the Konkan and made bold to wrest Kaylan from the Mogul Governor, the Portuguese began to watch the movements of this dangerous rebel. No other European nation was so closely and constantly concerned with Shivaji as the Portuguese were, and yet there is an extreme dearth of records on the relations of the two powers. The Portuguese Archives have been ransacked by Mr. Pissurlencar, Dr. Sen and Father Heras. The documents published by them have thrown some light on the history of Shivaji. A few Dutch and English letters supplement and confirm the information contained in the Portuguese sources, so that we can now sketch an outline of the story for the twenty-two years of 1658-1680. The earliest documents treating of Shivaji's successes in the Konkan and his naval activities of the years 1658-1659 have already been given on p.293.

2. Shivaji's victories in 1660

A letter[1] of 22 (12) March 1660 from the authorities of Goa to His Majesty of Portugal gave an account of Shivaji's latest exploit against Afzal Khan.

"The greater part of the Kingdom of Adil Shah is now subjected to a Hindu called Shivaji who is just now very near Bijapur. He has lately conquered some of the captains of Adil Shah and inflicted a great loss of men and horses on them. He has captured along the sea-coast and on the mountains many forts and towns, possessed the strip from Chaul to Danda, and amassed a great wealth. The King is getting ready a large army to oppose him, but the issue is doubtful on account of his bad goverment and of his having violently killed some of the best and most respected lords."[2]

1. The Portuguese year like the Dutch and French ones, was 10 days ahead of the English year. Here ten days ought to be deducted from the date of every Portuguese document to bring it into line with the English dates. The English dates are given in the brackets in this chapter.

2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, p. 5, cf. Vol. I. p. 52.

3. Goa threatened in 1661

In the beginning of 1661 Shivaji commanded all the coast from Danda Rajpuri to Kharapatan. He conquered Shingnapur in 1661 and the English men thought that even Goa would fall into his hands in a short time. [1]

4. The Portuguese help against the Moguls in 1663

It appears that Shivaji was on good terms with the Portuguese, as Castro, the Viceroy of Goa, in the beginning of 1663 when Shivaji was engaged in a life and death struggle with Shaista Khan, wrote a letter to the Maratha leader, asking him to send to him one of his trusted men to whom he could communicate some matters of importance to both states. Shivaji seems to have complied with this request. Thereupon the Viceroy sent a letter on 26th (16) April 1663 to the following effect:

"Now that I have this letter of Your Highness and with it the way has been opened for us to communicate, I send to the North a nobleman of such authority and experience that he can arrange with Your Highness all that is practicable and convenient to both of us. However, it will be with great secrecy, because in this consist the good results which I desire for Your Highness, not only on account of your brave acts but also for the good friendship which the Portuguese will find in Your Highness. And this person, who is Dom Alvaro de Ataide, takes with him also the order not to consent that anything should be passed in injury to the people of Your Highness to whom I am particularly inclined and will always help with a good heart, within permitted limits. And if anything should happen against this, it would be without my knowledge, and I would send to make an investigation in order to give to the guilty persons the punishment which they would deserve. And I hope that from the present struggle Your Highness will come out victorious, and that the fame of your victories and the terror in your antagonists will increase. I trust Your Highness will always give me the old news of your

1. See Vol. I, p. 138. J. Sh. gives 29th April 1661 as the date of the capture of Shingnapur.

health and, if there is anything here which I can do for Your Highness, you will ever find me most willing." [1]

The Viceroy had sent Dom Alvaro de Ataide, referred to in the previous letter, to Shivaji, but the instructions given to him in a letter of 5th May (25 April) 1663 for his conduct in the negotiations with Shivaji are of immense interest for showing the real policy of the Portuguese in India.

"I had, a few days ago, a letter from Rajah Shivaji in which he promises me to maintain good relations with this State and those fortresses (of the North), as long as I would warn the Captains of them not to allow any foodstuffs or provender to go to the people of the Mogul Emperor. For this reason it occurred to me to order you to continue with the said Shivaji and his people the same relations which he promised to have with us, and it would be expedient to prevent with all dissimulation that any kind of provision should go to the Camp of the Mughal, in order that for want of it he would leave this neighbourhood and thus Shivaji would have a chance of being able to accomplish his intentions of injuring the enemy who, as he is so powerful, would be better far away and not such a close neighbour." [2]

5. The conquest of Vingurla in 1663

Further on, we have a letter of 2nd June (23 May) 1663 from the same Viceroy wherein he reiterates his sentiments of the previous note and then congratulates Shivaji on his march to Vingurla and on the terror that he had struck in the hearts of all the Governors of Bijapur on that coast. At the same time he sent Ramogy Sinay Kothari as his trustworthy representative to carry on negotiations with Shivaji. [3]

This account is borne out from the Dagh-Register. There was a strong rumour in 1663 that Shivaji had set his heart upon the conquest of Goa and Janjira. In November of that year, the Portuguese requested Shivaji to conquer Vingurla and to expel the Dutch from that town, but the Raja took sides with the

1. Indian H. R. Commission Vol. IX. p. 110.
2. " " " p. 111.
3. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. p. 7.

Dutch. Thereupon the Viceroy began to strengthen the defences of the capital and, at the same time, sent his envoy with a rich present to appease the Raja. [1]

6. Shivaji a man of valour and industry

The power of Shivaji is reviewed by the aforesaid Viceroy in his letter of 15th (5) January 1664 to His Majesty of Portugal:

"King Aly Idalxa who was known Lord Idalcan for years, made himself powerful and for us a bad neighbour, as we lost all the Tanadarias from Ponda to the river which separates us. He entered several times, but never with great power, into Salsette and Bardes. Against him has risen a Hindu vassal called Sivagi Raze, a man with valour and industry, who has remained in possession of the estate of Iniza Maluco. The country, being hilly, is easily defended by him. He has met Idalxa in battle several times and always with success. I try my best to be on good terms with Sivagi who does not treat us as an enemy. This King Idalxa is not a legitimate heir to the Kingdom, the Queen brought him up as her son, as he was born of her husband from one of the Court ladies." [2]

7. The plunder of Surat in 1664

The great raid of Surat did not pass unnoticed from the Portuguese Viceroy.

"King Aly Idalxa whose Kingdom touches the limits of our State from the "River of Salt" [3] which is the last port of Salcete to Chapora which is the last point of Bardes, is now in a great difficulty, because a vassal of his, a Hindu Chief called Sivagi, has risen against him for many years and had great many battles with him. Sivagi always came out victorious, because his territory is hilly and difficult for the cavalry to climb; he was always easily victorious over Idalxa and inflicted a great damage upon him. The Magor (Mogul) sent against Sivagi an army of his. Another force was stationed near our State. It may be due to the carelessness of the Moguls or the bribes of Sivagi, the latter seems to have been more probable, that he made way to a great victory, for leaving the *Durgs* which are forts, provided with muni-

1. Vol. I, pp. 91, 96–97.
2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, p. 9.
3. Cf. Vol. I, p. 134.

tions and forces, He with 8000,or 10,000 men rushed forth like lightning between the two armies and without their knowledge went away to Surrate. more than 60 miles into the Mogul's territory. As this assault was sudden, no resistence was made. There he plundered all he could, and filling many small vessels which were sent away with a great hurry, came by our territory with the intentions of availing himself of our help in case of emergency, but happily left for his dominions. King Sultan Aurangzeb felt not less the loss and the injury, and for this he sent against Sivagi a vassal of his, a great King, by name Maha Raza Zay Singa who very easily conquered back the greater part of Drugs or forts and obliged him to be a vassal of the Magor." [1]

8. The defeats of the Bijapur army 1665

The defeat of Khawas Khan is described in a letter from the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello Castro of Goa, dated 7th December (28 Nov.) 1665.

" When one of the captains of Adil Shah by name Cavascan was stationed near our territory with 2000 horse and a large infantry, there came Sivagi Raja who easily conquered him and forced him to climb down the ghats and leave the Concan. Being not satisfied with it, Sivagi, himself got down the same difficult and precipitous hills, entered into the heart of the Kingdom and went almost near the capital. Hearing that his captains were in friendship with Sivagi and might deceive him and thus bring ruin upon him for their own interest, the King sought for our help. Yea, both (Shivaji and Adil Shah) sent their ambassadors, and each of them tried to seek our alliance; but as Your Majesty could not do so, we gave them a little not to lose friendship with any of them, as otherwise there may be danger." [2]

9. Promise to Jaisingh of not rendering help to Shivaji, 1665

The Mogul authorities entertained suspicions that the Portuguese of Bassein had permitted Shivaji to pass through their territory to Surat. In retaliation, Lodhi Khan raided their territory in 1664. Thereupon the Viceroy of Goa sent an empathatic protest to Raja Jai Singh in his letter of 31st (21) March 1665.

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 9. Viceroy's letter, 28(18) January 1666.
2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 14.

"I received the letter of your Highness and it pleases me very much to have so near such a good neighbour. Between our King, my lord, and the King Sultan Aurangzib exists peace and friendship which has lasted for many years. Last year Captain Lodi Khan broke it without any reason, entering our territory.....of which I had complained to the King Sultan Aurangzib, hoping from the King that this excess done against his orders and against his friends, would receive an adequate punishment, because from these lands was never given help or favour to Shivaji nor was it enough for him to say that he brings with him some Portuguese for him to presume that I consent to it, for also in the lands of the Mogul King are found a great number of Portuguese people, without my permission, some for crimes that they did, others forgetful of their duty; it is not in my power to reduce them. In the same way many Portuguese people are found in Golconda, in Canara and with Adil Shah, as Your Highness must know. And from now onwards it should be understood that I should not deprive myself of such a large number of soldiers having wars, and being able with them to punish my enemies. What is certain is that Lodi Khan, sought that excuse in order to cover up what he had done, as if this act could hide from the eyes of the world what he did, whether with less care or with less zeal than he would have, allowing Shivaji to pass to Surat, for which the Portuguese could not be blamed; but though I am greatly hurt and not at all pleased, withal, as Your Highness whom I wished to please, has asked me, I hereby send orders to the North that they should not give Shivaji any kind of favour nor admit any of his people into our lands, and the same will be done from this side."[1]

The Viceroy visibly fulfilled this promise, by issuing an order to the Captain of Bassein on 30th (20) March, not to admit Shivaji's people into the Portuguese territory, nor to show them any favour.

But on the 18th (8) of April, he confidentially issued contradictory orders to the Captain of the North.

"The affairs of the Mughals which give so much anxiety on account of the state in which we find them, even though at present

1. Indian H. R, Commision Vol. IX, p. 112.

they do not show much danger, are, however, worthy of great consideration and thus it is meet that we deal with them with great prudence so that we should neither give them occasion to break with us, nor should we show them that we doubt them; and because all their complaint is born of their imagination that we show favour to Shivaji, you should order that nothing should be done from which they could have this suspicion. However, if without this risk you could secretly give any aid with munitions or foodstuffs to Shivaji you should do it for money, because it is not desirable that if he is driven from his lands, the Mughal should remain the lord of them. But this should be done with such great caution that never should he be able to guess, much less to verify it.

To Shivaji you will write how much better it is for him and for us that his retreat, in case it should be necessary to do so, should not be to Chaul, but rather to Goa, where he would be more safe and we would not have to break with the Mughal, and in this way we would be able to be the intermediary in any conference when fortune changes the state of things. Also emphasize that he would obtain the greatest safety in this island of Goa, which he could not have in Chaul, and thus he should be persuaded that it is best for him and we should save ourselves as far as is possible for us to do so." [1]

10. The story of Shivaji seeking refuge in Chaul

It appears from the preceding extract that Shivaji entertained the idea of seeking refuge with the Portuguese in case the worst came to happen. This fact is endorsed by Cosmo da Guarda who however, places the negotiations after the release and return of Shivaji instead of before his submission to Jai Singh. In the "Vida do Sevagy" we read:—

"And so he never more ascended the Gate nor even in his own lands did he feel secure for fear of falling into the hands of the Great Mogol for a second time. It was on this account and from this fear that he asked for safe conduct or security from Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of India, to pass to the Portuguese territories with all his treasures only in case the Mogol came against him with such an army which he thought he would not be

1. Indian H. R. Commission Vol. IX. Pp. 112-13.

able to resist, for in that case alone he would like to secure his person. The Viceroy replied that if such an occasion arose, and if he wanted to avail himself of the favour of the Portuguese, he would always find security in their territories though he might fail to defend himself against the Mogol, who was more powerful, and though, he might possess forces enough for resisting the Mogol, and though, moreover, it might cause much loss to the fortresses that he had in the provinces dominated by the Mogol. With this reply, the negotiation terminated." [1]

We are inclined to think that it was only a clever move of Shivaji to win over the Portuguese to his cause and estrange them from the Moguls by giving them the bait of his immense treasure and submission. A similar bait was placed by him before the Portuguese in 1673 and the Viceroy had readily and joyfully swallowed it, but he was rightly warned by his king against the subtle moves of the Maratha king.

11. Conquests of Shivaji in 1664--66

In the years 1664 and 1665 Shivaji was strengthening his fleet by building some 60 frigates, while he already possessed at least 40 frigates under his command. Various surmises were being made regarding his naval plans. Sir G. Oxinden expressd his belief in a letter of 29 June 1664 that the Raja was not likely to lay siege to Goa, for 'he is, and ever was, for a running banquett and to plunder and burne those townes that have neither defence or guard.' The Portuguese avoided conflict with Shivaji and hence permitted the Raja to sail to Barselore with a fleet of 85 frigates by Goa without any impediment in February 1665. [2]

In 1665 the English and Dutch sent away their valuables from Karwar and Vingurla to Goa to save them from the Maratha raids. [3]

A Karwar letter of 24 April 1666 informed Surat that Rustum Zaman had taken back five towns of note which were Phonda, Kudal, Banda, Sanquelin and Bicholi. It is evident that, by possessing these, Shivaji had proved to be a very dangerous

1. Sen's Shivaji F. B, Pp. 142–43.
2. See Vol. I, pp. 102. 105, 109.
3. Vol. I, pp. 121, 131.

neighbour to the Portuguese.[1] Hence the latter were wavering between the policy of friendship with Shivaji or Jaisingh. The latter stationed 6,000 horse before Choul to intimidate the Portuguese. This camp continued from September to December at the least.[2]

12. The Viceroy and Mirza Raja

It appears that Raja Jai Singh complained of several acts of incivility and hostility done by the Portuguese authorities against the Great Mogul. Thereupon the Viceroy deputed the Rev. D. Vieira as his ambassador to the court of Mirza Raja and wrote down the following instructions to him on 22nd (12) August 1665.

"Antonio de Mello de Castro of the Council of State of His Majesty, Viceroy and Captain General of India, etc. I hereby declare to you (the Rev. Damiao Vieira) that, in view of the confidence which I place in your person, I nominate you to go as an Envoy to the General of the Mughal army who will soon be in the lands of Bassein, to hold the interview which you will have with him. I think it good to give you the following order with which you will comply: The complaints of the Mughal are that I gave back the ships to Shivaji; that we did not send the artillery which he asked for; that we took away a daughter from a heathen to be made Christian; that some cloth was taken away from some merchants of Galiana; and another secret complaint which it is also necessary to satisfy, that I did not send any one representing me to visit him. To the first, you should answer that I could not keep back ships of Shivaji, because he was not at war with me; however, in order that I might be able to do what the said Mughal General asked me, I took from him all the transport ships which the Maratha Shivaji had carried off on the pretence that he was coming to my land, thus preventing that he should provision the fortresses so that they could resist for a longer time; as the success of this movement has shown, because for lack of provisions they gave themselves up to him: and instead

1. Vol. I, p. 126.
2. Vol. 1, pp. 241, 245.

of the General being grateful for my friendship and good relations, he complains with very little reason.

To the second, that the pieces of artillery, which are in our fortresses, could not be taken away as the express orders of the King of Portugal prohibited it and, if it is not lawful for a Viceroy, how could the Captain General or the Captain of the City do it? If the Mughal General had written before the beginning of winter, I should have sent him from here the pieces of artillery in the same way as I would have done in the beginning of summer, it would still be necessary that this offer should not be made only when he insists on it and that the affairs cannot be settled without.

To the third you will have to answer that from the time we have come to India till now we have always taken orphans to make them Christians, and thus we have proceeded without complaints from any one, and that those who come to live in our lands are subjected to our laws; but in order to please the Mughal General, if the young girl is not already made Christian, and if she does not wish to be, I shall send her to him. But if she wishes to be, or will have been baptised, in no way will it be possible to do so.

To the fourth, about the Captain General Dom Alvarode Ataide taking the ships and the goods of these men of Galiana, on account of the war and theft which Lodi Khan unjustly did in our land, that the same General writes to me complaining about this that one should not speak of past things, and thus he too should do his part. Then he advises me the same thing on my side; however, every time that they compensate the damages and losses which our village received, I shall also restore that trifle which was taken.

To the last, you should give a satisfactory answer before they have a chance to speak, saying that between us it is the custom that he who comes first should send some one to pay the visit, because he knows from where he comes, and others have not the obligation to guess it. And even if they have the news we expect this kind of courtesy just as I did with the mother of King Ali Adil Shah when she came to Vingurla to embark, for which she

had the same complaint, and knowing that this was our custom, sent to let me know that she had arrived, because she had come to that part, and then I sent my representative to visit her. And thus he should not find it strange that I did with him what I did with all; rather he should understand, judging by the person whom I send, how much greater respect I pay to him.

And if there is anything further, you should answer him that the power and the commission which you took with you, is only for that fact about which the said General wrote to me and that you have not the power to treat about other affairs, and that he could write to me about them. Thus you will do."[1]

13. The Portuguese treaty with Aurangzeb in 1667

On the flight of Shivaji from Agra, it was surmised by the Mirza Raja that he would seek shelter with the Portuguese. Therefore Khawja Alauddin Muhammad was sent as an ambassador to negotiate with the Viceroy. A treaty was concluded in the beginning of the year 1667. Therein it was demanded by the Mogul Emperor that the Farangian (Portuguese) should not protect in their kingdom a man who rebels against him and should consider him as a rebel against the King of Portugal.[2]

The Viceroy, while consenting to this article, added a similar clause to be obligatory upon the Mogul. It runs:—

"I consented to this that if the subjects of the Mughal proved disloyal (rebels) against him, we shall not protect them; in the same way the Mughal King should behave."[3]

Another article required that the orphans of the subjects of the Mogul King, though they may be Hindoos or Mohammedans should not be converted to Christianity *by force.*[4]

To this the Viceroy replied as follows;—

"In our religion it is not allowed to convert any one by force. I will issue orders that (they) should not be made Caristano (Christians) by force and oppression, but if they embrace our religion spontaneously and willingly, they will not

1. Indian H. R. Commission. Vol. IX. Pp. 114-16.
2-3-4. Indian H. R. Commission. Vol. IX. Pp. 42-43.

be handed over to you, and will be treated kindly." [1] Thus it will be seen that in 1667 even Aurangzeb had no objection to the voluntary conversion of Moslems into Christianity. From the following letter of the Viceroy dated 10th January 1667 (31st. Dec. 1666), it will appear that he had been confidentially trusted with the performance of an important task which has been described by him as "*the most difficult enterprise in the world.*" It was probably nothing else but to destroy the Armada of Shivaji which had even by that time grown to be very formidable.

"The ambassador of your general manifested to me the great sympathy with which you regarded the doings of the King, my Lord; and I have resolved to return this kindness by assuring you of the interest which I myself with all my Indian power take in the increase of your greatness. The ambassador will tell you the rest as well as all my designs. Please inform me as soon as possible in what I might help and serve you with all my heart and with due sympathy. Since I have communicated with the ambassador on everything, this note is only meant to show my good will to you, and to declare that you may be sure of having in your ambassador a very faithful servant. He by his well-reasoned exposition persuaded me to undertake the most difficult enterprise in the world. May God protect you." [2]

The succeeding letter of 18th (8) May 1668 discloses the success which the embassy of the Khawaja had achieved in winning over the Portuguese to the Mogul cause. Really, the Viceroy was merely trying to keep fair with both sides, because he had already entered into a treaty of peace with Shivaji on 11th (1st) December 1667.

"Your Majesty's letter reached me through ambassador Caje Allaudy Mamede and I gave it its due consideration, not only because it came from your Majesty, but for the special favours which your Majesty granted me therein. Moreover your Majesty was good as to make peace with my sovereign under those conditions which are necessary to keep up and strengthen your old friendship. As soon as Your Majesty informed me that your Majesty's victorious army commanded by the generous and

1-2. Indian H. R. Commission. Vol. X. Pp. 44-45.

fortunate Prince Sultan Mazama (Muazzam), Your Majesty's son, entered Deccan, I offered to help the prince; for one who pledges his own life does not look to what will follow. I had to inform Your Majesty, how as soon as I, surrounded by many valiant captains and soldiers, reached the East, I succeeded in taking possession of the sea. I ordered my navy to enter China and then compelled the King of Golkanda (Golconda) to come to terms. Moreover such was our power on the Malabar Coast that no ship would dare cross that sea; and (the King of) Canara retired to those mountains, experiencing the severity of my sword, without any possibility for its vassals to sail abroad. There is famine in Arabia, as the gates of Canara and the straits are taken (by my ships). I have sent some of my vessels to Mecca; to the Persian sea, under the valiant general of the navy, mighty ships went; so that just as Your Majesty is the lord of the Eastern countries, so my sovereign is the sovereign of all the seas. This being the case, if Your Majesty would only unite with my sovereign, all will come under your submission. Prompted by my conscience, I thought of informing Your Majesty's ambassador of this, at the same time reminding Your Majesty of the vast sum that I spent last year to carry out by sea the great enterprise, which however ended in failure. Hence I wrote to the Prince and told the ambassador to disclose to you all my designs, so that Your Majesty may be well served and I may deserve the esteemed favours of Your Majesty. As regards what Your Majesty informed me about Sivaji, the ambassador will communicate to Your Majesty all that I have told him on this subject. May God protect the Royal Person of Your Majesty and prosper you with His Divine Grace." [1]

14. Shivaji, defender of religious freedom- 1667

It appears that the authorities of Goa, on pain of banishment, had prohibited the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic in their territory. Shivaji led an army against the Portuguese to punish them for their fanatic policy of intolerance and to secure freedom of religious worship for the Indian subjects of that state.

"Sevagee, deepely resenting this rigour, invaded the precincts of Bardese, not farre distant from Goa, and there cutt off the

1. Indian H. R. Commission. Vol. X, Pp. 45-46.

heads of four padres that refused to turne Morettos (Marathas) of his own persuasion, they having councelled the destruction of all that were opinionated as themselves; which so terrifyed the the Vice Roy that he was forced to revoke his fierce and severe edict. He (Shivaji) burnt and destroyed all the country, and carried away 150 lack of pagodaes." [1]

15. Shivaji's plot to capture Goa in 1667

The Portuguese Viceroy, Conde de Vincente, wrote a letter to Shivaji Raje dated 23rd (13) November 1667 in which he mentioned that since taking charge of his office, he had made distinct attempts to be at peace with all the princes of Asia and in particular with Shivaji, notwithstanding the Marathas had raided Bardes, and that the Desais, against whom the hostility of Shivaji was directed, were vassals of Adil Shah and were allowed a refuge in the Portuguese territory under the terms of a treaty with the Bijapur ruler.

Antonio de Melo de Castro and Manuel Corte-Real de Sampaio took charge of the viceroyalty upon the death of Conde de S. Vicente on 6 November (27 Oct.) 1668. These officers also wrote an account of Shivaji's attempted invasion of Bardes to their Sovereign in Portugal, in a letter dated 7th January 1669 (28th Dec. 1668).[2]

Shivaji's raid into the Portuguese territory and his subtle plot to capture Goa itself are fully described in two English documents.

Shivaji's plan unmasked.

"The Vice King of Goa died the ( ) of October of a feavour. His place is supplyed by three Governours, Vizt. Antonio de Mello de Castro, Luis Miranda Henriquew (at present Governour of Diu) and Manuell Cortee Riall. The Vice King a little before his death, searching narrowly through all his townes, found 4 or 500 men of Sevagyes had (hid ?) upp and downe in severall places; upon which hee went for Sevagys embassadour and with his owne hand tooke him two or three cuffs in the eare, and turned him, and all the prisoners hee had tooke, out of Goa. Immediately after which Sevagy raises a great army of 8 or

1. E. F. 1665-67. P. 286. 30th November 1667.
2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, p. 27.

10,000 foote and 1000 horse, and gives out hee intends against Goa in person; which hath putt the Portugeze in armes, building new and mending all old forts, keeping very strickt guards in all passadges, and its generally thought that Sevagy will not bee able to doe anything against it. The truth on it is it is not absolutely knowne whether (i. e., whither) hee intends; hee as yett being with his army to the northward of Rojapoor. Wee have bin very inquisitive, not onely with the Governour here, but with all merchants etc. hereabouts, whether there is any feare of him here or noe, and their opinion is hee will not breake the peace with his King or disgust the owner of this country, who is a greate favorite and at present embassadour with Orangzeebs sonne at Orangnovad (Aurangabad), being returned from Agra having concluded the peace between Orangzeeb and his master to his masters greate satisfaction; for which good service the King hath bestowed this country on him, and his Governours have taken possession, the owner, though an Umbra, yet still a greate trader; as alsoe is this Governour, who, having seene formerly what greate respect the English had in the Persian court, doth endeavour to oblidge us on all occasions. A letter from Your Honour to Gasty Ckan, late Governour of Suratt and now resident (as wee suppose) with the Prince at Orangnovad, may (if hee can prevaile with the Prince his master to speake to the ambassadour something in our favour) bee very helpfull to us. If Sevagy should fall out with this King and come this wayes, wee shall not despaire of saving our pepper and selves from his clutches. Wee neglect noe opportunity of informing ourselves where he is and when hee intends to march as alsoe which way; soe doe not feare a surprize. A few dayes will shew his intentions and then wee will send Your Honour the certeinety." [1]

News of Shivaji's march against Goa.

The next letter of 16th December, signed by Giffard and Chamberlain gave further information regarding Shivaji's designs on Goa.

1. E. F. 1668-69. Pp. 113-4. Karwar to Surat. 12 November 1668.

G. Duff disposes of this incident by saying " a plot he had formed for the Portuguese settlement was discovered and frustrated." P, 99.

"Sevagy having by small parcells and severall pretences, gott 4 or 500 men into Goa, and hoping by degrees to have double the number, did not question but such a number would bee able, upon a suddaine rising in the night, to secure him any one of the passes, whereby hee might enter his men before the Portugalls could have raised a considerable army to resist him, (and) did not doubt of carrying it. But after his arrivall at Vingurla, finding his plot discovered, his men seized, and the Portugalls well provided to give him a hott reception, desisted from his designe, and went and viewed all his castles thereabouts, changing their men, and putting in provitions and ammunition: which when hee had done, finding all places hereabouts resolved to deny him passage and fitted to fight him, if hee endeavoured to force it; upon which under pretence of some extraordinary (business) that called him away for Rajahgur, hee raised his army and away hee went and is by this time the best part of his way thither, fleecing his owne governours and servants, as hee goes along, towards the payment of his army, with which hee hath soe alarmed all this country round about that, notwithstanding hee is gone soe farr off, the people are soe affraid still that they will hardly be perswaded to beleive the news of his departure can bee true; but wee know it. And now our feare of him is over, wee shall bee the better able to looke into the designes of our other crafty enemy, the Dutch; who are very stirring, though wee hope to little purpose. They have bin very sollicitous here with the Governour by letters to give them leave to settle a factory at Gocoron, a place hard by Mirgee (Mirjan) and under this Governour (as alsoe is Mirgee itselfe); which wee being informed of, wee resolved to hinder that their designe, if possible: which in a few dayes wee had meanes to effect, notwithstanding their greate promises of trade and presents." [1]

Shivaji's plan to surprise Goa frustrated.

Terror of Shivaji.

Plans of the Dutch.

16. Preliminaries of peace with Goa

Shivaji desired to be at peace with all his neighbours for some time and hence he seems to have made some overtures to the

1. E. F. 1668-69. Pp. 114-5. 16th December 1668.

Viceroy of Goa. In a letter dated 24th (14) November 1667 the latter acknowledged Shivaji's note and said that it was the Raja who first broke relations with him and that the peace which he now asked for was entirely in his hands. He reminded him that he had at his disposal many fleets of which he was the commander.

Another letter of the same date from the Viceroy informed Shivaji that Ramaji Shenvi Kothari was being sent for a conference with him. This ambassador after the conference returned with a letter from Shivaji to the Viceroy. The latter replied to it on 27th (17) November 1667 to the effect that he had learnt from Kothari that the Raja was anxious to preserve the old relations of friendship which were broken by the irruption of the Marathas into Bardes and that it rested entirely with him to see that the old friendship was not disturbed.

As a result of this letter, Shivaji sent Sacopanta (Sakho pant) as his ambassador to Goa. The Viceroy entered into a treaty with him and to this he referred in a letter addressed to Shivaji on 5th December (26 Nov.) 1667. He wrote that Sacopanta entered into a treaty with him and conducted himself wisely and well. He was sending on his behalf Rev. Pe. Goncalo Martins, formerly ambassador at the court of King Adil Shah.

In another letter of the same date, i. e., 26th November 1667 which he sent to Shivaji with Rev. Padre Goncalo Martins, he recounted the great abilities of his own deputee whom he was sending to bring back with him the treaty signed by Shivaji Raje. Rev. Martins returned with the treaty confirmed by Shivaji on 11th (1st) December 1667.[1]

17. First treaty between Shivaji and the Viceroy 1667

A treaty of peace was concluded between the Portuguese Viceroy and Shivaji on the 5th (26 Nov.) of December. It was confirmed by the Raja on 11th (1st) December and bears his seal. The terms of the treaty were:—

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 18.

1. "That he, Shivaji Raje will restore at once and in good friendship, without any fraud and ransom all the arrested captains, men, women and children whom he had carried away from Bardes where he entered on the 9th of November 1667, and also all the cattle and bullocks belonging to the subjects of the King of Portugal.

Men and goods to be restored by Shivaji.

2. Lacumo Saunto (Lakham Savant) and Quesoa Naigue, (Kesho Naik), both vassals of Bijapur, who are refugees in the Portuguese territory, will be notified not to be hostile to Shivaji Raje or his subjects: if they do anything to the contrary and if it is known to the Viceroy, he will send them away from his lands; and likewise if the dessais from Shivaji's territory do any mischief to the Portuguese subjects, they should be treated similarly. The same to be understood with regard to Narba Saunto (Narayan Savant) and Mallu Sinay (Malla Shenvi) who were in the Portuguese territory and who, to avoid disorders in future shall stay in the city of Goa and not in Salsete or Bardes. The Portuguese will expatriate any dessai who shall give trouble.

Mischievous Dessais to be checked.

3. That the merchandise and vehicles which came from Balaghat to Goa, should not be molested or detained; likewise all the merchandise and carts from Goa, Salsete and Bardes may proceed to Balaghat or to any other part, in Shivaji's territory paying the usual fee, even if there is war between Shivaji and King Adil Shah, as free trade is for the common good of all the parties.

Free trade between Balaghat and Goa.

4. That there should be firm and good friendship between both the parties by sea and land. If any hostility is done by either party, he should first inform the Viceroy and the latter to Shivaji Raje, and without first having this satisfaction, they are not to break off friendship and peace."

Amicable settlement of all differences.

18. The second treaty in February 1670

A letter from the Viceroy dated 19th (9) December 1667, acknowledged the receipt of the terms of the treaty and assured Shivaji that he was sending orders that the Dessais should not leave the Portuguese territory and also that the Portuguese should not interfere with the ports and lands in the occupation of the Maratha King. The orders were actually sent, but in spite of these orders, the Dessais continued to create trouble in the Maratha territory. The result was that they were finally expelled from the Portuguese territory on 8th June (29 May) 1668 and Shivaji was informed of this fact by the Viceroy.[1] Lakham Savant, on being expelled from Goa, accepted to be a vassal of Shivaji and since then there was no trouble from that quarter. But it appears that on 18th (8) May 1668 the Viceroy wrote a letter to Aurangzeb in which he offered him naval co-operation against Shivaji.[2] However, as there was a lull in Shivaji's conquering activities up to the end of the rainy season of 1669, no hostilities could be expected between the two powers. As soon as Shivaji laid siege to Janjira[3] in 1669, the Portuguese were ready to assist the Siddi. There was also a short naval skirmish[4] off Daman between Shivaji and the Portuguese. Danvers[5] says that in October 1670 the Maratha fleet captured a large Portuguese ship which they took to Dabhol, but the Portuguese captured twelve Maratha galliots, and carried them into Basseen. The Portuguese had only retaliated on Shivaji who in Nov. 1669 had made prize of several vessels, while they could take only one of his ships which was coming from the Gulf of Persia.[6] However, peace was restored by a fresh treaty[7] concluded on 10th February (31st Jan.) 1670. It should be noted that Shivaji very cleverly played upon the fears of the Portuguese by intimating to them that

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji, Pp. 24–23.
2. Sen's Preliminary Report. P. 10,
3–4–7. See pages, 310–16; 306 supra.
5. The Portuguese in India, Vol. II. P. 367. F. R. Surat Vol. 105, 17 Dec. 1670.
6. E. F. 1667–69. P. 244.

the Imam of Muscat had proposed to him an offensive and defensive alliance against them, but that he had refused the overtures in view of his friendship with them.

Portuguese quarrels with Shivaji and the Arabs.

" If the Mogull be in earnest, we thinke the Portugulls are in noe condition to withstand him, espetially considering the embroiles they are allready engaged in with the Arrabs and Savagee; but the grave proceedings of these Eastern princes in matters of disputes, and espetially in warlike attempts, gives us reason to thinke they will both well consider of it. But let the successe be what it will between them, we little concerne ourselves with what the Mogull can doe against Bombay. Some little disturbance we expect at Surratt, which, now your ships are dispeeded, will not lye very heavy to your prejudice; and wee doubt not but patience and prudent manadgment will secure your estate and trade from any rough encounter. " [1]

19. Shivaji's success in 1671

Not less interesting is the information sent by the Viceroy, Luis de Mendonca Furtado, to His Majesty of Portugal on 3rd October (23 Sept.) 1671 on the brilliant victories of Shivaji. It runs as follows:—

" King Ali Idalxa is very near to this city of Goa, and its islands, Salsete and Bardes. He keeps peace with our Eastate, but his captains despise the same, as he is not a legitimate successor to the throne. It is now some years that Shivaji Raje has come out and subjected to his obedience all the territories from port Chaul to Sanqueline. He is so audacious that he has even entered the Mogul territories and plundered and destroyed some of the Mogul ports. One of them is Surat where the English, the Dutch and the French have their factories. He also brings forth a big armada by sea. I have a letter from Henry Gary of Bombay in which he says that the Great Mogul, having felt the insult of Shivaji entering three times in his territories, was sending a large number of cavalry and infantry to punish him " [2]

1. E. F. 1668. P. 209. O. C. 3405.
2. Fissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 35.

20. The expulsion of the Portuguese from India

The hostilities did not cease with the second treaty even. According to Danvers, Shivaji " appears to have been impressed with the idea of driving the Portuguese out of India, and he lost no opportunity of molesting them. After having gained a decisive victory over a Mughal army in 1672, Sivaji possessed himself of several places in the Northern Konkan, and he threatened to drive the Portuguese from the coast unless they paid him tribute. From the vicinity of his army it was expected that he would attack the forts of Daman and Bassein. An attempt was made by a party of Shivaji's troops to surprise the small fort of Goribandar, on the island of Salsette, but they were repulsed. " [1] This statement is besed upon a letter of the Bombay Council to the Company (Pp. 295-6 *supra*).

The Bombay Government too was alarmed by the Maratha attempt to capture Ghorbunder.

" Ordered that Mayhim, Siam and Moehum be forthwith fortified, the present necessity requireing the same by reason of Sevagees takeing the Cooley country and attempting Ghorbundar soe neer Bombay, and that Colonel Herman Bake be appointed overseer of the work." [2]

The Council of Bombay had begun to take early steps for the defence of the Island against Shivaji.

" We gladly read your Honrs. &a. are building two Frigates for the guard of this port; they will be very usefull and redound much to the credit of the port. " [3]

" For Suratt and all the country adjacent is in so perplexed a condition by means of Sivagees incursions even to this very hour; we shall be forced to discontinue our trade there for some time. We are also building another small frigate, for the security of your port there is even an absolute necessity of maintaining a reputation at sea which cannot be done, but by a considerable strength to secure your port and convoy your merchants ships in

1. The Portuguese in India, Vol, II. Pp. 367-8; O. C. 3649. 12 July 1672.
2. F. R. Mis. Vol. 2, P. 139. 22nd June 1672.
3. Orme Mss. 114, 1 15th December 1671.

order whereunto so soon as we can secure timber and other materials we may be persuaded to build two or three brigantines more and we beseech your Honrs. not to charge us with extravagancy in putting you to this expence, for as we determine nothing without serious and deliberate debate, so we trust in God to continue you that whatever we shall act will prove to your Honors advantage.[1]

"Our Hon. Masters have ordered several frigates to be built for the great honour and security of this your port, and we understanding from good hands they may be built cheaper and light with you, we think good to order that you go in hand with a couple and let them be very light to row and built after the Mallabar fashion, for we would build them at *Surat* but by experience, we find *their work is so strong and heavy*, that we do not think of building any more there."[2]

"Anto De Melo (the Viceroy of Goa) is arrived at Bassein having made a truce with the Arabs for 6 months; it is also reported that the Armada from Surat have had a brush with Sevagees forces, but we do not hear the success; we have not else at present, but remain &c."[3]

"We are in treaty with the Vice Roy of Goa, touching opening the Passes of Tannah and Caraja (Carinjah)- two of the Companys servants being sent thither to offer some proposals to the new Vice Roy about it; which wee trust in God will have a happy eschew."[4]

21. European league against Shivaji

The following extracts will show that the English thought it necessary for their own safety to help the Portuguese in their wars against Shivaji.

"The second proposal may probably give you matter of thought and scruple, as if that by assisting the Portuguese in case of war with the Mogull or Sevagee we should involve your trade engaged in several parts of India in some danger, which indeed it would certainly do, should we rashly and imprudently embroil ourselves in a league offensive and defensive with them in any publick breach.

1-2. Orme Mss. Vol. II, p. 39. 12th July 1672.
3-4. Orme Mss. Vol. II. Pp. 3-9, 9th November 1672; 21st December 1672.

By land they (the Portuguese) are our bucler against the invasions of the Mogull and Sivagee, and theirs by sea, and if ever the Mogull or Sevagee should attempt to besiege them by land or invade any of their territories or islands, common prudence will persuade us to aid. ....." [1]

Since the negotiations to get the Thana and Karinja passes open for free trade with Bombay failed, the English turned against the Portuguese.

" And in truth your island hath no greater enemies at present than our neighbours the Portuguese and we pray you not to depend on any good issue from our application at Goa. " [2]

The trade of the country was heavily suffering from the continued wars, and the English records have left vivid descriptions of such losses and inconveniences.

" In regard there was no buying and selling, the very name of trade being, as it were, forgot through the continued wars on the main.

But if you can contrive it so that he will take the remainder that is here or at Cullean or Bunda, I judge we may from thence transport it to Arungabaud or other places, but I consider this may (can) not be done so long as Sivagee has his arms abroad and is master of those countries; wherefore the difficulties now seemed greater to me than before.

I pray do not possess yourself with melancholy thoughts that the Hon. Company may take advantage, if any detriment should accrue from the troubles of Sivagee or other accidents by your not selling.

(For as to) Sivagees troubles assure yourself that whenever you sell, that one article of the contract will be that the Company must secure the goods against Sivagees assaults. " [3]

22. Amicable relations with the Portuguese in 1673-4

The naval expedition of the Mogul fleet against the port towns of Shivaji in October 1672 has been previously described (Pp. 317-19 *supra*). The Portuguese Captain of Chaul sent

1. O. C 3722; Orme Mss. 114, II, P. 20. 21st December 1672.
2. Orme Mss, 114, II, 11th January 1673.
3. Orme Mss, 114, II, 21st December 1672 and 20th December 1672.

an account of it as well as of the pourparlers with the Raja's envoy in his letter of 5th January 1673 (26 Dec. 1672) to the Viceroy of Goa,

"Sir, I have already informed your Excellency how the armada which came to Surat to help the Siddi of Danda burnt Dabul and sacked it and burnt the armada of Shivaji in Quelecy (Kelsi) and eight big vessels and they did this in almost all the expeditions and they devastated the coast and occupied themselves in this for some days without raising the siege of the fort. Due to this devastation and plunder, all the people from Chaul and higher up betook themselves to the jurisdiction of this city. As it was rumoured that I had asked the Siddi not to do any harm to the neighbourhood and since all who came for help were well treated, Shivaji and his secretary and subedar wrote to me thanking me for the favour done to these people to whom I replied that I did nothing but keep the terms of the peace signed between Shivaji and the State and that no other motive moved me. After this reply, Shivaji sent a Brahmin ambassador of his Government and his great personal physician who came to tell me that Shivaji wished to avail himself of my help for he had found that the Portuguese stood by all those who sought their aid and that he affectionately threw himself at my feet, and that he had issued orders to give me the Government of higher Chaul and the territory round about. He placed his officers at my disposal. I replied that I could not fail to give him that help which the Government were accustomed to give all those who sought their help, but as I am by birth the subject of His Majesty the King of Portugal and now by appointment his servant what H. M. should order through the Viceroy or Governor of this State, I would obey.

Losses inflicted by the Siddi.

The officer is offered the Government of Maratha Chaul.

The ambassador continued that he made this offer on account of the esteem between me and his subjects and he wanted to show to his officers the regard he had for the Portuguese and as a satisfaction for some unreasonable thing which these officers had done. He wished to put them under my disposal;. I replied to him that I

Sailors and gunners asked for from the Portuguese.

wanted nothing, that if he were a friend of the State, his ministers should show it. If he were an enemy, he would declare himself so to the Viceroy. We would treat him as such. Without accepting any of these or many other offers, I told him that the treaties should be drawn with Your Excellency as you are the master of the State, I was only a captain of this fort. He took note of this and went. He asked me for sailors as the Siddi, he said, wished to surrender the Fort to the Moguls and we know well what bad neighbours they were; they converted to their religion all the Kaffirs that went there. He was asking me for men and gunners for his army, to which I replied that I would not have given any, even if I had them, for only the Viceroy could do it and that he would have recourse to Your Excellency and that Your Excellency would pass orders. He urged me much but I told him that these things like peace and war were within the sole province of Your Excellency. On this point, they wished through the interpreter to tempt me with grand promises and said that he had no time to send any one to Goa. I firmly declined to accede to his requests and said nothing would be done without Your Excellency's orders. To protect his people was presently in my hands, for that was ordered by Your Excellency and that within our limits, the Siddis would not show any hostility and that though the Portuguese had received many insults at the hands of Shivaji, they would not take revenge nor seek satisfaction elsewhere as they were best able to take care of themselves.

After this, the physician returned after two days with the same letter of credence to speak to me that Shivaji being informed of my good treatment of his subjects ordered him to offer me all the presents, I might accept and mentioned a large sum of money with other specific gifts. I replied that Shivaji need not be surprised at the friendship and treatment meted out by me. The envoy continued that Shivaji desired to have my friendship and this was his reason why he made this offer and that he asked me to allow his ships to enter this port. I replied that I would not do anything of the kind and if by chance he should enter this port, I would consider them trespassers for sailing without pass-ports of Your Excellency and that they should provide them-

Presents offered to the Chaul officer.

Maratha ships refused admission in Chaul

selves with these and then would obtain shelter. The said physician informed me that Shivaji wanted to make himself a vassal of His Highness, for he had learnt that others had done the same and on finding the Portuguese disposed to protect him, he would send someone to Goa to treat about this with your Excellency. He asked me for a letter to this effect so that his ambassador could take it and be received well and get a favourable reply from his Excellency. I could not deny him this on account of the importunity with which he asked, but I signified to him the little effect it would have. He also asked me for my intercession in their petition, which I did not agree to. He said that Shivaji has many people and much money, etc. I give account of all this to Your Excellency who will know of the matter when the envoy reaches there. He asked me to write urgently about the matter and I could not write about it more briefly." [1]

Shivaji willing to become a Portuguese vassal.

The Viceroy was highly rejoiced at Shivaji's offers and sent a copy of the letter to the King of Portugal who advised him to be cautious with regard to Shivaji in the following letter.

"Having seen what you have written in your letter of 19th January 1673, by which you informed me of the condition to which you have reduced Shivaji without waging war, about his being forced to offer to the Captain of Chaul the government of Chaul and to be the vassal of the State, I think it advisable to tell you to be careful regarding the designs of Shivaji. You should treat with him with all caution and diligence, necessary for the safety of this State without neglect, attending also to the insolence with which he treats friends and enemies alike without keeping faith with anyone.

Written in Lisbon, 26th (16) June 1674 by the Prince. It appears that the Prince was right."[2]

23. Threat of war on conversions in 1675

In 1675 Shivaji stormed the fortress of Phonda and captured all the territory belonging to the King of Bijapur in Konkan. The

1. Shivaji Souvenir. Pp. 130–132.
2. Shivaji Souvenir. Pp. 132–33.

Portuguese being mightly alarmed at the growth of Shivaji's power, secretly supplied provisions and ammunition to the besieged Muslems in Phonda, and even lent aid to the rulers of Sunda and Bednur. Hence Shivaji desired to punish the Portuguese for a breach of neutrality and friendship.[1] Shivaji is described as inflicting more loss upon the Portuguese than what they do to the English.[2]

Secondly, the Jesuit Padres were converting Hindu orphans into Christians. Shivaji who had taken upon himself the holy task of defending the Hindu faith from all foreign aggressions, threatened a war against Goa.

A Bombay letter of 26th November 1675 to London speaks of Shivaji's quarrels with the Portuguese for their converting Hindus into Christians.

"Sevagee, and they daily quarrell, the chiefest cause of his hatred to them being for forcing orphans of his cast to turn Roman Catholicks; there hath alsoe of late happened some disputes amongst themselves on the same account, the Captain Generall of Basseen taking the part of some Orphans against the Jesuits, and forceing said Jesuits to restore to said Orphans a considerable estate which they had been possessed off many yeares which they highly resented, one dispute brought on another, and their quarrels increased daily. At last some of the Inhabitants belonging to one of the great Dons Towns, flying to the Jesuits for succor, the Capt. Generall sent to demand them, they deny'd to deliver them up, the Generall incensed fyred one of their Towns and Burned about 6 or 8 houses. The Padres make noe resistance but fly to their Pens, hope to gett him excommunicated from Rome, and so at present remayne quiet."[3]

The Portuguese took measures to fortify Goa against Shivaji[4] who had captured the famous town of Narora from them;

1. Pp. 138–142 supra. 14th April and 20 April 1675.
2. Pp. 142 supra. 31 May 1675.
3. B. P. Unav. Vol. 7, Pp. 1–3. O. C. 4139.
4. P. 146 *supra*.

but they were temporarily relieved of the anxiety on account of the defeat of the Maratha armada by the Mogul fleet off Vingurla.[1]

A main cause of the rapid growth of Bombay was this religious persecution of the Portuguese. In their letter of 24th January 1677 to London, the Bombay Council leave this note on record:

"Wee can attribute it to nothing but the justice, freedome, and security people injoy here above other places, many familes of Bramins dayly leaving the Portuguese territories and repaire hither frighted by the Padrees, who upon the death of any person forces all his children to be Christians; and even some of the chiefest who still live at Bassin and others build them houses here, therein placing their wives and children against a time of danger." [2]

The Dutch Diary of 31st (21) May 1676, refers to reports from Wingurla to the effect that "the Portuguese in Goa were active in strengthening their defences on all sides against the victorious robber Siwaji, although the Viceroy seemed to keep up a secret correspondence with him. According to the order of the King of Portugal, the Viceroy of Goa had despatched 3 armoured boats with 200 soldiers to Mosambique in order to capture the newly-discovered silver mines at Quilamana. They were also equipping another fleet for the Persian Gulf. It is thought that as the nobles of Visiapour who are quarrelling amongst themselves, have achieved nothing against Siwasi, but are in correspondence with him, the Mogul (very much dissatisfied with this) might take up arms against Visiapour. A Mogol fleet of 6 yachts and 11 frigates plundered Wingurla and the environs on the 20th November 1675 and drove back to the land Siwasi's governor and forces. The Company's quarters and men did not suffer any injury. After this there was also a battle with Siwasi's fleet, which was also completely routed. The Moguls and the Moors of Visiapour think that this will end Siwasi's power (also because he is in serious want of money.") [3]

By May Shivaji had brought the Portuguese to such extremities that they could not dare deny or oppose his passage to Surat

1. Pp. 166-7 supra.
2. Forrest's H. S. I. Pp. 120-121.
3. Dagh Register 1676. P. 110.

through their dominions. It was further reported that Shivaji had "procured a free passage for his army through the Portugal country, and the liberty to settle his people at Umbassoree and Daman."[1]

It appears that Sambhaji was sent on an expedition against Goa in November 1676, but the young Prince had to return without inflicting much loss on the Portuguese.[2]

The quarrel between the Portuguese and Shivaji appears to have continued up to the end of January 1677, since according to the report of Bombay to Surat, trade with the inland country was stopped.[3]

24. The capture of two Maratha vessels in 1678

The Portuguese continued to enforce their naval supremacy by requiring oriental ships to buy a Portuguese permit for every voyage. The vessels which did not hold such passes, were captured on the sea and treated as legal prizes. Shivaji had conceded to the Portuguese their right of giving passes in his treaty with them in 1670, though all small boats, employed in the coasting trade, were exempted from taking such passes. (Pp. 313-15 *supra*). In spite of this treaty, the Portuguese officers captured two Maratha vessels in 1678. Tanaji Ram, Havaldar of Vingurla, who demanded the restoration of a Manchua, captured by the Portuguese, was replied to in a letter of 12th March (2) 1678 that the vessel was captured as it did not carry a pass, but in view of the friendship and amity that existed between the Portuguese state and Shivaji Raze, the vessel was ordered to be restored. Tanaji Ram was further informed that henceforth Shivaji's subjects, as long as they remained in the Portuguese territory, would have nothing but friendly treatment. On the 23rd (13) May 1678, Pitambar Shenvi was informed in reply to a similar application for the restoration of a Parangue that he ought to know that no vessel could navigate the Indian Ocean without a *Cartaz* (pass) from the Portuguese.[4]

1. Surat to Bombay 27 May 1676.
2. Pp. 168; 173-4 supra. 28 Nov. and 16 Dec. 1676.
3. Orme Mss. 114. VI, 16th January 1677.
4. Sen's Historical Records at Goa. P. 19.

25. Prevention of raids on the Maratha territory-1678

It appears that some bands of robbers from the Portuguese territory began to harass the coast under the jurisdiction of Shivaji in 1678. The latter made an emphatic protest to the Portuguese Governor who sent the following reply:—

"Received Your Highness's letter and rejoiced to find it accompanied by the excellent news of Your Highness's health and every time I shall get them, the greater will be my satisfaction. In the same letter Your Highness acquaints me with the desire that the good relation and friendship that now subsists between the vassals of Your Highness and those of His Majesty the Prince my master may continue. I am not less anxious that this friendship should be preserved and should for ever increase, as I have demonstrated on all occasions afforded by the Captains of Your Highness. Your Highness has written me that some malefactors from our jurisdiction go over to that of Your Highness to commit robbery and other misdeeds. My diligence to prevent this injury and the orders I have passed on the subject are well-known to the Subedar of Bichely, and it cannot be that I have sanctioned it and permitted so bad a thing that is of no use but a disturbance to the State. It is a fact that at times the negligence of the Captians is the (real) cause of such excesses. For times I have often advised them to get some of these malefactors arrested, so that they might be tortured to confess (and betray) their companions to be punished in an exemplary manner, or to inform immediately and send a messenger to the Captain nearest our territories, so that he may go in pursuit of the band of persons from these territories, in order that they might be identified, etc." [1]

26. Chauth-claims from Daman villages

A new Viceroy was appointed in that year. The Conde de Assumar arrived at Goa on 18th October 1677,[2] but after a short stay here, he left for Mozambique on the 17th January 1678.[3] Dr. Sen has discovered a letter of December (22nd Nov. Eng.) 1677 from this Viceroy addressed to Sambhaji Raje wherein the Governor informed the latter of his safe arrival at the capital. On that very day Girmaji Pandit, the Subedar of Bicholy on behalf of the

1, Sen's Historical Records at Goa. Pp. 12, 17,

2-3. Ten days should be added to get the Portuguese dates.

Maratha state, was also informed that Shivaji's envoy, Pitamber Shenwi, could visit Goa as often as he liked. On the 10th of January (31st Dec. 1677), the Viceroy addressed the following letter to Shivaji:

" Pitambar Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, gave me a memorial on certain negotiations that some letters were delivered to the Viceroy, my predecessor, to which he had given no reply, for he was occupied with some business. I immediately ordered a diligent search for them in the Secretariat and shall try to ascertain the particulars of which they treated, so that I may confer with Your Highness. Now the said envoy has delivered to me the much esteemed letter of Your Highness, in which Your Highness expresses satisfaction at my arrival, informing me of success achieved by your arms which delighted me much, also it deserves the excellent friendship that Your Highness had with this State, and Your Highness may be certain of the continuance of the good relation that should exist between us without any speech on my part, as the Prince my master recommended to me. Your Highness asks me to write to the Captains of the fortresses of Bassein and Daman that they should pay to Your Highness the Chouth that has always been paid to the Choutia, because Your Highness is now in possession of his territories. I order the said captains to inform me about this matter, as till now I have no information, regarding this negotiation, having arrived here only a few days ago. In reply I shall write to Your Highness to send a person with authority to make a settlement with the people I nominate, after examining the terms of the contract by which the said Chouth was settled and with which it is conceded. Your Highness should be positive that, it being clear that Your Highness is absolute * * * there should not be any doubt as to what we paid to the said Choutia, shall be paid to Your Highness. Whatever else Your Highness tells me in his letter, I observe to Your Highness that the Portuguese are better as friends than as enemies, and as Your Highness is so wise, we should consider these things with care, so that friendship may be preserved and augmented between us. Your Highness will always find in me a

Claim of chauth from Daman territories.

faithful friend. May God illuminate the person of Your Highness in His grace. Goa, 10th January 1678." [1]

Two more letters were written on the same date. One was addressed to Annaji Datto, the Surnis Subedar of the territories of Konkan, and the other was to the Peshwa and Pradhan of Shivaji Raje, wherein a reply similar to the above was given regarding the demand of the Chauth. At the same time, an assurance was given for instituting enquiries about the justice of the Maratha claims. Moro Pandit was also requested to depute an envoy to confer with the Portuguese officers with necessary power to settle the question.

Another letter was written to Girmaji Pandit, assuring him that enquires would be made regarding the complaints made by him. A second letter was written by the Viceroy to Shivaji on the 15th (5) of January 1678 to the following effect:—

"I have already written to Your Highness a letter, in response to two of yours, which I delivered to Pitamber Sinay, Your Highness's envoy. I thought it proper to write this letter to offer my thanks to Your Highness for the demonstration with which Your Highness welcomed my arrival, which I shall reciprocate with loyal friendship, preserving for ever the (good relation) that Your Highness has with this State. Your Highness will exprerience throughout the whole period of my administration as well by the special affection that I have for Your Highness, for I had already heard much of your great qualities, while I was yet in Portugal, with great earnestness with which I was charged by the Prince my master. As regards the business on which the above-mentioned envoy came, I shall order to answer Your Highness with all possible brevity, as Your Highness sees on this letter. The above-mentioned envoy will be able to assure Your Highness of the good will that he finds in me and the expedition that I have given to the letters. I ordered to be written to Moro Pandito aud Anagi Pandito in reply to those of theirs and to the Captains of the fort-

Enquiry regarding chauth.

1. Sen's Historical Records at Goa, P. 14.

resses of the North to inform me with all veracity about the particulars of which I asked them, to make enquiry regarding the Chouth and their answer I shall send to Your Highness. In the said letters, I have ordained them to have good relations and amity with the Subedars of Your Highness and not to permit in our lands the malefactors of the Coolies and Choutia, so that they may not create disturbance or commit robberies in the territories of Your Highness. I expect Your Highness will also on your part ordain the said subedars to have the same relations and good amity with the said Captains, so that there may not be between us any occasion for resentment or grievance. May God illumine the person of Your Highness in His grace. Dom P. Almeida."

Discontents from Jauhar and Ramnagar not to be permitted.

After the departure of the said Viceroy, the Portuguese territory was administered by two commissioners. One of them, Antonio Paes de Sande sent a letter to Pitamber Shenwi on 12th (2) July 1678.

"We have received the letters that Pitamber Sheinvi wrote to me and to the Archbishop Primate, in which he represented to me that he came to this city in connection with the subject of the payment of Chouth of the territories of Daman that used to be paid to the king Choutia.[1]

The Viceroy Dom Pedro d'Almeida answered him that he would send for information (on this subject) from the Captain General of the North and from that of the fortress of Daman, and when the said information came he would advise Sivaji Raze to send a person with authority to settle this business with the said Captains after examining the terms under which the said Chouth was created, but the said advice had not come and the decision that was expected has been delayed. To this my answer is that the cause of this delay arose from the embarcation of the said Viceroy for Mozambique, and on that account the said Captains neglected to send the information he asked of them. It was not necessary to inform you that this state is not tributary to any neighbouring King. As,

The decision delayed.

1. Sen's Historical Records at Goa. P. 16.

however, I desire to preserve peace and amity with Sivaji, I do not take any notice and pretend to be ignorant of the information that the said Captains gave me. However, from the received information it is clear that the said Chouth had its origin in the convenant that the villagers of the district of Daman, made of their own initiative with the King Choutia, without informing the past Viceroys and Governors to avoid the loss and robbery that his subjects used to commit in those villages. From that covenant a contract has been solemnised with various conditions that were to operate between them, and I have no doubt that in conformity with them the said Chouth will be paid to Shivaji Raze, as it was paid to the King Choutia, as I am told in his letters that he is in possession of his (Choutia's) kingdom. To settle this business Pitamber Shenvi may advise Sivaji Raje to send on his behalf a person with proper authority, for I write here upon this subject, after consulting the Captain of the fortress of Daman and examining the terms under which the inhabitants of the said villages subjected themselves to the payment of the said Chouth. The consideration of this affair is entrusted to the judges deputed for it, so that the said villagers are heard and the common law and known custom relating to the Chouth are considered, the final decision of this is that I, on my part, do not lack the desire of seeing his claim decided, so that our friendship may go on increasing."[1]

Origin of the chauth.

The preceding document is full of important and interesting information on the origin of *Chauth*. It is evident that *the system of levying the chauth was not introduced by Shivaji, but was in existence long before his rise to power*. It was collected by the King of Ramnagar from the villagers of Daman, and he was styled 'Choutia' (Chauthia) for that reason. We learn from Danvers that in 1615 a treaty of peace was concluded by Gonzalo Pinto da Fonseca at Daman, between the Portuguese and King Chauthia, with whom there had been some differences on account of the latter having laid claim to certain lands which were also held to belong to the Portuguese territory.[2] It is evident that the

1. Sen's Historical Records at Goa. Pp. 17-18.
2. Portuguese in India, Vol. II. P. 177.

Raja of Ramnagar must have earned the title of Chauthia long before this treaty (Manucci II, 132). Antonio Bocarro spoke of the origin of this Chauth in his celebrated work written in 1634 thus:—

" Four or five leagues from Daman, there has risen a strong man who can put into the field more than 600 horse. This man or king has some ' pension ' in our lands called ' Chouto, ' which was paid to him *long before the Portuguese came over here*, and we continued to pay the same and about it there are now quarrels on both sides. " [1]

It must have been noticed that the Chauth which was paid before as tribute by the people from the beginning of the 16th century at least, has been called ' pension ' here by the Portuguese. But the change of designation does not alter its character. It was paid as the price of peace and for immunity from Maratha raids. Shivaji borrowed the system from Ramnagar, and never molested those who agreed to pay this tribute to him and thus to acknowledge his sovereignty.

After having conquered the major part of the kingdom of Ramnagar, Shivaji demanded from the Portuguese Government the payment of the Chauth which was before paid to his predecesors, the Chauthia Kings. For this purpose Shivaji sent to Goa his ambassador, Pitambar Shenvi. This man went there in 1677 with letters to the Viceroy from Shivaji as well as from his Prime Minister, Moro Pandit Peshwa. [2]

Although the Chauth means $\frac{1}{4}$th part of the produce of the land, it was in actual practice reduced to $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{17}$, or any amount which could be agreed to by the people and the Maratha raiders. Whatever the actual proportion of this payment, the denomination of Chauth has continued for this kind of a levy throughout the period of Maratha supremacy.

27. Shivaji, the Atila of India

The succeeding document indicates in a clear and precise manner that the Portuguese were invited by the English of Bombay to enter into a war with Shivaji when the latter had

1. Portuguese in India, Vol. II, Pp. 177-178.
2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 42.

fortified the island of Khanderi. In this letter from Pais de Sande, dated 24th (14) January of 1680, Shivaji is designated 'the Atila of India.'

"Shivaji had taken possession of all the lands which surrounded our estate from Daman to Goa.....It is the cunning, determination and bravery of this new Atila of India that he not only maintains a defensive but an offensive war...plundering and burning all wherever he goes. In the last month of November, he tried to fortify some little islands about 2 leagues distant from Chaul and as many from Bombay. The English will look after themselves. As for me, on the very first advice, I have informed the General of Northern Fortifications Joao de Melo de Sampayo, not to fight with Shivaji, if the English wished us to do so. If they invited us to this effect (as they did), they should be informed that the estate was at peace with Shivaji...but at the same time you should give help, munitions and similar things to the English and in no way to disfavour or oppose the intents of Shivaji too."[1]

The Portuguese did really maintain this position of apparent neutrality and were firm in not permitting Shivaji's armies to pass through their territory for an attack on Bombay.

28. Chauth-negotiations protracted to 1680

The negotiations on the payment of the Chauth were prolonged up to the death of Shivaji. No envoy was promptly appointed after the death of Pitamber Shenvi. The Governor complained to Shivaji that the absence of such an officer stood in the way of the prompt transmission of letters, and hence a new minister should be soon appointed. There was deputed in his place on 18th July and 26th August 1678 Jivaji Shenvi, his grandson, and afterwards Ganesh Sethi, as the representatives of Shivaji with the Portuguese Viceroy, while in December Raghunath Shenvi Kothari was sent as a Portuguese ambassador to Shivaji. In reply to a letter which Ganesh Sethi carried with him to the Viceroy on the subject of paying up Chauth, the latter wrote to Shivaji a letter on 20th (10) March 1679 saying that he was unable to enter into the question of the payment of the Chauth by some villages under the jurisdiction of Daman, which were once subject to the

1. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. P. 50.

Raja Chauthia over whose possessions Shivaji had lately declared his overlordship, unless he ordered the release of the Portuguese vessels detained by his officials in violation of their treaty rights and existing friendship.

"Pitamber Shenvi, the envoy of Your Highness, discussed this subject in this city with the Viceroy Pedro d'Almeida, and after his departure and after I had succeeded him in this Government, I solicited Your Highness as a friend to settle (this question) and to send, to that end, a person on your behalf with all necessary power to treat of the form and conditions of payment. For this contribution was paid by some villages of the said Daman under certain conditions to be observed by the two parties, in which this State did not otherwise participate except in giving them that permission. All these have been shown in the letter I wrote to the said envoy to be presented to Your Highness. I now remit to Your Highness a copy of that letter, so that it may be seen that I have not in any way failed in the observance and preservation of peace and amity and in offering good will to Your Highness.

Things pursued this course, but Your Highness and your minister failed on your part (in this respect) by capturing, against public faith, while in peace and amity, the vessels and goods of merchants of this city who went under our banner of the Armada of the North and were assembled in the river Zamqurzara (Sangameswar?) in a port of a friendly Prince. I wrote to Your Highness on this subject and Your Highness gave a reply that I had been wrongly informed. It was a falsehood to assert that the vessels entered your port, for the truth was that the Arabs were cruising (?) in the sea where Your Highness had no jurisdiction, neither has Your Highness any jurisdiction over the Portuguese or the Arabs."[1]

It appears that Shivaji declined to restore the ships demanded from him, and was preparing for an attack on the Portuguese territory. The Viceroy, on the other hand, was also making preparations for a war, but these were suspended on receipt of the news of Shivaji's death. The Portuguese Government hastened to offer Sambhaji their condolence and assured him of their friendship.[2]

1. Sen's Historical Records at Goa. Pp. 21–22. Viceroy's letter to Rayagi Pandito. 8th May (27th April) 1680.

2. Pissurlencar's Shivaji. Pp. 45—46.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Last Phase

1. Passing away of the great king

It has been seen that up to the close of the year 1679 Shivaji was dealing knock-down blows to the Mogul Empire by his plundering expeditions in such distant parts as Jalna, Dharangaon, Chhapra and Barhanpur. Even Aurangabad, the capital of the Mogul Deccan, was plundered and burnt down. Prince Muazzam, the Viceroy of the Deccan, could not save the metropolis from the Maratha marauders, and had the mortification of seeing this first city of the Southern Empire utterly ruined. The Maratha navy was successfully defending the rocky island of Khanderi against the fleets of the English and the Siddi. Then the inhabitants of Surat were struck with consternation at the news of the advancing army of Shiva. But this scourge of the Moguls was suddenly taken ill at the end of March, 1680.

Orme has given the story that Shivaji suddenly left Rairi with a picked detachment of cavalry to intercept a large amount of treasure which was being conveyed to Aurangabad. He fell upon the convoy within a few miles of Barhanpur, siezed the whole treasure, and brought it with forced marches to Raigad. The excessive strain prostrated Shivaji by causing an inflammation in his breast and the spitting of blood. The authority for these statements is not given by the distinguished historian. Neither the Bakhars nor the foreign sources available to us support Orme's account. Up to the end of February Shivaji was himself busy in going through the festivities of peace with Bijapur, while his general Moro Pant was carrying on an offensive war against the Moguls. On 7th March the Raja performed the ceremony of investing his youngest son Rajaram with the sacred thread, and a week later the young prince was married to Janakibai, a daughter of the late commander-in-chief, Prataprao Gujar.[1] Before his

1. Shivaji Vol II. P. 213: J. Shak.; Sen, Siva Chh. 148.

death the Raja was confined to bed for at least twelve days. Hence there was no time left for him to make a dash to Barhanpur and return to Rairi. The stress and strain of such a life as Shivaji's must tell upon a man of a Herculean constitution. His health broke down through natural causes in his 50th year, and after a short period of illness the great king passed away from the glorious scenes of his activities.

2. The death-bed scene

The Raja is said to have prophetically spoken of the coming events in the Deccan. He clearly foresaw that the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda had been weakened to such an extent that these would soon fall an easy prey to the forces of Aurangzeb. Their destruction would hasten the end of the Maratha Empire, but through the superhuman efforts of the generals and statesmen trained under the magnetic and inspiring personality of Shivaji himself, his kingdom would Phoenix-like rise from its very ashes. After thus exhorting his captains and administrators, Shivaji made liberal donations to Brahmins and institutions. He then went through the religious solemnities with a cheerful spirit, and with a deep devotion sought all the solace which these rites could administer. He looked upon this event with stoic indifference, and manfully prepared himself for breathing his last. His pallid and emaciated features were lit up by a radiant expression of the coming bliss. Though all were overpowered with emotion, he himself was for a time solemnly absorbed in deep meditation, and then calmly and serenely breathed out his spirit into the unknown eternity.[1]

3. The date of Shivaji's death

It will be evident from the following document that the great Shivaji laid down his mortal coil on the 5th of April 1680, after a short sickness of twelve days. His eldest son, Sambhaji was then at Panhala. Grant Duff, Waring and Orme must have relied upon this source or on Khafi Khan for fixing the date of Shivaji's death.

1. Sabh. 103-104, Chitnis, 181.

"Wee have certaine news that Sevajee Rajah is dead, it is now 23 days since he deceased, it's said of a bloody flux, being 12 days, how affaires goes in his country wee shall advise as comes to our knowledge, at present all is quiett and Sombajee Rajah is at Pornollah." [1]

The exact date of the death of Shivaji was uncertain for a long time, because the fact was concealed by Rajaram's faction, till they could secure the person of Sambhaji at Panhala. The Maasir-i-Alamgiri and the Tarikh-i-Muhammadi give 22nd May 1680. The latter describes him as "Shiva Ji Bhonslah, son of Shahu ji, a big man in the Dakhin and a gainer of victories." Coutro and Manucci simply say that he died in 1679. Fryer and Valentyn too are mistaken in placing the event of the Raja's death on the 1st of June. Martin was informed by Sieur Clement, chief of the French factory at Rajapur, in a letter of 29th April that Shivaji Raja died twelve days previously.[2] It will mean that the Raja's death happened on the 7 or 8th of April of the English calendar. This date is also wrong. Khafi Khan made a curious chronogram which reflects his fanatic hatred of this Hindu conqueror. "Kafir ba-jahannam raft-the infidel went to hell," gives 5th April 1680 as the date of Shivaji's decease. This is apparently confirmed, as said above, by an English letter. But Prof. Sarkar, by excluding the day of writing the letter and then deducting 23 days, fixes the 4th of April as the date of the passing away of the Raja. Even this is not confirmed from the Maratha sources, The Jedhe Chronology, J. Kareena and Sabhasad give 15 Chaitra, the day of the full moon, as the date of the Raja's death. These are unanimous on the Tithi which is most important for celebrating the Shradha. The former two books state that it was Saturday, while the letter places the event on Sunday noon. According to Khare's Jantri, the 15th of Chaitra was on Saturday, and the following Ekam extended over both Sunday and Monday. On the other hand, Prof. Sarkar states that the Chaitra full moon extended

1. F. R. Surat Vol. 108. P. 84, Bombay 28 April 1680.
2. Sen's Shivaji F. B., 368.

over both 3rd and 4th April, i. e., Saturday and Sunday. This assertion is not confirmed from the calendars, hence the 4th or 5th of April should not be taken as the true date of the demise of Shivaji, but the event fell on Saturday, the 3rd of April, 1680. The English evidence is after all as vague as the French, hence Jedhe's date, the 15th of Shukala Chaitra-3rd April, is preferable.

4. The cause of the Raja's death

An English letter mentions 'a bloody flux,' as the immediate cause of Shivaji's decease. Orme and Waring take it to mean spitting of blood. Maasir-i-Alamgiri confirms their version. The Sabhasad, Chitragupta, Chitnis and Rairi Bakhars assign fever as the cause of death. Fever might have been attended with the haemorrhage from the mouth. G. Duff and Sarkar seem to be wrong in attributing the Raja's death to the inflammation of the knee-joint, and 'blood dysentery' respectively. The Bundhela chronicler and Khafi Khan attribute the mortal disease to the curses of the Jalna saint. (P. 207 n. *supra*).

The Shiva Digvijaya stands alone in charging Soyrabai, the mother of Rajaram, with the crime of poisoning her husband. This foul deed would not have escaped the notice of the world, but we have no other evidence to confirm this story. It will be the most unexpected in the case of one who was worshipped as a god incarnate on earth even during his life-time. In history the most unexpected does occur, but the charge was falsely advanced by Sambhaji to put an end to the life of one who had made an attempt to crown her own son. She was well-known to be an intriguing lady, and her presence would have been a thorn in his side. So she was cruelly put to death on that false[2] charge,

1. Prof. Takakhav (349) is wrong in placing 5th of April 1680 on Sunday, the 15th of Shukla Chaitra 1602. See 'Indian Ephemeris' by Swamikannu Pillay, and Khare's Jantri.

2. Prof. Sarkar (340) asserts that 'it is true that throughout life Shivaji (like all other Eastern sovereigns) was on his guard against being poisoned.' What is the evidence for this statement in the foreign or Maratha sources? Every king has to be on his guard against being poisoned. All books on Hindu polity have emphasized that point. Why should it be persumed that the Maldive coco-nuts and bezoar stones demanded from the English were for his own use and not for his army and officers against snake-poisoning ?

but none gave credence to it. The report, however, did approach the Dutch through their Golconda agent.

The Dagh-Register is the only foreign and contemporary source which confirms the statement of the Shiva Dig. that Shivaji was poisoned by Soyrabai. It was, however, written four months after the death of Soyrabai, and at a time when Sambhaji was firmly established to make changes in the Carnatic administration. It is stated therein that the news had come from Golconda that Shivaji's second wife had probably administered poison to him. His younger son who was to succeed him was put in prison and the eldest son was reigning. Raghunath Pandit, the commanding officer in the Carnatic, was given charge of the province including the towns of Porto Novo, Nagapatam, etc. Sambhaji had recruited 8,000 horse more in his service to defend the Carnatic country from the enemy, because there was a rumour of the approach of an allied army of the Moguls and Bijapurians. All those princes who had been defeated and despoiled by Shivaji, were planning to raise their heads against Sambhaji.[1]

5. Doubts on Shivaji's demise

The Surat Council, answering on 7th May to the Bombay letter of 28th April, 1680 said :

"Sevagee's death is confirmed from all places ; yet some are still under a doubt of the truth, such reports having been used to run of him before some considerable attempt ; therefore shall not be too confident until better assured." [2]

However, the next letter of 18th May from Surat expressed no further doubt on the Raja's death. The doubt was then entertained by the English at Madras on 20th May. They had received a reliable news of Shivaji's death, but it was reported to be false in a few days. The people asserted that it was a plan of the Raja to capture Sambhaji with whom he was highly indignant.[3]

1. Dagh-Register 1680, p. 724. 2 November 1680. Cf. J. Kareena- "Thereafter Sambhaji mounted the throne, when Raghunathpant returned from Jinji and had interviews with Sambhaji." But J. Sh. states that the Pant was arrested and replaced by Harji Raje Mahadik and Shamji Nayak Punde.

2. Orme's Fragments, p. 102.

3. F. R. Fort St. George. Vol. 28, p. 100.

Even after the lapse of nine months the Agency of Bengal, in reply to the news received from Bombay of Shivaji's death, entertained doubts on the Raja's demise.

"Sevagi has died so often that *some begin to think him immortal.*' Tis certain, little belief can be given to any report of his death, until experience tell the waining of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when he dies indeed, it is thought he has none to leave behind him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and fortune he has all along done." [1]

An extract of the same tenour is available from the pen of a Jesuit missionary from Southern India. The Father styles Shivaji a tyrant and brings out the point that the Raja believed himself to be the "Chosen of God to rule among the nations."

"At the end of 1670 (1680) news came to us that (Shivaji) was dead. It was true on this occassion, for previously he often deceived other people by spreading news of his death in order to steal and plunder without difficulty in those places in which he was supposed dead. This tyrant finally met his end, he who styled himself Firm King chosen by God to rule among the nations." [2]

6. Dr. Fryer's fanciful account of Sati

Dr. Fryer has left a gruesome and fanciful account of the performance of Sati and other funeral rites at the cremation of the body of Shivaji. He gives a wrong date of the Raja's death and makes the incorrect statement that Sambhaji performed the rites. We will give only the relevant part from this long passage.

"In the heat of all these Combustions the Firebrand Sevagi is called to pay the common Debt of Nature, he Expiring June 1, 1680; though after some time his arms are carried by his son Sambhu Gi Rajah, whose first care was to solemnize his Father's obsequies with hellish and cruel Rites, after the barbarous custom of these princes to burn all that were greatful to them when living, to attend them in the other state of life. Seva Gi while living, as he delighted in fire and Sword, so he was sent out of the World

1. Orme's Fragments, p. 103.
2. Historical Misc., p. 20.

with a numerous company consumed in his Flames; yet not such a Train as Raja Jessinsin had when he died, which was far greater, being a more potent, though less Barbarous Raja." [1]

On the basis of the preceding remarks, the distinguished historian Orme writes that "his funeral pile was administered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maha Raja, Jeswont Sing of Joudpore; attendants, animals, and wives were burnt with his corpse." [2]

Except Putlabai, no other wife of Shivaji performed the Sati, [3] and we do not read of any servants and animals being burnt on the funeral pile of the Raja in any Marathi papers available up till now. Fryer and Orme have thus indulged in fancies in their account of the event. There is the tomb of a dog built near the Chhatri of Shivaji at Raigad. It is said that the faithful dog on learning of the death and cremation of its loving master lept into the pyre. In commemoration of its loyalty, its ashes were deposited in the tomb near that of its immortal master.

Here ends the story of a conqueror who within the short period of twelve years reared up an empire against formidable odds. His career is indeed full of heroic deeds and marvellous feats. But his contemporaries, both Europeans and Muslims, were unjust to him. They could hardly realize the real significance of the holy war waged by him for the freedom of his country from foreign yoke. They not only heaved a sigh of relief, but were exultant at the news of the death of this liberator of India. Only his arch enemy Aurangzeb, a most competent judge of men of his time, showed perfect candour to express his sentiments on the greatness of Shivaji. "He was a great captain and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India; my armies have been employed against him nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing."

1. Frver, East India, Vol. III, pp. 166-169.
2. Orme's Frags. Pp. 126; civ.
3. The Sabhasad Ch. and Sh. Dig are silent on the details of the ceremonies performed.

7. Secret counsels regarding succession

Though Sambhaji by revolting against his father and allying himself with his rancorous enemy – the Mogul Emperor, had weakened the Maratha kingdom, yet he soon repented of his folly and returned to Panhala on 4th December 1679. Under such circumstances Shivaji's health began to decline and he felt that his end was approaching near. The important question of succession was discussed with much anxiety and acrimony in the council of officers present near his death-bed. Sambhaji, by his unruly temperament and treason, had alienated the sympathies of a large section of responsible officers. His moral laxity had literally prejudiced his cause. His step-mother Soyrabai was creating a party in favour of her own son Rajaram. Yet Sambhaji, being brave, impetuous and learned, was expected to be supported by the army in the war of succession. His younger brother Rajaram was a mere child of ten years. [1] Hence he and his council of regency were not expected to cope successfully with the innumerable difficulties resulting from that boy's succession.

According to the immemorial custom and the Hindu law, the eldest son has the inherent right to succeed to the throne of his father. To deny Sambhaji his due was to court a civil war among brothers. An impetuous, adventurous and a headstrong man like Sambhaji would have created much confusion in the Maratha kingdom, and thus made it a morsel to be easily swallowed up by Aurangzeb. For all these reasons, it was thought proper by the great king to declare Sambhaji as his successor, and thus put an end to the internecine war which would have naturally broken out by ignoring the claim of the eldest son to the throne.

8 Plot against Sambhaji

In spite of the will of the Maharaja, the ministers and officers who were present at his death-bed, kept the fact of his mortal

1. Takakhav (P. 551) gives 1664 as the birth-year of Rajaram and says that some Bakhars give 1661 as the '*date*' of the birth of Rajaram. A boy of 16 to 19 years was not too young to perform the funeral rites. These dates are unreliable. The J. Sh. gives 24th Jan. 1670 as the date of Rajaram's birth and this is accepted by J. Sarkar.

sickness and the consequent death secret from Sambhaji. He was not invited to perform the last obsequies which, of right ought to have been done by the eldest son. All the religious rites in connection with the disposal of the body and for the peace of the soul, were performed by Rajaram and a relative of his, Sabaji Bhonsale.

It is worth remembering that this was not a plot of a scheming woman, but the most faithful officers of Shivaji were involved in it. The three celebrated governors of the Maratha kingdom like Chancellor Moropant, Annaji Datto, the Pant Sachiv, and Raghunath Pant Hanmante, the Viceroy of the Karnatak, even his brother Janardhan Pant, Governor of Kolhapur, all were on the side of Rajaram. Balaji Avji Chitnis, Hiroji Farzand, half-brother of Shivaji, and Hambirrro Mohite, the Commander-in-Chief and the would-be father-in-law of Rajaram, also gave their support to the same cause.

All these experienced ministers and governors were sick of the luxurious life, evil habits, impetuous temper, cruel disposition, and unpardonable treason of Sambhaji. They consequently supported the succession of Rajaram, and wished that Sambhaji should continue to be a state-prisoner at Panhala after the death of his father.

9. Failure of the plo

The secret plot was soon discovered by Sambhaji at Panhala by the interception of letters and arrest of the men who had come to the principal officers of the fort. He adopted a conciliating policy for some time, but afterwards intimidated some officers, imprisoned others, and even carried away Janardhan Pant from his camp at Kolhapur. Thus he won over most of the military officers by his heroic and fearless attitude.[1] Though Rajaram was installed by some ministers, he was in a few months dethroned and imprisoned by Sambhaji at Raigad.

By the end of June Sambhaji's army numbered 20,000 men. With this he proceeded to Raigad. The opposition melted away. All submitted without any trouble, and thus he entered the capital of the Maratha Empire as a victor over his brother and his co-conspirators. He was publicly declared Raja and was spoken of as very industrious and cautious by the people.[2]

1 & 2. F. R Surat, Vol. 108, 12 July 1680.

A letter of October 1680 said that Sambhaji Raja had "settled down quietly in his father's place, and that his present proceedings seem to speak him to be of a contrary spirit and temper to his father, by a much more moderate and humane government." [1]

This information is supplemented by an earlier letter of 12th July wherein it is said that Sambhaji who had gone to Rairi, had treated his younger brother mercifully, that Annaji had not been murdered by him but was much disgraced by being imprisoned and loaded with fetters. Order was soon established and Sambhaji was recognized king everywhere in the Maratha Empire.[2]

The Dutch Governor-General noted down in his Diary of 3rd September 1680 that everywhere rumour was current that Sambhaji had succeeded Shivaji who was dead. The people thought that he would act according to the policies and principles of his father. But as he was milder than his father in his behaviour, there was less anxiety to the Dutch Company from him.[3]

10. Sambhaji's cruelties after succession

His cruel temper prompted him to do some heinous deeds. He abused and insulted his step-mother Soyrabai, the mother of Rajaram, and charged her of having poisoned her husband to secure the throne for her son. He then confined her in a wall. In that living coffin a small aperture was left for giving her air to breathe and milk to drink. She soon left her mortal coil in anguish under such a torture. Jonathan Scott says that in despair at the fate of her son, she committed suicide.[4]

This unfilial and unchivalrous treatment was, however, mitigated by the gentle treatment meted out to his brother Rajaram who was kept under strict confinement for all the eight years of Sambhaji's reign.

1. O. C Vol. 40, No. 4705. 18th October 1680.
2. F. R Surat Vol. 108, p. 108.
3. Dagh Register 1680, p. 579.
4. Ferishta's History of Dekkan, Vol. II, part III, p. 55n.

All the participators of the plot were either executed, imprisoned or deprived of their property and posts. Some of these remained in confinement during the whole regime of Sambhaji, and were finally released by his successor Rajaram. A reign begun in an atmosphere of suspicion, imprisonment and execution of experienced ministers, of Brahmincide and matricide forboded evil consequences.

APPENDICES

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
9	1st	Gold	A sombrero of pure gold
56	15	1,000	10,000
73	4	Factors blaimed	Factors blamed
116	3	Is	As
120n		1973	1673
131	25	On June in	In June on
138	6	This	These
„	20	As	Was
„	21	Have	Hove
140	11	Heals	Heels
155n		1576	1675
157	9	Rajah	Rajas
200n		His	Has
206	8	Ammounted	Amounted
228	30	Cape Comorin	The Cape Comorin
229	11	Shelter	Shatter
233	10	Roll	Role
239n		Victory	Victors
264	15	To meet his mother	(Redundant)
293	28	An	And
375	17	12,000	120,000
384	last	Persuit	Pursuit
385	20	Wee	We
387	2	Assault of	Assault by
408	21	Men	Man
439	26	Is designe	This designe
442	13	And answere	An answere
„	18	Are waiting	Were waiting
464	28	Humblo	Humbly
473	21	Mallagott	Mallabars between this and Surat, wee ordered our two manchuas to be gott

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
478	27	Disobey them	Disobey these
487	11	Hendry and the king from Kendry	Kendry and the king from Hendry
504	18	Of the young girl	If the young girl
529	26/27	Produce of the and	Produce of the land.

Chronology

[Detailed chronologies are given at the end of several chapters to clear up the tangle of events. Important events are noticed in this list. Up to 1672 the dates are from Part II unless Part I is specifically referred to. From 1673 the dates are from Vol. II. This is called Part III in this Chronology. In some cases references to Part II are given. 'S' means Sarkar's Shivaji; 'J' stands for Jedhe Chronology, and 'Sh' for Shivaji.]

		Subject	*Page*
1602		Shahji was born to Maloji's wife Uma.	I. 55
1604		Sharifji was born.	I. 55
1606		Maloji was killed in the battle of Indapur.	I. 55
1619-20		Shahji married Jijabai.	I. 101
1621		Khusrau murdered by Shah Jahan, desertion of Jadhavrao; capture of Poona by Shahji.	I. 101
1624		Battle of Bhatvadi.	I. 101
1625-1628		Shahji in Bijapur service.	8
1626		Malik Amber died.	I. 101
1627	10 April	Birth-date of Sh. according to Chitnis.	5
		Shah J. takes refuge at Junner and is joined by Mahabat.	9
„	22 Sept.	Ibrahim Adil Shah dies.	I. 101
„	28 Oct.	Jahangir dies.	9
1628	4 Feb.	Shah Jahan crowned emperor.	(S.)
„	„	Shahji raids Khandesh and is expelled.	I. 101
		Poona re-granted to Shivaji by Nizam Shah.	I. 101
1629		Khan Jahan Lodi's revolt.	I. 101
1630	19 Feb.	Real birth date of Sh.	5
		Shahji marries Tukabai.	16
„	Dec.	Shahji joins the Moguls and is employed to suppress the rebellion of Kh. J. Lodi.	9
		Jadhavrao murdered by Nizam Shah.	10
1631		Fateh Kh. was reappointed Premier of the Nizam Shahi State.	I. 102
1632	Feb.	Fateh Kh. murders Burhan Shah; Daulatabad captured by the Moguls; Shahji sets up Murtiza as king.	I. 102
1633		Shahji captures Shivneri.	9

		Subject	*Page*
1633	17 June	Moguls capture Daulatabad. Nizam Shah sent to Gwalior.	8
„	Aug.	Shahji captures Junner and crowns Murtiza Shah.	8
1634		Shahji defeated by Moguls.	I. 102
		The Mogul siege of Parenda fails.	I. 93
1635	Jan.-Feb.	Khan-i-Dauran pursues Shahji.	I. 92
„	Oct.	Khawas Kh. and Murari Pandit murdered at Bijapur.	1. 102
1636		Bijapur besieged by Moguls.	I. 96
„	July-Dec.	Shahji, being defeated at Mahuli, gives up Nizam Shah to the Moguls and enters Bijapur service.	8
		Janjira transferred to Bijapur.	III. 293
„	Oct.	Portuguese letter reg. Shahji.	19
1637		Mokasa of Poona given to Sh.	28
		Shahji obtains Jagirs in Wai and Karad.	29
1638		Sira and Bangalore conquered by Bijapur.	I. 137
1639		Basvapattam conquered by Bijapur.	I. 137
1640		Janjira besieged by Moguls.	III. 292
1644		Ikeri and Sagar captured by Bijapur.	I. 137
1645	March	Sh. seized Rohireshwar and named it Rajgad.	23
		Treaty between Ranga and Rustam *Z*.	I. 137
1646		Shahji's victory over Jagdeva; Vellore captured by Muslims.	I. 137
1647	March	Konddev dies; Sh. captures Kondana and Purandhar.	24
1648		Mustafa's expedition into Karnatic; Shahji's victory at Jangam; Jinji invested; Shahji arrested and sent to Bijapur.	I. 137
1649	June	Chakan gained by Sh.	25
	July	Supa surprized from Mohite.	25
		Bijapur forces defeated at Shirwal by Sh.	27
		Maratha army defeated at Belsar; Bijapuri forces repulsed from Purandhar.	27
1649	July	Death of Chandrarao More	I. 30
		Shahji released.	I. 137

		Subject	*Page*
1653		Sh. gives charity to Brahmans for establishing Swaraj.	30
,,	Oct.	Aurang came to Burhanpur as Viceroy.	I. 168
1654		Mir Jumla rebelled against Golconda.	I. 168
1655		Shriranga routed by Golconda.	I. 168
		Sambhaji killed at Kanikgari.	16
1656	15 Jan.	Sh. captures Javli.	37
	April	Rairi surrenders to Sh.	37
		Babaji was blinded at Shivthar.	38
	28 Aug.	Chandra Rao More II escapes from Rairi.	37
	4 Nov.	Muhammad Adil Shah dies; Ali succeeds.	I. 153
1657	Jan.	Sh. married Sakwarbai from Gaikwad family.	J
	Feb.-Mar.	Aurang besieged and took Bidar.	I. 143
	April	Aurang captures Kaliani.	I. 143
	23 April	Sh.'s envoy Sonaji secured a farman from Aurangzeb for possessing Konkon.	45
	May	Sh. loots Junner and is repulsed from Shivneri.	43
	14 May	Birth of Sambhaji.	48
	June	Marathas raid Mogul territory, but repulsed by Nasiri Kh.	44
		Sh. marries two wives.	48
		Sh. marries his daughter to Mahadaji Nimbalkar.	48
	24 Oct.	Sh. takes Kalian-Bhiwandi.	40
	Oct.	Rajmachi and Lohgad captured by Sh.	42
1658	8 Jan.	Sh. takes Mahuli.	42
	14 ,,	Sh. goes to Raigarh.	
	25 ,,	Aurang leaves the Deccan for the north.	
	18 Feb.	Aurang reaches Burhanpur.	
	16 April	Aurang gained victory over Dara's forces at Dharmat.	(S.)
	June	Rustum Zaman defeated by Sawant, but Rangana gained by Rustum.	47
	21 July	First enthronement of Aurang.	(S.)
	30 Aug.	Sh. sends Sonaji as envoy to Delhi; Chaul, and Pradhangad captured by Sh.	42
		Terdal, etc. raided by Sh.	43
		Sh. invades Siddi's territory.	III. 293

		Subject	*Page.*
1659	Feb.	Sh. donates 200 hons p. a. to Chafal Math.	
	5 March	Treaty between Savant and Sh.	586
	April-June	Bijapuri orders to Deshmukhs to help Afzal Kh.	(J.)
	June.	Sh. was sent a dress of honour by Aurang.	47
	11 July.	Sh. goes to Jawli.	(S.)
	30 Aug.	Dara was beheaded by order of Aurang.	
	5 Sept.	Saibai, mother of Sambhaji, died.	(J.)
	Oct.	Negotiations between Sh. and Afzal.	476
	11 Nov.	Afzal Kh. killed, his army destroyed.	51
	28 „	Sh. captures Panhala, raids many cities and surprises Danda town.	54
		Shahji advances ag. Bijapur to help Sh.	53
1660	Jan.	Sh. captures Dabhol and other coast towns	59
	„	Sh. loots and siezes Rajapur.	67
	„	Sh. defeats the armies of Fazl Kh. and Rustum Zaman.	59
	25 Feb.	Shaista marches from Ahmadnagar.	(S.)
	March.	Sh. is besieged in Panhala by Siddi Jauhar.	484
	March.	Marathas raid Dadhol to Kudal and capture Kudal.	482
	April.	Revington goes to Jauhar's camp with Eng. ordnance.	71
	9 May	Shaista captures Poona.	(S.)
	6 June	Sh. takes Wasota.	(S.)
	21 June-15 Aug.	Shaista lays siege to Chakan.	(S.)
	13 July	Sh. escapes from Panhala.	486
	Aug-Sept.	Shaista returns to Poona.	(S.)
	22 Sept.	Panhala yielded to Siddi Jauhar.	73
	20 Nov.	Parenda treacherously delivered to the Moguls by the Bijapuri officer.	(S.)
	Nov.	Siddi Jauhar being displaced by Bahlol Kh., revolted. He was chased and slain.	75
1661	Jan.	Moro Pant was made Mozumdar.	(J.)
	3 Feb.	Sh. defeats Kar Talb Kh. at Umbarkhind.	(S.)
	„	Sh. raids Nizampur and captures Dabhol.	482
	March	Sh. loots Rajapur and takes Eng. factors prisoners.	132

		Subject	*Page*
	March	Queen Mother of Bijapur went to Mecca.	
	April	Siddi Jauhar revolts against Bijapur.	
	29 „	Sh. captures Shringarpur.	138
	June	„ at Mahad for two days.	(S)
	7 Sept.	Birth of daughter Sakwarbai to Sh.	(J.)
	Oct.	Sh. stayed at Wardhangad up to Oct.	(J.)
	„	Shahji captured Tegenapatum and Porto Novo.	I. 148
	„	Revington with two companions was released by Sh.	488
	„	Danda Rajpuri captured by Sh.	III. 299
1662	Jan.-March	Sh. defeats Namdar Kh. on Mira hill and raids Pen.	(S.)
	Aug.	Bijapur Queen returned to Vingurla from Mecca.	144
1663	1 March	Ali Adil Shah went to Bankapur.	89.
	„	Netaji chased by Moguls near Rahmatpur.	89
		Sh. in Raigarh.	(S)
	5 April	„ surprised Shaista in his camp at Poona.	80
	„	The Bijapur King brings Shiwappa Naik to subjection and returns to Bijapur.	82
	23 May	Sh. conquers Kudal and goes to Vingurla.	83, 92
	15 June	Leaving force behind Sh. returned to his possessions.	94
	July	Shahji and Bahlol Kh. were both imprisoned by the king, but Shahji released.	I. 169
	Nov.	Jaswant lays siege to Kondana.	(S.)
	„	Ramaji Shenwi sent with a present to Sh.	III. 497
	„	Sh. negotiates with the Eng. and Dutch for the capture of Janjira.	III. 299
	Dec.	„ at Javli.	534
1664	6-10 Jan.	„ sacks Surat.	165
	15 „	Shaista leaves Aurangabad. Muazzam succeeds him.	(S.)
	25 „	Death of Shahji.	540
	Feb.	Bhadrappa, Raja of Bednur, murdered.	101
	March	Barisaheba sails from Vingurla for Bussora.	503
	28 May	Jaswant raises siege of Kondana.	

		Subject	Page.
	July	Sh. raids Ahmadnagar.	103
	Oct,	„ defeats Baji Ghorpade who is killed in a battle.	533
	„	„ burns down Vingurla and defeats Bijapuri forces.	104
	Nov.	Naval expedition to Bhatkal	105
	Dec.	Vingurla and other towns plundered by Sh.	106, 518
	„	Sh. sacked Hubli and other towns.	107
	?	Sindhudurg at Malvan was built by Sh.	118
1665	8 Feb.	Shiva sails from Malvan, plunders Barcelore, bathes at Gokurn, visits Ankola, arrives Karwar (22 Feb.) and leaves for Bingur on 23 Feb.	109-112
	13 „	Jaisingh leaves Aurangabad for Poona where he reaches on 13 March	119
	30	Dilir begins the siege of Purandhar	240
	14 April	Rudra Mahal surrenders to the Moguls.	
	11 June	Sh. meets J. Sing and Dilir.	240
	12 „	Treaty of Purandhar between Sh. and J. Singh.	119
	14 „	Sh. leaves Mogul camp for Rajgarh.	
	18 „	Sambhaji comes as a hostage to J. Singh.	241
	„ & July	Bahlol Kh. dies and Sher Kh. is poisoned.	120
	August	Portuguese envoy sent to Mirza Raja.	III. 503
	27 Sept.	Sh. comes to the Mogul camp to receive imperial farman.	
	Sept.-Dec,	Mogul army near Chaul.	III. 503
	Oct.-Nov.	Sh. reconquers S. Konkon from Bijapur except Vingurla and Kudal.	123
		Khawas Kh. defeated by Sh.	III. 499
	Nov.	Sh. joins J. Singh against Bijapur.	246
	25-28 Dec.	As an ally of Moguls Sh. fights two battles with Bijapuris.	122-3
1666	Jan.	J. Singh retreats from Bijapur.	124
		Sh. fails to surprise Panhala.	„
		Netaji deserts Sh.	„
	22 „	Shahji dies.	509, 540

		Subject	*Page*
	5 March	Sh. starts with Sambhaji for Agra.	254
	,,	,, fails to capture Phonda.	125
		and loses several towns.	126
	,,	Rangna delivered to him by Rustam Zaman	126
	12 May	Sh.'s arrival near Agra.	254
	13 ,,	Sh. had audience of Aurang.	562
	18 ,,	,, interviews the Premier.	566
	18 Aug.	,, escapes from imprisonment.	569
	20 ,,	Raghunath Korde arrested at Agra.	(S.)
	20 Nov.	Sh. returns to Rajgarh.	269
1667	Feb.-March	J. Singh makes a treaty with the Portuguese	III. 505
	March	J. Singh recalled from the Deccan	
	May	He gave charge to Muazzam.	269
	,,	Bahlol and Vyankoji laid siege to Rangna; Sh. relieves it.	(J.)
	2 July	Jai Singh died at Burhanpur.	269
	Aug.	Sh. makes peace with Bijapur.	275
	Sept.	,, went to Kudal.	(J.)
	Oct.	Treaty with Aurang. Sh. given the title of Raja. Maratha contingent and Sambhaji at Aurangabad.	271
	Nov.	Sh. invaded Bardes, burnt Portuguese territory and brought immense wealth.	III. 508, 573
	Dec.	Treaty between Sh. and Portuguese.	III. 511
1668	Aug.	Prataprao went with a force at Aurangabad.	(J.)
	,,	Peace between Aurang. and Bijapur.	274
	Sept.	Sh. quiet at Rajgarh.	276
	,,	,, makes peace with Bijapur.	301
	Oct.	Sh.'s plot to capture Goa detected.	III. 508
	,,	Sh. in the Konkan and returns to Rajgurh.	III. 510
1669	9 April	Aurang. orders destruction of Hindu temples and schools.	277
	,,	Siddi besieges Sh.'s forts.	276
	May-Oct.	Sh. against Janjira	301

		Subject	*Page*
	Oct.	Ludi Kh. holds Kalian.	(S.)
	Nov.	Sh. and Portuguese make reprisals on each other's vessels.	III. 513
1670	Jan.	Mogul treachery ag. Marathas. Prataprao returns from Aurangabad and treaty ends	271
	31 Jan.	Second treaty between Sh. and Portuguese	III. 513
	4 Feb.	Kondana captared by Tanaji.	278
	24 „	Rajaram born at Raigarh	(J.)
	8 March	Nilopant recovers Purandhar	298
	15 „	Sh. captures Kalian	298
	May June	„ gains Lohgad, Mahuli, Karnala, Rohida.	298
	July-Aug.	Muazzam pretends to rebel for capturing Sh.	303
	Aug.	Sh. invades Mogul territory; attempt to capture Shevneri fails.	III. 135
	„	Attack on Janjira (Its siege continues from May 1669).	III. 307
	3-5 Oct.	Second loot of Surat.	330
	Oct.	Naval fight between Maratha and Portuguese fleets.	III. 513
	17 „	Battle of Vani-Dindori.	332
	25 „	Moro Pant captures Trimbak.	297
	Nov.	Maratha navy sails past Bombay.	
	Dec.	Sh. captures Ahivant, etc. Raids Khandesh and Berar, sacks Karanja; levies Chauth.	III 212 283
1671	Jan.	Sh. captures Salhir.	285
	Feb.	Siddi's attempt to capture Danda fails.	
	„	Moguls besiege Ahivant.	
	May	Mahabat captures Ahivant.	
	June-Oct.	Mogul siege of Salhir fails.	
	Aug.	Rustam Zaman revolts ag. Bijapur	304
	Sept.	Sh.'s envoy at Bombay.	III. 404
	„	Maratha fleet ag. Janjira.	316

		Subject	*Page*
	Oct.	Sh. at Raigarh.	316
	Dec.	Dilir sacks Poona-Chakan.	288
	„	Sh. rumoured to capture Ghorbunder.	515
1672	Jan.	„ at Mahad to collect his army there.	288
	Feb.	Surat panicky at the approach of Maratha army.	319, 338
	„	Great battle of Salhir; Moro Pant raises the siege of Salhir, takes Mulhir and defeats the Moguls.	289
	10 Mar. to 13 May	Lt. Ustick, Eng. envoy visits Raigarh.	401
	21 April	Abdulla Qutb Shah dies; Abul Hasan succeeds.	III. 120
	May	Niraji Pant goes as envoy to Bhaganagar, makes treaty and gets tribute.	
	June	Muazzam leaves Deccan; Bahadur acts as viceroy.	III. 118
	„	Moro Pant captures Jawhar and Ramnagar; Chauth demanded from the Portuguese,	291, 295
	July	Moro Pant raids Nasik Trimbak.	297
	„	Dutch envoy gives present to Sh. at Rairi.	305
	Oct.	Siddi Halal joins Sh.	341
	24 Nov.	Ali Adil Shah dies; Sikandar succeeds.	III. 118
	Nov-Dec.	Maratha raid into Berar fails; peace with Bijapur ended.	
	Nov.-Dec.	Naval fight with allied fleets which burn several towns of Sh.	318-9
1673	Feb.	Dutch fleet besieges Bombay. Sh. refuses to help the Dutch.	319
		(The following references are from Part III.)	
	6 March	Annaji Datto and Kondaji Farzand took Panhala from Bijapur.	122
	March	Danda and several other forts surprised by Siddi Qasim.	321
	15 April	A great Maratha victory over Bahlol at Umarani.	123
	May	Plunder of Hubli by Prataprao.	124

		Subject	*Page*
	June	Marathas retire from Karwar.	124
	2 June	Sh. returns to Raigarh.	II. 421
	3 June	Niccolls visits Sh.	II. 421
	27 July	Sh. takes Satara.	(S)
	13 Oct.	Sh. gains Pandavgad.	(S)
	,,	Sh. goes to besiege Sunda.	149
	Oct.-Dec.	Sh. in the Konkan; expels Siddi from Nagothna.	330
	Nov.	Bahlol and Sarja Khan inflicted defeats upon the Marathas near Bankapur and Chandgad.	127
	Dec.	Sh. at Kudra in the last week.	127
	,,	Dilir Kh. and Bahadur Kh. were both defeated by the Marathas.	127
1674	Jan.	Janjira siege continued.	332
	,,	Dilir repulsed from Konkan.	128
	24 Feb.	Prataprao killed in the battle of Jesari.	128
	,,	Sh. went to Kudal to invest Anandrao with the chief command.	129
		Anandrao plundered Peinch and inflicted a disastrous defeat upon Bahlol Kh. near Bankapur.	130
	1 March	One wife of Sh. dies.	(S.)
	,,	Daulat Kh. defeats Siddi fleet in Sitawali creek.	333
	23 ,,	Anandrao plunders Sampgaon and fights Khizr Kh.	130
	3 April	N. Shenvi meets Sh. at Raigarh.	
	8 ,,	Sh. reviews his troops at Chiplun;	
	22 ,,	Arrives near Karwar.	
	24 ,,	Sh. takes Kelanja.	
	13 May	Oxinden's party left Bombay and stayed at Portuguese Chaul.	
	14 ,,	Sh. is reported to have returned from Chiplun to Rairi. Oxinden's party goes to Chaul under Maratha Government.	
	16 ,,	Sailed up the Chaul River for Ashtami.	
	17 ,,	Arrived at Ashtami.	

		Subject	*Page*
18	May	Sailed to Nizampur and Gangavali.	
19	„	Reached Pachad, but Sh. had gone to Pratapgad.	
20	„	Interviewed Naroji, son of Moro Pant Peshwa.	
21	„	Sh. returned to Raigarh.	
22	„	The English went up into the fort.	
23	„	Intercession of Naroji for an interview.	
26	„	An interview with Sh. who was accompanied by Sambhaji.	
28	„	Interview with Naroji and presents given to Ministers.	
29	„	Sh. performed weighing [1] ceremony and put on sacred thread.	
30	„	Interview with Naroji regarding articles of trade.	
5	June	Bath ceremony with water of seven rivers performed, the English invited to attend the Durbar.	
6	„	The English attended the coronation Durbar. Sh. era founded.	
7	„	Gifts were given to envoys and learned men.	
8	„	Sh. married a 4th wife without any ceremony.	
9 & 10	„	Naroji solicited by the English for treaty to be signed.	
11	„	The Raja had signed the treaty with the English.	
12	„	Ministers also signed the treaty and and gave it to Oxinden.	
13	„	Oxinden left Rairi castle and	
16	„	reached Bombay.	
15, 21, 27, 30	„	Letters sent to Bombay by Oxinden.	
7-18	June	Charity continued to be given by Sh. for 12 days.	

1. The Dutch account seems to be incorrect in placing this ceremony on 4th June.

		Subject	*Page*
	18 June	Jijabai died at the age of 80 years.	
	10 July	Treaty recorded by the Bombay Council. (The dates are taken from Ch. XIV.)	
	„	Bahlol Kh.'s camp near Aurangabad plundered by Sh.	131
	26 August	Annaji could not surprise Phonda on account of the vigilance of Muhammad Kh.	
	24 Sept.	Second installation of Sh. performed.	
	Oct.	Sh. failed to capture Shivneri.	133
	Nov.	„ requested the English to supply him guns which were refused.	62
	Dec.	„ raids Khandesh.	64
1675	1 Jan.	Dharangaon plundered and the Eng. factory looted.	14
	„	Dattaji raids Kolhapur district.	137
	4 Feb.	Sambhaji invested with sacred thread.	(J.)
	Feb.	Moguls sack Kalyan.	(S.)
	„	Janjira closely besieged.	340
	March	Sh. takes Kolhapur and goes to Kudal.	137
	22 „	„ passing through Nellora was met by John Child and other Eng. factors.	57
	23 „	„ again met Child near Rajapur.	58
	24 „	The Eng. had interview with Annaji and his brother.	59
	25 „	Sh. had interview with the Eng. for two hours at Rajapur which he left on the same evening. He was given by them a present worth 200 pagodas.	60
	8 April	Sh. besieged Phonda.	138
	22 „	Bahlol bought off by Sh.	139
	„	Sacked Atgiri, and two towns near Bhaganagar. Robbed Kankoli in Goa.	165
	26 „	Karwar burnt by Marathas.	
	6 May	Captures Phonda.	140
	..	Sh. captures Anchola, Shiveshwar, &c.	

		Subject	*Page*
	May	Carwar burnt by Marathas.	140
	,,	Annaji left at Phonda to repair its defences.	142
	,,	Jones and Austen visited Sh. at Karwar for the Company's business.	74
	June & Aug.	Marathas invade Sunda.	152
	June	Sh. enters into peace with Bahlol Kh.	163
	12 ,,	,, passes by Rajapur on his way to Raigarh.	143
	July & Dec.	Attack on Janjira fails.	343
	24 August	Austin and Harbin left Bombay for Rairi.	67
	25 ,,	Passed through Battee and Chaul.	
	2 Sept.	He reached Nizampur and met Moro Pant and Annaji Pandit who were going against Junner with 8,000 forces.	67
	6 ,,	Went into Rairi castle.	
	7 ,,	Had audience with Sh. who was accompanied by Sambhaji and other officers.	
	15 ,,	Second audience with Eng. men who were given Kauls for the security of their trade.	67
	Nov.	Siddi fleet burns Vingurla, etc.	166
	,,	Bahlol arrests Khawas Kh. and becomes premier.	156
1675	Jan.	Khawas murdered by Bahlol's order. Civil war at Bijapur.	170
	,, & Feb.	Trouble about a Hundi drawn by Sh. for sums due to the Eng.	71-72
	Jan. & March	Sh. very ill, rumours about his death.	68-73
	April	Sh. recovers; seen by N. Shenwi and Modi at Rairi.	344
	,,	Dharangaon factory resettled by Austin, Keek and Shape.	69
	May	Sh. helps Bahlol against Bahadur Kh. for the protection of Bijapur.	171
	May	Moro Pant captures Ramnagar.	
	,,	Sh.'s envoy visits Bombay.	347

		Subject	*Page.*
	31 May	Bahadur Kh. attacks Bahlol.	
	1 June	Bahlol defeats Bahadur Kh. at Halgi. (Jadhe gives 30 June).	177
	19 ,,	Netaji Palkar made a Hindu	
	20 ,,	Marathas plunder Athani.	
	Aug.	Moro Pant invades Janjira.	344
	Oct.	N. Shenvi at Raigarh ; Sh. leads an expedition ag. Belgaum.	178
	1 Nov.	Sambhaji raids Portuguese territory.	174
	Dec.	Siddi Sambal burns Jaitapur.	344
1677	Jan.	Mohite defeats Miana near Yelburga.	265
	,,	Sh. leaves Rairi for Hyderabad.	278
	Jan. & Feb.	Maratha forces raid up to Honavar.	160
	March	Sh. reached Hyderabad. [1]	
	4 ,,	Sh. interviewed Sultan.	
	April	Marches from Hyderabad for Madras.	
	,,	Sh. halts at Shri Shaila.	
	8 May	Sh. at Peddapolam.	
	9-13 ,,	March to Jinji.	
	18-21 ,,	Surrender of Jinji.	
	25 ,,	Sh. at Vellore.	
	26 June	Battle of Tiruvadi.	
	28 ,,	Sh. at Bhuwangiri.	
	3 July	Sher Kh. expelled from Bhuwangiri.	
	5 ,,	Sher Kh. submits to Sh.	
	7 ,,	Bahadur Kh. captures Gulbarga.	
	17 ,,	Envoys from Mudura came with tribute to Sh.	
	Aug.	Sh. at Bridhachalam.	
	2 ,,	Dutch embassy to Sh. Bahadur Kh. takes Naldurg.	
	,,	Sh. captures territory up to Coloroon.	
	,,	Bahadur recalled from Deccan.	
	Sept.	Dilir invades Golconda, but is defeated.	
	Oct.	Sh. captured Kopal, plundered Gadak, etc.	

1. Refer to Ch. of the Karnatic campaign on pp 278-280 ante.

		Subject	Page
	6 Nov.	Vyankoji defeated at Ahiri.	
	,,	Dattaji loots Hubli.	
	,,	Masaud of Bijapur makes peace with Dilir.	
	Nov. & Feb.	Siege of Belvadi.	
	Dec.	Sh.'s envoy Pitamber Shenvi visits Goa.	
	23 ,,	Bahlol dies.	
1673	Jan.	Moro Pant plunders Trimbak, Nasik, etc.	
	16 ,,	Sh. at Lakshmishwar.	(S.)
	Feb.	Captures Belwadi.	280
	,,	Masaud becomes premier of Bijapur.	
	4 April	Sh. reaches Panhala.	280
	25 ,,	Marathas plunder Mungi-Pattan.	
	May	Sh.'s attempt on Shivneri fails.	
		Sh. returns to Rairi.	280
	June	Sh.'s forces capture Gadag.	280
	22 July	Vellore surrenders to Sh.	258
	Aug.	Pitambar Shenwi dies at Goa.	
	Sept.	Muazzam re-appted viceroy of Deccan.	
	,,	Daughter Bhawanibai born to Sambhaji.	
	Oct.	Daulat Kh. bombards Janjira.	365
	,,	Qasim made Admiral of the fleet. Sambal leaves Siddis and joins Sh.	348
	Dec.	Raghunath Shenwi comes to Sh. as envoy from Goa.	530
	13 ,,	Sambhaji joins Dilir Kh.	201
1679	25 Feb.	Muazzam reached Aurangabad.	201
	3 March	Hambir Rao captures Kopal.	265
	18 ,,	Marathas siezed Bahadurbinda.	213
	2 April	Dilir captured Bhupalgarh.	200
		Later recovered by Sh.	213
	9 April	Anand Rao captures Balapur.	
	18 Aug.	Dilir crosses the Bhima to invade Bijapur.	

		Subject	*Page*
	Sept.	Moguls captured Mangal-Verah.	
	10 „	Sh. fortifies Khanderi.	493
	19 „	1st battle between Eng. and Maratha fleets.	493
	7 Oct.–14 Nov.	Dilir near Bijapur city.	202
	18 Oct.	Second battle between Eng. and Maratha fleets.	493
	„	Treaty of friendship between Bijapur and Sh.	204
	30 „	Sh. at Selgur to help Bijapur.	205
	4 Nov.	Sh. leaves Selgur to raid Mogul districts.	
	15-18 „	Sh. raids Jalna, fights Ranmast Kh.	207
	20 „	Dilir loots Athani.	202
	21 „	Sh. reaches at Patta and halts there.	208
	21 „	Sambhaji leaves Dilir and flies to Bijapur.	202
	30 „	Sambhaji flees from Bijapur and reaches Panhala on 4th Dec.	203
	„	Marathas ransack Khandesh, Dharangaon, etc.	211
	„	Dilir defeated by Janardhan Pandit.	205
	Dec.	Sh. at Rairi.	
1680	Jan.	Sh. goes to Panhala to meet Sambhaji.	(J.)
	26 „	Daulat Kh. fails to capture Underi.	494
	Feb.	Sh. returns to Raigarh.	
	7 March	Rajaram invested with sacred thread.	532
	15 „	Rajaram married.	532
	22 „	Sh. falls ill.	533
	3 April	Death of Sh.	534

NOTES

1. Wives of Shivaji (See Pp. 17, 22,)

1. Sai Bai from Nimbalkar family — mother of Sambhaji, died in 1659.
2. Soyra Bai from Shirke family — mother of Rajaram, was put to death by Sambhaji in 1680.
3. Putala Bai from Mohite family — went sati with Shivaji who married her in Jan. 1657. She had no issue.
4. Sakwar Bai from Gaikwad family — was captured by the Moguls in 1689.
5. One who died early in March 1674.

6. & 7. Two wives married on 27th May (P. *22*).

8. One married on 30th May according to Jedhe S.
9. One married on 8th June 1674 (P. 17).

Chitnis says that the Raja married within two or three years three wives from the Jadhav, Mohite and Gaikwad families (71 Sect.). If we take the 5th wife from the Jadhav family, the ancestry of all the five wives whom Shivaji had married up to 1657 becomes known to us.

The names of the remaining three wives are given as Sagunabai, Lakshmibai and Gunvantabai. The first had a daughter Nanibai who was married to Ganoji Raje Shirke. The second and third had no issues. [1] The name of the 8th wife is given as Kashibai.

According to Oxinden Shivaji was busy about his marriage with two *other* women (P. *22 Supra*). Then on 8th June he records that the Raja was married to a *fourth* wife without any state or ceremony (P. 17 *Supra*).

Jedhe S. mentions that Shivaji was married on 30th May 1674 with vedic verses, but the number of ladies is not mentioned.

Shivaji had three wives living in May. He married two other ladies on 27th May, one wife on 30th May and another on 8th June. It means that just after the coronation he had seven wives. This statement does not reconcile with Oxinden's assertion. We should take it to mean that during the ceremonies connected with his installation, Shivaji married four wives, two on 27th May, the 3rd on 30th May and the 4th wife on 8th

1. Sabhasad, 72; Kinkaid, I, Pp. 277-8; Sarkar, p. 341.

June. Since three wives were alive before the coronation, there were in all seven wives after the installation. This view supports the Sabhasad Chronicle which records that Shivaji had seven wives. [1]

"At Raigarh there are seven Jagirs, each wife had her own quarter. Historically the number seven is an error, for Shivaji had only four wives." Here Douglas makes this observation on the basis of Oxinden's remark. Dr. Fryer too follows Oxinden in saying that "he is married to four wives, to whom he keeps religiously, being a strict observer of his heathen rites."

In view of this contemporary evidence Da Guarda's assertion that Shivaji had eight hundred wives, of whom a dozen burnt themselves on the funeral pyre, is absolutely unfounded. [2]

2. Shivaji's brothers

From Jijabai — Sambhaji (died in 1655) and Shivaji.
„ Tukabai Mohite — Vyankoji.
„ Concubines [3] — Makaji Anand Rav, Santaji Raje, Bhimji Raje and Pratapji Raje.

3. Shivaji's sons

Sambhaji, b. 1657 — married Yesubai in 1667.
Rajaram, b. 1670 — married (1) Prataprao Gujar's daughter Janakibai.
— „ (2) Hambirrao Mohite's daughter Sitabai, called Tarabai on account of her extreme beauty. [4]
— „ (3) Rajasbai from Ghatge family.
— „ (4) Ambikabai.
— (5) Mistress Sagunabai.

4. Shivaji's daughters

Saibai had three daughters:—
(1) Sakwarbai, married to Mahadji Nimbalkar;

1. Sen, Sh. Ch. P. 100.
2. Sen, F. B. Pp. 164-169.
3. Sen, Sh. Ch. Pp. 85, 125, 126, 236; Shivaji. Vol. II, Pp. 254, 257 267, 284.
4. Sen, Sh. Ch, Pp. 149, 241.

(2) Ambikabai, married to Harji Raje Mahadik;
(3) Ranubai, married to Jadhavrao;
(4) Soyrabai's daughter Dipabai was married to Vasaji Rao;
(5) Nainibai or Rajkuwar, daughter of Sagunabai, was married to Ganoji Shirke;
(6) Sakwarbai's daughter was married to Tanoji Palkar.

5. Capture of Supa — On Page 25 of Part II it has been said that Supa was taken by Shivaji in 1649 and not in 1656. On reconsideration I am inclined to accept the year 1656 given by J. Sh. Supa was governed by an agent of Shahji or Shivaji who as Mokasedar had the right to issue grants. If Supa had been absolutely independent, these grants could not have been issued unless its sovereignty was transferred to Shivaji. Moreover, Shahji was in custody at Bijapur, and Shivaji was trying his best to release his father. Therefore, Mohite could not be sent to the Karnatic, nor was it an opportune time for Shivaji to create disturbance under those circumstances. Hence 1656 A. D. should be preferred as the year for the capture of Supa.

6. P. 96—Baratis or Batty was Bhāt or rice as is clear from the whole passage on p. 96. The words 'Brawts' on p. 97 and 'Mora Batty' on p. 101 convey the same meaning, but on p. 108 the word 'Brawt' means an order for payment.

7. The Bhagwa Flag— In the preceding documents there is a remarkable absence of any mention of the Bhagwa Flag used on forts, palaces, and ships. Dr. Fryer alone has left a note that he personally saw Shivaji's fleet consisting of 30 small ships and vessels riding at Shriwardhan. The Admiral (Flag Ship) was 'wearing a White Flag aloft' (*Ante*, p. 144). On 21st Nov. 1679 the Marathas put up a white flag on a tree to conspicuously show their occupation of the Khanderi Island (*Ante*, p. 430). It appears that up to the end of the year 1679 the white flag was being used by Shivaji.

The Bhagwa flag might have been adopted after Shivaji made a gift of his Kingdom to Swami Ramdas and got it back from him

with the advice that the kingdom is not for Shivaji but for religion. [1]

He might have adopted the Bhagwa flag as an emblem of the gift from Swami Ramdas in 1679—the year of the grant made to the Chafal Math.

8. P. 283—Letter of Qutub Shah to Maloji Ghorpade — Shivaji Raja Bhosala in the Shuhur year 1076 attracted our attention which is the resort of sardars and amirs that you Maloji Raja Bahadur Ghorpade Adilshahi and one endowed with glory have acquired great dignity and rank and by loyal and meritorious service rendered by yourself and by your ancestors have risen to the ministership of Adilshahi. The said Raja further brought to our notice that at the present juncture the Adilshahi is usurped by the Afgans. For this reason we have resolved to punish the Afgans. You are a Maratha sardar of the highest order and you hold the highest rank and precedence. Up to this time you have performed deeds of great importance and so relying on you we have issued this farman to you.

You should without hesitation present yourself in our imperial presence with all your army. Whatever is due to you in Adilshahi will be continued. Similar rank and precedence, the post of minister and whatever is continued to you in Adilshahi by way of jagir and property will be continued here. Whatever is given to you as inam will be confirmed. Dated the 20th of Ramzan 1079 A. H. = 28th Nov. 1675.

9. Rairi— On page 292 of this part it is said that Shivaji captured the fort of Tala, Gosala and Rairi from the Siddi. This is written on the basis of Chitnis Ch. (53-54). *Rairi was not taken from the Siddi*, but from the Mores of Javli, as has been shown on Pp. 37-38 of Part II.

On P. 298 Shivaji is wrongly said to have returned to Rairi from Agra. He really came back to Rajgad which remained his capital up to 1669.

१. हे राज्य शिवाजीचे नव्हे; धर्माचे आहे.

Governors and Deputy Governors of Bombay

(See P. 412 *ante*).

Governors in Bombay for the King.

Humphrey Cook. Nov. 1664 — Nov. 1666.
Sir Gervase Lucas. Nov. 1666 — May 1667.
Capt. Henry Gary. May 1667 — Sept. 1668.

Governors in Surat for the Company.

Sir George Oxinden.
Sept. 1668—July 1669.
Gerald Aungier.
July 1669—June 1677.
Thomas Rolt. 1677—1682.
John Child. 1682—1690.

Deputy Governors in Bombay.

John Goodier. Sept. 1668—Jan. 1668-9.
Henry Young. Jan. 1668-1669. Nov. 1669.
James Adams and five Commissioners. Nov. 1669—Feb. 1669-70.
Mathew Gray. Feb. 1669-70—Sept. 1670.
Philip Gyffard. Sept. 1670—Sept. 1672.
John Shaxton.[1] Sept. 1672—Aug. 1674.
Philip Gyffard. June 1675—Nov. 1676.
John Pettit. Nov. 1676—Dec. 1677.
Henry Oxinden. Dec. 1677—Sept. 1679.
John Child. Sept. 1679—Dec. 1681.
Mansell Smith. Dec. 1681—Feb. 1681-2.
Charles Ward. Feb. 1681-2 Dec. 1683.

1. Between Shaxton's suspension and Gyffard's second appointment there was no Deputy Governor; Aungier was in Bombay and was personally in charge.

Nimbalkars of Phaltan

Mudhoji (1630-44)

- Sabaji
- Jagdeva
- Saibai m. to Shivaji I
- Bajaji (1644-76)
  - Mahadji (son-in-law of Shivaji I
  - Mudhoji
    - Bajaji II (son-in-law of Rajaram).
  - Vangoji (1676-93)
    - Janoji (1693-174[illegible]

(Sardesai-Rajaram, p. 58.)

The Shirkes

Waghoji Raje

- Tanaji
  - Kanhoji
    - Ramoji.
- Pilaji
  - Ganoji m. a daughter of Sh.
    - Pilaji.
  - Yesubai m. to Sambhaji
  - Ambikabai m. to Rajaram
- Soyarabai (m. to Shivaji I)

(Sardesai, Riyasat, Vol. I, p. 663, Chitnis, 219).

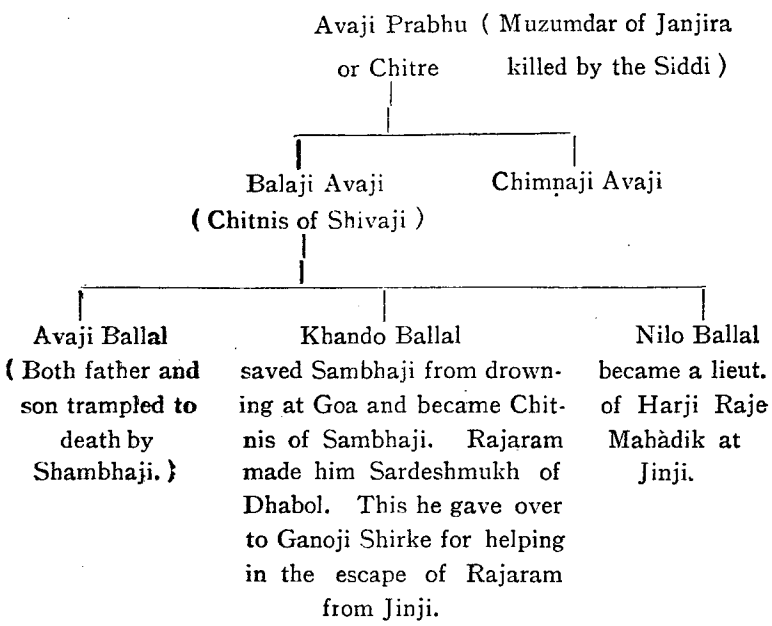
Ramachandra Nilkanth of Bavada

Naropant—served Maloji

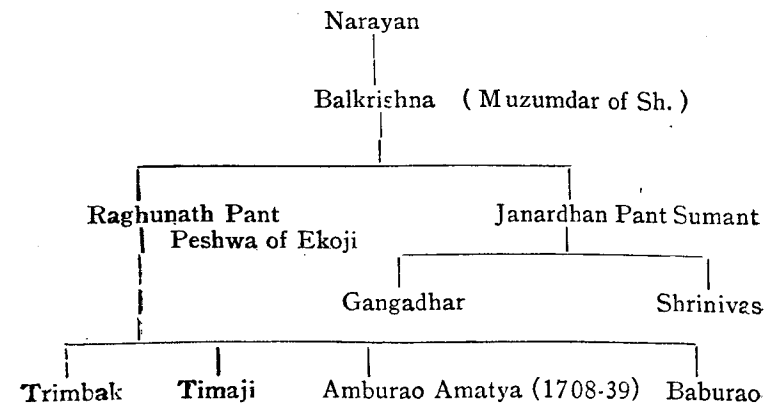
Sondev Narayan—was left with Jijabai (Sonopant Dabir) at Shivneri.

- Nilkanth (Nilo)
  - Naropant (Retired)
  - Ramchandra Nilkanth (made Muzumdar after his father's death. He became the saviour of Maharashtra after 1690. He wrote a book on Polity.
- Sondev (Conqueror of Tala & Gosala, became Muzumdar).
- Abaji Sondev Conqueror & Subedar of Kalyan.

The Prabhus

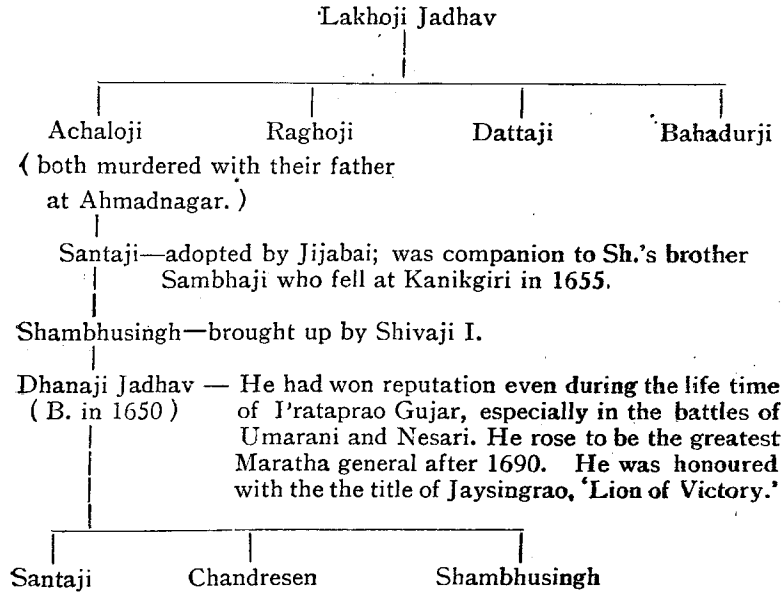

Avaji Prabhu or Chitre
(Muzumdar of Janjira killed by the Siddi)
Balaji Avaji
(Chitnis of Shivaji)
Chimnaji Avaji
Avaji Ballal
(Both father and son trampled to death by Shambhaji.)
Khando Ballal
saved Sambhaji from drowning at Goa and became Chitnis of Sambhaji. Rajaram made him Sardeshmukh of Dhabol. This he gave over to Ganoji Shirke for helping in the escape of Rajaram from Jinji.
Nilo Ballal
became a lieut. of Harji Raje Mahàdik at Jinji.

The Hanmantes



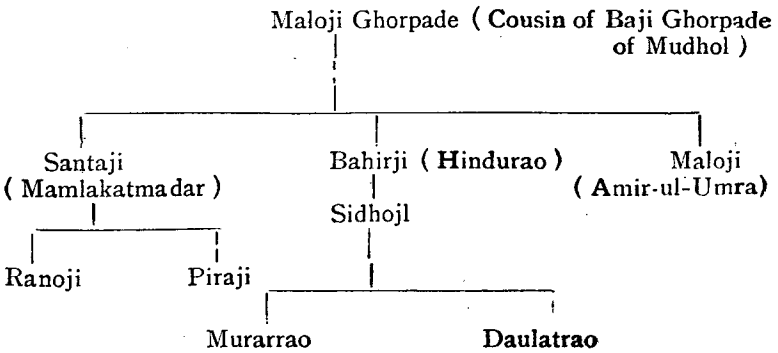
(Sardesai's Riyasat Vol. I, 433)

Ancestry of Dhanaji Jadhav


Lakhoji Jadhav
Achaloji
Raghoji
Dattaji
Bahadurji
(both murdered with their father at Ahmadnagar.)
Santaji—adopted by Jijabai; was companion to Sh.'s brother Sambhaji who fell at Kanikgiri in 1655.
Shambhusingh—brought up by Shivaji I.
Dhanaji Jadhav — (B. in 1650)
He had won reputation even during the life time of I'rataprao Gujar, especially in the battles of Umarani and Nesari. He rose to be the greatest Maratha general after 1690. He was honoured with the the title of Jaysingrao, 'Lion of Victory.'
Santaji
Chandresen
Shambhusingh

(Sardesai-Riyasat, Vol. I, 623).

Santaji Ghorpade



(Sardesai, Rajaram, 38).

Incorrect dates and statements in Kincaid's History of the Marathas.

The history of Shivaji written by Kincaid and Parasnis is mostly based upon the Marathi Bakhars which along with useful material contain legends, exaggerations, under-statements, and chronological inaccuracies. Such material has been freely used by the authors. They have rather picked up the stories, anecdotes and narratives which appeared to them to be the most popular and interesting. Consequently the work is full of wrong dates and inaccurate statements. These are so numerous that it is not possible to give a complete list here. For the sake of illustration, I take up Chapter XXII on the Great Southern Campaign in Vol. I, pp. 249-260. In the first column passages from Kincaid's History are quoted and in the second inaccuracies are pointed out.

Shortly after Shivaji's coronation his mother died. In two or three days the doctors gave up hope. On the 5th day of her illness she died. P. 249.	These statements are vague, as no dates are given. We know for certain that Jijabai died on 18th June. (See my Shivaji, Vol. II, P. 35.
Raid on the Portuguese district of Bassein (1674); a demand for chauth, giving as his reason the recent forcible conversion of Hindus to Christianity. P. 249.	There is no such raid in 1674, nor the demand of chauth was made in that year, but in 1672. Then there was no question of conversion.
In 1675 Moro Pingle retook the forts of Aundh and Patta, and Shivaji made a *second* attempt to surprise Shivneri.	The forts were taken in 1672. The description given by Kinkaid is of the *third* attempt made on Shivneri in 1679, but he places the event in 1675. Pp. 133-36; 210.
Phonda was besieged during the rainy season of 1675 and it held out until the following April (1676)	It was besieged in the 2nd week of April and was taken in the 1st week of May 1675. Pp. 137-40.

He marched along.....Karwar.

The rainy season of 1676 Shivaji spent at Raygad. P. 251.

Shivaji's illness is placed by Kincaid in November-December 1676. P. 251.

Vyankoji had on succeeding to his father's inheritance, made himself master of all Tanjore. In 1675 he moved his capital there from Bangalore. P. 253.

Shivaji joined his army at Cuddapa. P. 255.

Sher Khan was captured with his entire force. P. 256.

Ambar Khan, the commandant of Jinji, went in person to Shivaji's camp. P. 255.

While Shivaji was advancing southwards, he left a part of his force to attack Vellore.....The fall of Jinji, however, enabled Shivaji to return to Vellore. In Sept. 1676 Vellore surrendered. P. 256.

He went with his mounted troops to Tiruvadi. P. 256.

The order of events has been reversed. Pp, 140-47.

There is no mention of this excursion. Moro Pant's raids alone are mentioned. P. 170.

The period of illness was Jan. to March 1676. P. 167.

Vyankoji conquered Tanjore at the end of 1675 only. Hence he did not become master of Tanjore on succeeding to his father's inheritance in 1664 Pp. 224-25.

The place was Anantpur and not Cuddappa. P. 233.

Sher Khan surrendered, came into Shivaji's presence, left his son as hostage with him and retired into the woods of Arelour. Pp. 240-241.

Nasir Muhammad was the commandant of the fort. For the fall of Jinji see Pp. 238-9.

Shivaji did not go from Jinji to Vellore, but he had already been there. A letter of 25th May was received by the English from Vellore. P. 235. It was surrendered in the 3rd week of August 1678 and not in Sept. 1676. Shivaji had not even started for the Karnatic in that month.

The battle of Tiruvadi was fought in June 1677. Pp. 239-41

He stayed at the King's camp for *over two months* and the two brothers repeatedly discussed Shivaji's claims on his father's inheritance. P. 257.

Shivaji went to Tiruvadi after 6th July and broke up his camp there on the 2nd of August. So he was there for 26 days only. P. 245.

Shivaji's army had returned to Vellore. P. 257.

There is no mention of an army marching to Vellore. P. 280.

Vyankoji fought a battle with Mohite soon after the departure of Shivaji who despairing of an amiable settlement, invaded all the fiefs of Vyankoji. P. 257.

These places were captured by Shivaji before the battle which took place between Vyankoji and Mohite on 6th Nov. 1677. Pp. 249-52; 262; 266-7.

Bellari is said to be a curruption of Belvadi. P. 258.

Here Belvadi of the Belgaum District is confused with the Bellari of the Madras Presidency. P. 263.

The name of the Desain of Belvadi is given Savitribai. P. 258.

Her real name was Malbai. P. 263.

The siege lasted for 26 days. P. 258.

This specific number of days cannot be trusted. Pp. 263-4.

Shivaji is said to have written to Vyankoji that he would be removed from Tanjore *by force* and given some lands near Panhala. P. 259.

No such threat was given at all. Read the letter itself. P. 286.

Shivaji siezed two islands, Khanderi and Underi about 16 miles due south of the island of Bombay. P. 268.

It was only Khanderi which is 11 miles from Bombay. Pp. 375, 378.

On October 15 an action took place between the two fleets. P. 268.

The action took place on 18th October. P. 386.

The Dove hauled down its colours. P. 268.

The *Dove* was *captured* by by the Marathas. P. 387.

Daulat Khan withdrew to Khanderi. P. 269.

The Siddi intended to take Khanderi and convert it into a Mogul naval base. P. 269.

Shivaji was too concerned at Sambhaji's defection to answer the message of the English. P. 269.

The Siddi attacked Underi and drove out the Maratha garrison. P. 269.

Early in March 1680, the English again opened negotiations with Shivaji. He was *now* free from anxiety as regards Sambhaji. P. 269.

His recent ill-success at sea had shown him the value of an English alliance. P. 269.

Daulat Khan withdrew to Nagothna whence he had come. Vol. II P. 390.

It was Underi and not Khanderi. P. 461.

Sambhaji had returned by the middle of October 1679 and not in March 1680. P. 203.

There was never a Maratha garrison at Underi and hence none was dislodged. P. 464.

Peace had been concluded in January, so no negotiations were reopened in March. P. 461 n.

The English alone were anxious for making peace with Shivaji who had held the island to the admiration of all against the English and the Siddi. Pp. 433-452.

Index of Places

Abdulla tower, I. 51n.
Abdulpur, I. 56.
Acheen (Atcheen, Achine), I. 275, 311; II. 295.
Achara, I. 157.
Adoni Fort, II. 89, 199.
Agra, Shivaji to Agra or Delhi, I. 251; march to, I. 252; Sh. at the court, I. 255; escape from, I. 259-69; return of Mirza Raja to, I. 269: French envoys at, I. 272n; Khan-i-Zaman's return to, I. 284; Sh. at, I. 560-70; caphilas from, II. 162; Aurang. returned to, II. 168; Roach at, II. 331.
Ahivant (Aount Ghurr, Huturant), I. 287n; II. 212-13.
Ahiri, II. 267.
Ahmadabad (Ammadabath), I. 102, 112, 178, 186, 191, 193, 201, 202, 203, 495, 516; II. 127, 162, 209.
Ahmadnagar, I. 44, 103, 236.
Akluj Fort, II. 204.
Aleppo, I. 185, 272n, 309.
Alibag, I. 298n; II. 374.
Almala, II. 204.
Aden, I. 371; II. 306.
Afganistan, I. 256n.
Allahabad, I. 268 (n).
Amber, II. 13n.
Amsterdam, I. 299.
Anantpur, II. 233.
Annagundi Fort, II. 265.
Anjanvel, I. 40.
Ankola, Sh. at, I. 109; captured by Sh., II.141,142,144n; Castle described, II. 147,149,151,210,
Arabia, I. 132, 468; II. 507.
Aracan, Shaista Kh. against, II. 180.
Arelour, II. 240, 279.
Armenia, I. 214.
Arni, II. 223, 247, 286.
Ashtami (Astomee, Esthemy, Ustamee), I. 376n, 424; II. 8
Athani (Hattanee, Hanttanee), plundered by Sh., II. 79-81; English try to receive compensation, II. 85-92, 102-104, 111-112; looted again, II. 168-69; plundered by Bijapuri and Mogul forces, II. 197, 202-203.
Aurangabad (Ora (u) ngabad), Jaisingh left, I. 119; Marathas raid, I. 236; Jaisingh returns, I, 250; Sh. at, I. 254; Jaisingh relieved of office, I.269; Muazzam at, I. 279; Trotter at, I. 283; Mahabat comes to, I.286; Prince at, I. 288; Mogul retreat to, I. 289; Sh. marching to,I.309;manufacturing centre, I. 353; Bahadur's camp plundered by Sh., II. 131, 162,201;

raided by Marathas, II. 205; Dilir returns, II. 208; burnt by Sh., II. 212, 316, 463, 480, 509, 517, 532.

Bagdad, I. 264.

Baglan, II. 127, 207, 212.

Bahadurbinda, II. 213.

Balaghat (Ballagatt, Balgate, Ballegatt), I. 97, 114-115, 471, 504; II. 20, 130, 207, 314, 344, 512.

Balapur, II. 262, 278.

Balsar (Balsad, Belsar), I. 27, 347, 374; burnt by Sh., II. 199.

Banda, I. 93, 126, 482, 528, 558.

Bangalore (Bengrul), I. 19n, 27, 28; II. 223, 247, 278, 286, 289.

Bankapur, Bijapur king at, I. 82, 89-90, 94; Bahlol and Shahji arrested at, I. 95; Bahlol's capital, I. 112; trading centre, I. 522; Bahlol defeated, II. 130; Khawas Khan imprisoned in, II. 169; Jamshed Khan at, II. 197; Sh. besieged, II. 262.

Bantam, I. 177, 181, 317, 372.

Baramati, I. 18, 27, 29.

Bardez (Bardees), threatened by Sh., I. 519, 545, raided by Sh., I. 572, 583; II. 316, 498, 507-12.

Baroda, I. 492.

Barcelore (Basselore, Basrur), I. 105, 106, 109, 237, 249, 275, 544, 575; II. 107, 344, 502.

Basra, I. 102, 109, 251, 264, 265, 368, 371, 501, 526.

Bassein (Bassijn), I. 1-3, 42, 212, 225, 369, 475, 499, 505, 507; II. 149, 293, 294, 499, 513, 521, 525-532.

Batavia, I. 99, 113, 265, 300n, 302n, 304n, 368, 505, 559; II, 136, 173, 273-274, 480.

Bednur (Bednore), war between Bijapur and Bednur, I. 98-102; looted by Sh., I. 237; to be given to Bahlol, II. 121; revolt of its ruler, II. 148; Sh. against, II. 157; war against, II. 176; Portuguese help, II. 521.

Belgalli (Balgi), II. 199.

Belgaum (Billgom), I. 86n, 407; II. 79, 263, 344.

Bellary, II. 213.

Belvadi, II. 263, 264, 278, 280.

Bengal, I. 88, 404; II. 327, 486.

Berar (Berars, Barrar), I. 271, 282, 283, 285; II. 207.

Bhaganagar, I. 268n; II. 164, 175, 187, 229, 231-233, 278, 283.

Bhati (Batty, Phatty), I. 374, 425 (n); II. 67, 148, 348, 370, 371, 451, 470.

Bhatkal (Batticola), I. 101, 105, 108, 378, 464.

Bhavanashi river, II. 233.

Bhimgad, I. 11.

Bhima river, I. 271n; II. 162, 204.

Bhor Ghat, I. 19n, 39, 42.

Bhupalgad, surrender to Sambhaji, II. 200; recovered by Shivaji, II. 213.

Bhuvangiri Pattam, II. 240, 241, 278, 279.

Bicholi (Bichyly, Ditchulee), I. 86, 126, 574; II. 524.

Bijapur (Vis(z)apur, Vissiapore), Kond Deva an officer of, I. 18; Rajgad to be retaken by, I. 23; Kondana siezed by Sh. from, I. 24; Sh.'s war with, I. 27; Sh's peace with, I. 29; Javli and Bijapur, 1. 31; Sh. against Javli, I. 33-39; Konkan under, I. 40; Kalyan captured from, I. 40; further conquests in Konkan, I. 42, 46; Bijapur's war with Sh. through Afzal, I. 49-68 Sh.'s retreats from Bijapur, I. 69; Panhala besieged by, I. 70-75; King a vassal of the Mogul, I. 88; King fled to Bankapur, I. 90; Kudal captured by Sh. from, I. 90-97, 101-106; Sh.'s war with, I. 107-131; Jaisingh and B., I. 122; Bijapur Queen, I. 137, 144; implored for release of Eng. prisoners, I. 146; Farman for trade from, I. 150; Jaisingh against, I. 237, 249-50; Mogul and Bijapur, I. 272, 274; Bijapur and Sh., I. 300, 351, 439, 481, 500. II. 44; death of Ali Adil Shah, II. 118, 119, 122, 123; peace with Moguls, II. 125; Rustum Zaman goes to, II. 136; defeat of Bahadur Khan, II. 160; revolution, II. 169; Bahadur Khan twice defeated, II. 172, 176; ills of, II. 177; under Masaud, II. 192-195; besieged by Dilir Khan, II. 202, 204-5; confusion in, II. 206, 254.

Billiapatam (Billapatam), I. 384, 391; II. 87, 125.

Birwadi, I. 33, 46, 47.

Boemsemonder, 1. 150, 520, 532, 547, 555, 557.

Bombay, Lord Marlborough at, I. 149; flourishing port, I. 239; prince's neshan received, I. 279; Moguls become neighbours, I. 287; Sh. to take Golconda, I. 294; English defend Bombay against Sh., I. 311; soldiers called to Surat from, I. 319; Exodus to, I. 335; surrounded by the Portuguese and Sh., I. 352; prosperity of, I 354; Sh. tries to capture Mogul fleet at, I. 358; Sh.'s fleet in, I. 361; Sh. against, I. 366; English fortify, I. 369; Bhandarees of Bombay suspected, I. 384; Ustick as ambassador to Sh. from, I.389; Ustick's embassy, I. 390, 392,

404; Dutch against, I. 405; Bombay Council discuss compensation, I. 409; Niccolls left Rairy, I. 413-34; Sh.'s envoy at, I. 442-47; Narain Shenvi sent as embassy from, I. 455; Oxinden sent as embassy from, I. 460-71; Bombay ceded to the English, I. 541, Bombay money in Sh.'s country, II. 14; Oxinden returned to, II. 17; coolies, II. 23, 25; treaty between Sh. and English, II. 27-31, 36-43; Sh. wants guns from, II. 61, 63; Lounds sent to Sh. from, II. 80-91; Adems sent to Sh.'s town from, II. 91; growth of, II. 98; Sambhaji's envoy at, II. 114; English envoy to Sambhaji from, II. 115; Siddi's fleet in, II. 125; news of Sh.'s death at, II. 167; Bombay's growth retarded by Sh., II. 270; English anxious to secure, II. 294; restrictions on Siddi and Bombay, II. 303-10; Maratha and Mogul fleets in, II. 318; Sh. does not join Dutch against, II. 319; Siddi in, II. 321; Sh. to surprise Bombay, II. 324; Siddi's movements against, II. 325-32; Siddi refused admission in, II. 334; Sh.'s ultimatum to Bombay against Siddi, II. 339; Qasim's fleet at, II. 342; Sambal expelled from, II. 348; Qasim permitted to be at, II. 357; Sh.'s threat to burn Siddi's fleet in, II. 358; Sh.'s salt fleet protected by, II. 359; Siddi leaves B., II. 362; dispute between Bombay and Choul, II. 365-72; Henry-Kenry near, II. 374; Sh.'s failure to capture Khanderi, II. 375; Sh. fortifies Khanderi, II. 376-82; English fleet to Khanderi from, II. 382-94; Sh.'s design against, II. 395, 412; Bombay fleet blockades Nagothana, II. 415; Siddi helps, II. 419; Bombay checkmates Siddi, II. 426; Bombay fleet propose surrender of Khanderi II. 430; Bombay tries to being peace with Sh., II. 433-40; Maratha fleet against Bombay, II. 443; peace expedited, II. 449; terms of treaty, II. 452-64; Siddi secures Undheri, II. 464-76; Siddi searches Bombay boats, II. 477; Bombay policy of peace, II. 481-87.

Broach (Brooche, Baroche), I. 131, 178, 204, 207, 226, 234, 235, 292, 293, 345, 346, 365; II. 24, 161.

Burhanpur (Brampour, Braimpore,), Jaisingh comes to, I. 237; Sh. at, I. 256, 282; Sh.

collects toll, I. 287; threatened by Sh., I. 315; trading centre, I. 353; Shah Alam at, II. 201; Sh. to surprise, II. 209,211-13, 480.

Caldera Point (Fort St. George), II. 251.

Calicut (Callicutt, Callecutt), I. 127, 378, 384, 391; II. 6, 78, 86, 87, 95, 103, 125.

Cambay (Cambaya), I. 3, 102, 130, 346; II. 309.

Camboja, I. 544.

Canara, Jauhar sent with an army to, I. 74; Sh. to, I. 90-2; Ali Adil Shah in, I. 99-101; Bahlol to, I. 112; Sh. invades, I. 130; Sh. in, I. 445, 506, 519; Dutch could not capture Canara forts, I. 517; Canara ship captured by Sh., I. 529; Sh. in, I. 544; raided by Anandrao, II. 129.

Cannanore, I. 107, 505, 506, 519, 544.

Cape Comorin, II. 228, 250.

Carnatak (Karnatak, Karnatic, Carnatic, Carnatte), I. 163, 301, 406, 445, 577; II. 121; looted by Sh., I. 198; under Venkoji, II. 223; conquered by Sh., 252-53; loot of Sh.'s expedition, II. 278; chronology of the campaign, II. 278-80.

Carwar (Carwarr), Mr. Masters at, I. 86; Rustum Zaman at, I. 104; Sh. at, I. 107-20; English leave, I. 129; Sh. plunders, I. 237; French settling a factory at, I. 275; gain from British trade, I. 391; value of Carwar factory to English, I. 441; in Rustum Zaman's Jagir, I. 543; Oxinden at, II. 70; Carwar occupied by Sh., II. 74; English loss at, II. 81; threat to withdraw English factory, II. 97; English dull at, II. 106; English affairs in a fair state, II. 120; burnt down, II. 146; Visaji Kond Deva appointed subedar, II. 191; guns removed from Carwar castle by Sh., II. 210; Bijapur king fitting a ship at, II. 301; English disallowed to withdraw factory from, II. 410, 463.

Cavery (Cauvery) river, II. 277.

Ceylon (Zeilon), I. 189, 332, 505; II. 35, 159, 227, 480.

Chakan Fort, I. 24, 25, 31, 37, 43, 44, 73, 77, 288; II. 200.

Chamargunda, I. 44.

Chandan, II. 123.

Chandgad (Chandagurra), I. 86, 528; II. 127.

Chaul (Chaule, Shaule, Choul, Chwale, Choull, Chiouela), Sh.'s envoy to, I. 19, raided by

Sondeva, I. 42; Sh. commands, I. 50, 106; Mogul army near, I. 89, 142; Choul ships to be captured by English, I. 142; Bijapur Queen at, I. 161; Sh.'s camp near, I. 225, English invited by Maratha governor, I. 375; Portuguese Choul taken by Sh., I. 377; description of, I. 424; Sh. master of, I. 475; boats captured by Sh., I. 506; Oxinden at, II. 7, 18; English wish to settle factory at, II. 37; English salt fleet visits, II. 47; Austin at, II. 67; defence of Portuguese Chaul, II. 293; Maratha boats detained in Portuguese Choul, II. 314; Choul Governor demands Brahmins from Bombay, II. 348; dispute between Bombay and Chaul, II. 365-72; for fortifying Khanderi materials collected at, II. 376-78; wounded Marathas sent to, II. 395; peace with Sh. through Choul subedar, II. 407, 414; a renegade from Kh. at Choul, II. 433; treaty—talks, II. 447-51; a Maratha village near Choul robbed by Siddi, II. 471; Sh. seeking refuge in, II. 501; Mogul army near, II. 503, Sh. possesses, II. 514.

Chaul Upper, I. 376, 401.

Chhapra (Chopada, Chupra), I. 360; sacked, II. 209, 241, 479, 480, 498.

Chickly, I. 33, 292, 342, 347.

Chidambaram, II. 278.

China, I. 93, 132, 265; II. 507.

Chinapatam (Madras), II. 250.

Chiplun (Chiploon, Cheaploone, Chiblone), I. 95, 158; II. 7, 47.

Chitaldurg, II. 265.

Chittor, I. 1, 3, 5, 10, 35.

Cochin (Cocheine, Couequin, Coutchijn), I. 83, 131, 141, 265, 505, 522, 556; II. 480.

Coleroon (Coalldon, Colrun) River, II. 242, 244, 245, 249, 256, 266, 267, 268, 275, 279, 280.

Condawar (Condewaer, Condware), I. 519, 584; II. 157-59.

Congo, I. 111, 114, 337, 377.

Constantinople, I. 141, 232.

Coorg (Cooz), I. 298.

Corollee, I. 101, 292.

Coromandel Coast, II. 227, 243, 281.

Cucullee, II. 165.

Cuddera, II. 131, 144, 150, 154.

Cuddalore, II. 239, 275.

Cuncolim, II. 165.

Cuttack, I. 268; II. 203.

Dabhol (Dabul), situation of, I. 50; Sh. captures, I. 59, 70; Marathas demand governor of, I. 61; given to Fazl Khan, I. 95; Bijapuri forces against, I. 106;

English ship to cruise near, I. 145; Bijapur takes, I. 242, 245; Dutch invited by Sh. to settle at, I. 301; Sh.'s fleet at, I. 369; useful to Bombay, I. 446; English free to settle factory at, II. 37, 47; Sh.'s fleet from, II. 316; salt fleet for, II. 355; this fleet to be conveyed by English, II. 357; Portuguese ship carried to, II. 513.

Daman, Mogul siege of, I. 131, 235; Maratha forces near, I. 295; Marathas to settle at, I. 350; ship captured by Sh. at, I. 369; Marathas near, II. 174, 199; naval skirmish near, II. 513; Sh.'s forces against, II. 515; Marathas settle at, II. 523; Chauth from, II. 525-32.

Danda Rajapuri, Shahji in, I. 16, 19; Sh. captures town of, I. 52, 70; Sh. desires English help against, I. 62; Sh. against castle of, I. 75; the Mogul keen to take, I. 139; Sh. earnest to possess, I. 140; English help for, I. 151; Sh. to get Danda Rajpuri from the Mogul, I. 253; English unwilling to help Sh. against, I. 388-96; Sh. to be advised to make peace with Siddi, I. 470; Sh. resolved to take, II. 9, 19; early history of, II. 290; under Nizam Shahi, II. 290; Sh.'s expeditions against, II. 292; English attempt to capture, II. 294; transferred from Bijapur, II. 295; Sh. against, II. 298; Janjira besieged by Sh., II. 300; Portuguese help to, II. 311; Sh.'s fleet against, II. 316; Mogul and Maratha fleets at, II. 317; Danda Rajapuri lost, II. 320; Siddi of Janjira in Bombay, II. 321; Siddi building a fort at Nogothana, II. 325; Siddi expelled from Nogothana, II. 330; another siege of, II. 340; failure of Moropant against, II. 343; suspension of hostilities against, II. 347; another failure to storm Janjira, II. 365; end of the struggle, II. 370; Danda Rajapuri captured, II. 445.

Daulatabad (Deogiri), I. 1, 5, 8, 104; II. 288.

Deccan, Bhosles in, I. 1; Sh. returns to, I. 17; Sh. a Jentoo of great power in, I. 67; civil war in, I. 105; Sh. master of ports in, I. 109; Sh. absent from, I. 119; Deccan vessels to be captured by English, I. 142; Mogul forces in, I. 245; Muslim power to be destroyed in, I. 248; the Queen of, I. 251 ; Sh. sent back his troops

from Agra to, I. 260; robbed by Sh., I. 266; Bahadur Khan in, I. 288n; Pen the gate of Hindustan and D., I. 373; difficulties of trade in, I. 406; English privileges in, I. 468; injuries inflected upon the English by people of, II. 86; unsettled condition of, II. 89, 103, 125; Ram Singh to, II. 131; Bahadur recalled from, II. 179; Diler Khan against, II. 195; the Grand Rebel of, II. 198; Muazzam as viceroy of, II. 201; Muazzam in, II. 257; map of, II. 277; Aurangzeb leaves, II. 292.

Delhi, Shah Jahan leaves, I. 87; loot of D. by Nadir Shah, I. 164; Sh. to, I. 242n; conquest of D. by Hindus, I. 248; Court moved from D. to Agra, I. 251; Sh. at, I. 260n, 261n, 267; Sambhaji ordered to be brought to D., II. 203; Sh. vows to capture, II. 254; Janjira to be delivered to Sh. on order from, II. 300; Roach's letter from, II. 375.

Deogad, I. 268n.

Davalgaon (Devulgaun), I. 17, 43; II. 288.

Dharangaon (Dungom, Dungunn), looted by Sh., II. 64-69; English loss at, II. 79-87, 92, 104, 209, 211, 480.

Dharwar, II. 121.

Dhulkhed, II. 204.

Durgadevi Hill (Murbad), I. 42.

England, I. 131, 170, 185, 274, 319, 324, 373, 383, 393, 419; II. 15n, 92, 154, 308, 486.

Ethiopia, I. 208, 220.

Europe, I. 132, 147, 177, 226, 263, 265, 446, 468; II. 89, 93, 104, 105, 240.

Fort St. George, letter from, II. 29; letter to, II. 81n; an embassy to Sh. from, II. 115; defended against Sh., II. 233, 234; letter to Sh., II. 236; Sh.'s letter to, II. 250; letter to Co., II. 256; letter from, II. 257.

France, I. 272n; II. 15n.

Gabroon, I. 505.

Gadag (Gudduck), II. 198, 263.

Gambhirgarh, I. 296.

Gundavee, I. 165, 179, 198, 202, 292, 342, 347, 355, 374; II. 84, 230.

Gangavali (Gongouly), II. 8.

Gaya, I. 268n.

Ghorbunder, I. 294; II. 517.

Ghorkhind, I. 73.

Gheria, I. 530.

Goa, Viceroy of G. sends presents to Sh., I. 96; Eng. factors of Karwar go to G., I. 128-131; Beber died at, I. 272; G. makes peace with Kanara, I. 302; Sh.

near, I. 421, 518-19; Sh.'s raid into Bardees, I. 573; prospects of conquest of G., I. 575; failure at, I. 519; II. 18; Sambhaji near, II. 173, 250, 308, 317; letter regarding Sh. II. 494; Sh. advancing against, II. 497; raided by Lodhi Khan, II. 499; protest against raid, II. 500; Sh. invited to, II. 501; Sh. sailed by, II. 502; Portuguese envoy to Mirza Raja, II. 503; Mogul envoy at, and treaty between Goa and Mirza Raja, II. 505; Sh.'s plot to capture, II. 508; exchange of envoys between Goa and Sh., II. 511; 1st treaty between Sh. and Portuguese, II. 511-12; 2nd treaty, II. 513; expulsion of Portuguese from, II. 515; English helped Goa against Sh., II. 516; Sh.'s amicable relation with, II. 518; threat of war against, II. 520; Maratha vessels captured by Portuguese, II. 523; raids from Portuguese territory, II. 524; negotiations regarding Chauth II. 524-531.

Goga (Gogo), I. 548; II. 317, 341.

Gokarna (Gocoran), I. 109, 237; II. 510.

Golconda, King of G. helped Bijapur against Sh., I. 69; Sh. wants Rajput help to destroy Golconda, I. 247; G. assists Bijapur against Jaisingh, I. 250; Sh.'s alliance with Deccan States against Moguls, I. 393; troops helping Bijapur against Sh., II. 69; Surat and, II. 163; Bijapur assisted by troops from, II. 250; Sh.'s war with, II. 271; Sh. helped by, II. 343.

Gombroon, I. 145.

Gondwana, I. 268.

Gosala fort, I. 40, 46, 241; II. 292.

Gujerat, I. 164, 303, 315, 341, 353, 354, 489.

Gulburga, Khwas Kh. in charge of, II. 121; siege of, II. 184-87; Bahlol died, II. 191-92.

Hanumant Gad, II, 213.

Harihareshwar (Harhearsser), II. 130.

Harpanhalli, II. 265.

Haveri, I. 120.

Hendry Kendry (Andheri Khanderi), I. 13, 361; II. 110, 343, 374-82, 388-9, 393-96, 398-427.

Henery (Underi) Island, I. 117; II. 373-74, 402, 423, 455, 465-68, 476-78, 487, 494.

Hingni, I. 17; II. 288.

Honavar (Onar, Onor, Onore) I. 121n, 517; II. 160, 344.

Hoskot, II. 247.

Hubli, robbed by Sh., I. 107; English factors to, I. 127-129; toll on Hubli pepper, I. 287; confusion at, I. 305; robbed by Sh., I. 406-469, 533; II. 77, 79, 80, 92, 94; tyranny of the Bijapur Governor, II. 105, 106, 107; robbed by Prataprao, II. 124-5; robbed by Sh., II. 126-127, 153; robbed by Sambhaji, II. 175-78; plundered, II. 192-93; 196, 199.

Hukeri (Houkerrie), I. 59, 94-95, 115, 121, 480.

Hyderabad, II. 233, 278-9.

Indapur, I. 18, 27-8, 148n.

Jafanapatam, II. 273, 274.

Jaitapur (Jettapore, Jettipore), I. 60, 63, 65, 147, 153-4, 157, 371; II. 341, 344, 364.

Jaipur (Amber), II. 130.

Jalna, raid of, II. 2; loot of, II. 207, 212n, 535.

Jamkhandi, II. 199.

Janjira (Jazira, Gingerah) forttress, I. 47, 73; described, II. 290; under Nizam Shahi, II. 290; under Bijapur, II. 291; attacked by Sh., II. 292; the English attempt at, II. 294-98; Sh. against, II. 298-306; invincible, II. 304; revolution at, II. 306; siege of, II. 307; Portuguese help to, II. 311-16; Maratha fleet against, II. 316-18; war between Sh. and Siddi, II. 332-33; siege of, II. 340-44; suspension of hostilities, II. 347; failure to storm, II. 365; end of struggle, II. 373, 374, 375-76, 497, 513, 536n.

Javli (Jaoli, Jovly, Chouly, Saulie), I. 31-39, 51n, 95, 138, 255n, 476-77, 520, 534.

Jawhar State, I. 239, 290-91; II. 344.

Jesri, Prataprao killed, II. 128-9.

Jinji (Chingy, Siazier, Chenjie, Chindi, Gingee), orders for settling in Jinji country, II. 115; Sher Khan subedar of, II. 227; Sh.'s march to, II. 233; Jinji described, II. 238; fall of, II. 239, 249, 253-61; J. strengthened, II. 269; Pondichery under, II. 275.

Jiwal, I. 236.

Judda, I. 345.

Junner (Junnar, Junea), Jijabai at, I. 8; captured by Sh., I. 15; Mawals under, I. 18, 19; scaled by Sh., I. 43; Daud near, I. 286; Moro Pant near, II. 67. English factory to be settled at, II. 82, 178; visited by Fryer, II. 133; 3rd attempt to capture, II. 210.

Kabul (Caboel), I. 256, 263, 284, 567; rebellion of Pathans, II. 125; taken by Pathans, II.

131, 172.
Kadra (Cuddrea), I. 102; Sh. at, II. 137.
Kalyan-Bhivandi (Cullian, Cullean-Bundye), captured by Moguls, I. 286; recaptured by Sh., I. 287; English in correspondence with the Governor of, I. 314; Prince Muazzam near, I. 337; Mogul raid on, I. 348; timber grown at, I. 352; English try to secure Pen for trade with, I. 373; ship-building at, I. 375; Sh. neighbour of Bombay by having K.,I.382; English envoy at, I. 464; trade stopped by armies encamped near, II. 47; Moro Pandit near, II. 89; Austin given hundi on K., II. 103; Sh. at, II. 132; Sh.'s navy at, II. 293; effect on trade by Sh.'s possession of K., II. 317; six ships built at, II. 318; Daulat Khan near, II. 361; Maratha army at, II. 316, 413.
Kanakgiri fort, 1. 3, 48; II. 265.
Kanchan-Manchan, I. 332-33.
Kanchivaram (Kanjivaram), II. 233, 257-58.
Kandahar, I. 228, 256n.
Kangori, I. 46.
Karanjah (Caranjah, Carinjah, Corengee, Corringa), I. 282-3, 285, 352; II. 47, 314-5, 326-28, 423, 446, 516, 517.
Karhad, I. 29.
Karjat, I. 298n.
Karnala (Cornalla), I. 241, 298-99; II. 307.
Karnul (Karnool), II. 233.
Kashmir (Cashmir), I. 88, 163, 233, 493.
Kashi (Benares), II. 5, 16, 204.
Kayal (Cale-velho), I. 64.
Kelshi (Kelsey), I. 157, 446.
Keridra, I. 279.
Khanapur, I. 533.
Khandesh, I. 3, 282, 285; II. 64, 207, 212.
Khandala, I. 289n.
Khanderi (Undheri), situation, II. 373, 374; Sh.'s 1st attempt to capture, II. 374; Sh. fortifies, II. 376; English prevent, II. 377; Sh. occupies, II. 379; English fleet before, II. 382; naval engagement near, II. 386; Maratha fleet near, II. 391; Sh. prevents Bombay from helping, II. 395; the English failure, II. 398; relation of the engagement, II. 404; summary of events near, II. 409; treaty with Sh., II. 413; the English block Nagothana, II. 415; Siddi helps the English, II. 419; plans to checkmate Siddi, II. 426; Marathas refuse to surrender, II. 430; peace efforts, II.

433; Siddi raids the coast, II. 441; Maratha fleet against Bombay, II. 443; firing continued, II. 447; negotiations for treaty, II. 449; English demands, II. 452; Maratha demands, II. 457; peace terms, II. 461; reasons for peace, II. 479; justification of treaty, II. 485; surrender of the Dove, II. 487; Fryer's account of war, II. 491; chronology of events, II. 493-94, 530.

Kharepatan (Carapatan), I. 63, 66, 72, 95, 114-15, 117, 123, 137-38, 142, 145, 146, 148, 157, 523, 530, 533; II. 24, 110, 294, 496.

Khelna (Helna-Vishalgad), I. 66, 70, 73, 124, 137, 485, 486; Sh. at, II. 406.

Khesdurg (Kerridrew, Kerridurg), I. 241, 298, 385.

Kolaba, I. 298n, 373n, 382; II. 374.

Kolar, II. 223, 247, 250, 262, 278, 286.

Kolhapur, (Callapore), Revington at, I. 49, 72; Giffard at, I. 83; Siddi Masud at, I. 126; Dutch at, I. 521, 534; II. 56, 89; raided by Sh., II. 124-25, 129; ravaged, II. 137, 164; captured, II. 165, 171; Sambhaji at, II. 203, 212n, 301.

Kolawan, I. 296, 418.

Kondana, I. 24, 27, 29; 241.

Konkan (Concan), I. 24, 31, 89, 119, 239, 249, 289-90, 332; II. 14, 128, 139, 142-44; 147, 210, 291, 299, 300, 316, 495, 499, 526.

Kopal, II. 213, 265, 268, 278, 280.

Kudal (Coddal, Corrall, Condel, Coudeal,), Sh.'s troops driven off by Desai of, I. 69; Sh. conquers, I. 82, 83, 89-104; K. surrenders to Aziz Khan, I. 114; under Bijapur, I. 117, 123. 126; Ikhlas Khan at, I. 243; Sh. captures, I, 249; Sh.'s forces to, I. 482; Sh.'s raid upon, I. 504; Khawas Khan fled away from, I. 528; Sh. near, I. 558, 579; Annaji at, II. 35; Sh. at, II. 56; Sh. going to, II. 129; Rustum captures, II. 502.

Lahore, I. 87-88, 163, 233, 493.

Lakhameshwar (Luckmiseer), II. 198, 263, 278, 280, 316.

Linganah, I. 47, 241-42.

Lisbon, II. 238, 316, 520.

Lohgad (Logarh, Lohogad), I. 42, 241, 298.

London, I. 256, 260-61, 272, 335, 370, 394, 399; II. 30, 100n, 409, 462, 521, 522.

Madras, I. 85, 186, 241, 249;

II. 44, 125, 233-37, 257, 260-61, 267, 276, 279, 536.
Madura, I. 301, 576-77; II. 224; 226, 256, 268, 279.
Mahabaleswar, I. 30-32, 35.
Mahad (Marr), I. 31, 38, 95, 139, 288, 344; II. 2.
Mahim (Mayhim, Moehum), I. 294 366, 379, 427; II, 73, 325, 359,, 360, 443-44, 515.
Mahuli (Mauley, Maully), I. 8-9, 16, 19, 42, 241-42, 278, 297-99, 314; II. 163, 307, 311.
Mahur, I. 333; II. 207.
Maldiva, II. 236.
Malkapur, II. 212.
Malwan (Malvan), I. 109, 118, 519, 556; II. 299.
Mangaligue, II. 187.
Mangalveda (Mangalvera), I. 16n, II. 204.
Masulipatam (Matchlapatam), I. 540; II. 159, 182, 198.
Mazgaon (Mazogon), II. 30, 323-24, 345-47, 352-63, 444, 473.
Mecca, I 50n, 320; II. 181, 258, 295, 507.
Miraj, I. 54n; II. 121, 126.
Mirjee Castle, I, 94; 121, 241, 246, 480, 487; II 94, 121, 126, 142-149, 153, 157, 163, 510.
Mith Bander (Meate Bunder), Eng. offered, I. 134; situation, II. 498.
Mocha (Mokha, Moccha), I. 85, 109-115; 132, 142, 145, 320, 345, 371-72, 379, 417, 436; II. 295, 297.
Mochimbo, I. 427; II. 324-25, 359.
Moose Khore, I. 33.
Mozambique, II. 522, 524, 527.
Mudhol, I. 1, 5, 37; II. 223, 229.
Mulgund, II. 198.
Mulhir (Moleer Mooleer), I. 289-90, 315, 492; II. 212.
Muranjan, I. 241.
Muskat (Muscat, Muskott, Musquetta), I. 110, 133, 251, 264, 371, 377, 408-9, 415, 428, 434, 544; II. 312.
Muttra (Mathura), I. 268, 313n.
Mysore, against Tanjore, II. 225; Sh. against, 229, 256, 261.
Nagapatanam, I. 580; II. 226-27, 243-44, 269, 536.
Nagothana, I. 40, 413, 418, 425n, 464, 468, 471; II. 8, 325, 330, 334, 367, 370, 372, 386, 390, 394, 398, 401, 415, 418, 424, 428, 439, 458, 465, 474, 488, 493-94.
Nander fort, I. 278.
Nandubar (Nandraband), I. 283.
Nardurg, I. 241.
Narora, II. 146, 521.
Nasratgarh (name of Jinji), II. 238.
Nasik, I. 297, 332; II. 195, 212, 254.

Nasik Trimbuk (Trymbuck Nassure), Mahabat Kh. ag., I. 287-88; plundered by Sh. II. 195, 254.
Nellvorah II. 57.
Nivritti-Sangam, II. 233.
Nizampur (Nigeampoor, Nishampore), I. 424; II. 8, 67.
Oodedroog, I. 241.
Pabal, I. 236.
Pachad (Banchar-Puncharr), I. 418n, 456; II. 8.
Paithan, II. 3, 16 (n).
Palghat, I. 52n.
Pali (Palee, Polly), I. 241, 418.
Palicat (Paliacat, Pellicat, Pollicatt, Pulicat), II. 251, 257, 261, 273-74.
Pandavagad, I. 11; II. 123.
Pandrapani, I. 73.
Pandharpur, I. 51n.
Panhala (Panela, Punnala), captured by Sh., I. 49-54; siege of, I.70-75; surprised by Sh.,I. 124; Eng. guns against, I. 132, 144; Sh. at, I. 480, 484; Sh. escapes from, 485; Sh. at, II. 98, 105; captured by,II.127; besieged by Dilir Khan, II. 129, 164; Sh.at, II.168-9, 194, 196-7; Sambhaji escaped from, II. 200-1; attacked by Dilir Khan, II. 202; Sh. at, II. 208, 210, 264, 278, 280, 344; Sambhaji at, II. 450, 533-40.
Panvel, I. 47; II. 293, 359, 396, 410, 413.
Parenda, I. 46.
Par Ghat, I. 39.
Parli, II. 123.
Patan, I. 194, 198.
Patas, I. 17n.
Patna, I. 88, 163.
Patgaon, I. 503, 573.
Pattagad (Vishram Garh), Sh. at, II. 208, 209, 212n, 437.
Peddapolam, II. 233-34.
Pedgaon (Bahadurgarh), I. 46.
Pelgunda Castle, I. 246; I. 249, 256, 267n.
Pen (Penn), I. 372-3, 425n, 468; II. 8, 306, 326, 328, 369-70, 458-59, 473-74.
Pench, II. 129.
Persia, I. 102, 109, 114, 132, 144,156-57,263-65,371-72,468, 516, 518, 522; II. 22, 271, 295.
Phaltan, II. 123.
Phonda (Ponda, Funda, Punda) Fort, pargana of Kudal, I, 89; Sh. near, I. 106; won and lost by Sh., I. 124-27; taken by Rustum, I. 484; granted by the King to Sh., I. 538, 586; Sh. against, II. 35, 45, 56; siege of, II. 137, 142; Annaji left there, II. 142: under Sh., II. 144, 146, 152, 162-3, 165, 173, 175; guns taken from, II. 210; retaken by Rustum Z.,II. 502; captured by Sh., II. 520.

Pimpalner, I. 19n.
Pindolle, I. 350-51, 358; II. 88, 170.
Pondichery (Phulichery, Pullichere), II. 274-76.
Poona (Puna), I. 3, 11, 17-28, 35, 42, 44, 73, 77, 80, 83, 86, 119, 237, 238, 241, 255n, 280, 290n.
Porto Novo, I. 581; II. 148, 223, 240, 256, 273, 274, 278, 536.
Pradhangad, I. 42.
Pratapgad (Pratapg(u)rh, Parrabgur, Purtaab Gurr), I. 51n, 115, 117, 118; II. 8, 9, 11, 18-20n, 264.
Pullimelee Castle, II. 258.
Purandhar (Punadar) Fort, captuted by Sh., I. 15, 26, 29, 31; Mores kept there, I. 35; Sambhaji born at, I. 119; besieged by Jai Singh, 240, 242n; treaty of, I. 245; reason of surrendering, I. 248; recaptured by Sh., I. 298; Sh. at, I. 485.
Quedah, I. 311.
Rahimatpur, I. 89.
Raibag, raided by Sh., I. 43; raided by Rustum, I. 305; world-famed town, I, 478; Bijapur army at, I. 513; raided by Sh., II. 89; Sh. near, II. 138; robbed by Sambhaji, II. 175; captured by Surjah Khan, II. 197.
Raidurg, II. 265.
Raigad (Rairi), captured by Sh. from Mores, I. 36; English of Rajapur imprisoned at, I. 143-48; made capital, I. 236; not delivered to Jai Singh, I. 241; Sh. left for Agra, I. 254; Sh. at, I. 275; Dutch embassy at, I, 305; Surat loot to, I. 333; Ustick to, I. 393-400; English at, II. 33; Austin to, II. 66-69; English envoys at, II. 85-90; Adams to, II. 91; Sh. returns to, II. 143; Moropant back to, II, 232; Sh: returned to, II. 264, 280; N. Shenwi at, II. 333; Sh. to be installed as Maharaja at, II.338; Sh. ill at, II, 532; death scene, II. 533; Rajaram installed, II. 540; Sambhaji captures, II.541.
Rajgad (Rajgarh, Rasgar), I. 11, 23, 29, 31, 51n, 241, 275-6, 286, 571, II. 2, 300, 510.
Rajamahal, I. 88.
Rajmachi, I. 42.
Rajapur, Under R. Zaman, I.52; conflict between Eng. and Sh. 58-69; Revington of R. helps Jauhar, I. 70-72, 112; Maratha fleet at, I. 117; described, I. 132; plunder by Sh., I.132; Eng. imprisoned, I.133-43; their release, I.144-53; compensation of plunder, I. 153-57; Eng. helpless, I. 160; R. captured by Bijapur, I. 242; re-establishment of Eng.

factory at, I. 322, 370, 372-86; terms of the treaty, I. 386; Ustick sent as an envoy, I. 389, 404; Sh.'s envoy to Bombay, I. 405; Niccolls to Sh., I.413, 415-425; Sh.'s envoy at Bombay, I. 426; N. Shenavi to Sh., I. 430; terms of treaty with Sh., I. 433; Bhimaji to Bombay, I. 441; several treaties with Sh., I. 448; N. Shenavi to Sh., I. 455; Oxenden to Sh., I. 460-71; II. 25-30, 36-43; treaty satisfactory, II. 44-50; Eng. at Rajapur, II. 50-55; interview with Sh.at, II. 56; Austin to Rairi, II. 66; prospects of Rajapur factory, II. 70; compensation delayed, II. 81; Eng. envoy to Sh., II. 85; Adames to Sh., II. 91; Child to Sh., II. 100; Sh. at, II. 106; Annaji at, II. 109; negotiations with Sambhaji, II. 112-117; Sh. near, II. 124, 132; Sh. at, II. 196; Sh. at Rajapur, II. 407; Daulat Khan from, II. 411; Eng. ship to, II. 462; Eng. prohibited from leaving, II. 479; Sh. near R., II. 509.

Ramnagar, captured by Sh., I. 290-6; Maratha forces near, I. 338, 347, 358; taken by Moropant, I. 350; II. 175, 347, 529.

Rangna (Reingna), I. 47, 70, 126, 485n, 571, 573.

Ratnagiri, I. 40, 138n.

Rohida fort, I. 29, 39.

Rudra Mal (Vajragarh), I. 241.

Sadraspatanam, I. 474; II. 261.

Salher (Salhir, Salleere, Sutangad), I. 275, 285-87, 289-90; II. 141, 163, 230-32.

Salsette (Zalzeet), I. 47, 111, 351-52, 354, 380-81, 427; II. 325, 327, 359, 498, 512, 514, 518, 546, 576.

Samgamner, a Mawal, I. 19n; battle of, II. 207, 212n.

Sangaula, II. 205.

Sanklee (Sanquelin, Sancle, Sanculy), I. 89, 126, 507; II. 514.

Sasvad, I. 26.

Satara (Sutara), I. 5, 26, 31, 38, 347, 439; II. 2, 122-23, 127-133; ill at, II. 167, 264.

Satavali (Suttaly, Satouly), its governor at Rajapur, I, 61; Gyffard to be sent to, I. 66; naval fight between Siddi and Daulat Khan, II. 130, 333.

Saulangi, II. 204.

Savantvadi, I. 69, 75.

Shahapur (Chapoer) suburb of Bijapur, I. 481, II. 199.

Shahgad, I. 15.

Shahjahanabad (Siahasianabalt), I. 87, 233, 493.

Sangameshwar, II, 531.

Shaw Bunder, I. 177, 323, 325, 321, 335.

Shingnapur, I. 137; II. 496.
Shirta, II. 286.
Shirwal, I. 24, 27-8.
Shivapur, I. 17, 19, 25.
Shivneri, Jijabai at, I. 8, 9, 15-16; described, II. 133-4; Sh. fails to capture, II. 135, 210.
Shiveshwar, I. 102; II. 140-41, 210.
Shivthar, I. 19n, 35.
Sholapur, I. 117, 274; II. 160, 173.
Shrirangpatam, II. 249-50, 278.
Shriwardhan (Serapatan), II. 144.
Sindu Durg, I. 118; II. 299.
Sinhagad, under Konddeva, I. 18; Sh. at, I. 89; besieged by Jai Singh, 240, 248; recaptured by Tanaji, I. 278.)
Sinkhed, Jadhav Rao of, I. 14.
Sion (Siam), I. 294, 427; II, 324-25, 359, 515.
Sirsi Castle, II. 157.
Songad(-garh), I. 87, 133-34, 241, 488.
St. Johns (Sanjan), I. 142, 234.
St. Thome, I. 56; II. 242, 275.
Sudhagarh, I. 46.
Sunda, I. 98; II. 94, 121, 149-57.
Sundargad, I. 11.
Supa, I. 18, 24-25, 27, 29.
Surat, (Suratte), described, I. 163; Sh. near, I. 165, English factory fortified, I. 166; attempt on Sh.'s life; I. 169; English defend their factory, I. 171-77; account by the Surat Council, I. 179, description by Oxinden, I. 181; by Smith, I. 185; Dutch accounts, I. 190; by Valentyn, I. 191, by Iversen, I. 193; by the Dagh Register, I. 197; other accounts, I. 201; Guarda's account, I. 208; description by Escaliot, I. 209; by Thevenot, I. 221; by Abbè Carrè, I. 229; by Bernier, I. 232; second sack of S., I. 307-332; Sh. near, I. 337; effect of Sh.'s raids on, I. 340; panics in 1673-5, 1677, 1679, I. 343-60; Sh.'s fleet against, I. 364; Sh.'s empire, II. 250; plunder of, II. 498; disturbed, II, 515; Governor of Eng. Factory in, II. 567.
Surgad (Sier Gurr), I. 46, 418.
Suvarndurg, I. 11.
Swally (Sually), I. 145, 147, 272n, 317, 323, 341, 361, 366-68; II. 332.
Tala fort, I. 40, 46; II. 292.
Tanjour (Tanjavar, Tangier. Tansjouwer, Tansjour), I. 7, 301, 576-77, 580; II. 121, 213, 223-26, 228, 238, 243-44 247, 249, 253, 262, 266-69, 279, 289.
Tegnapatam, I. 581; II. 227, 242-43, 272-73, 279.
Terdal, I. 43.
Tevenapatum, II. 240-41, 278-79.

Thall (Tull), I. 366; II. 316, 376, 419, 448, 465, 467, 492.
Thana, I. 352, 372-74, 382, 434; II. 47, 83, 363, 366, 396, 413, 516-17.
Tikona, I. 241.
Tirumala Vadi (Tiruvadi), battle of, II. 239-40, 242, 272, 278-79.
Tirupati, II. 233, 278.
Tonquin, I, 500.
Torna fort, I. 22. 23, 29, 31, 241; II. 2.
Trichinapalli (Chertanapalle), II. 225, 242, 268.
Tuljapur, I. 51n.
Udaipur (Udepur), I. 1, 3-4; II. 4.
Udgir, I. 52n.
Umbarkhindi, I. 333.
Umbassaree (Umbassore), I. 350; II. 523.
Umrani, II. 123.
Undheri (Undry, Hendry), situation, II. 374; Siddi occupies, II. 464; struggle with Maratha fleet II. 467; Siddi claims the right of search, II. 477.
Utena, I. 194, 203.
Uttarmanas, I. 268n.
Vaitarna, I. 40.
Valdour, II. 240.
Valigundapuram, II. 241, 243-49, 278.
Vani Dindori, I, 333.
Vasota Castle. (Waysetty),I. 134.
Vellore (called Ray Vellore), II. 235, 237, 252, 255-59, 261-62, 269, 275, 278, 279.
Vijaydurga, I. 11.
Vijayanagar (Bisnagar), II, 4, 127, 227-29, 252, 255, 265.
Vimbassaree, II. 171.
Vingurla, Sh. near, I. 69; Sh. captures, I. 90; burnt by Sh., I. 104; recovered by Bijapur, I. 123; an Eng. ship to blockade I. 145, threatened by Sh., I. 302; robbed by Marathas, I. 483; Bijapur Queen fled, I. 538; Lakham besieges the Dutch at, I. 572; Sh.'s invasion on V. expected, I. 581. Sati at, II. 146: Dutch and Sh. at, II. 158-62; burnt by Siddi, II. 166; conquest of V. by Sh., II. 497; Maratha fleet defeated by Mogul fleet off, II. 522.
Vishalgad (Khelna), I. 11, 66, 73, 124, 137; II. 106.
Wadi (Wari), I. 92, 97, 482.
Wai, I, 29, 31-33.
Yadgiri pass, II. 208.
Zuhrapur, a suburb of Bijapur, II. 260.

INDEX

Adames Lt. Richard, II. 91.
Anand Rao, II. 123, 129-30, 205.
Annaji Pandit, II. 48-59, 98, 102, 109, 112, 122, 137, 142, 191, 209, 230, 249, 364, 437, 452-69, 526, 540.
Asaf Khan, Premier of Delhi, I. 76; II. 207.
Aurangzeb, I. Viceroy of Deccan 29, war with Bijapur, and peace concluded 44, march to the North and negotiations with Shiva 45, Shaista Khan sent against Shiva 76, surprise attack on Shaista by Shiva 80-83, Jaisingh sent against Shiva (see Index) 233-50, Shiva to Agra 251-70, Shiva's offensive against 271, Aurangzeb's fanaticism 276, Muzzam's rebellion 279, Muzzam's alliance with Shiva 281, capture of Salhir 285, Maratha victories 289, conquest of Jawhar and Ram nagar 291, capture of Maholi 291, raids on Surat 307-69, revenge through plunder of Surat 309, peace with Shiva 348; II. Bahadur's camp plunder 131, Shiva's failure to capture Shivneri 133, peace with Shiva in 1675, 163; alliance with Bijapur against Shiva 164, routs of Diler Khan Bahadur Khan 172, peace with Shiva in 1676, 178; recall of Bahadur Khan 179, desertion and return of Sambhaji 200, sack of Jalna 207, futile attempt of capturing Shivneri 210, raids in Khandesh 211, Jazia due to wars with Shivaji 215, Shiva's protest against Jazia 219.
Austin Samuell, II. 65-70, 102, 179.
Bahadur Khan, I. 288, 290, 313n, 319, 343, 347; II. 20, 131, 160, 163, 165, 172, 230.
Bahlol Khan, I. 95, 119, 133; II. 121, 123, 130, 139-43, 156, 160-65.
Baji Ghorpade, I. wounded in battle 533, death 539; II. 282.
Baji Prabhu, I. 73.
Balaji Avaji Chitnis, II. 13, 569.
Beauty of Kalyan, I. 41.
Bhagwa flag, II. 565.
Bhandaris of Bombay, I. 384.
Bhimaji Pandit, I. 424, 431, 433, 443-44.
Bijapur King, I. peace with Shiva 148, 242, 249, 343, administration 508, 545, 554, 570, 580-82; II. 120-21, 126 164-67, 169-78.
Bijapur Queen, I. 132, 144 161, 514.

Chauth, I. 248, 271n, 312; II. 30, 525-30.
Chimnaji Avaji, II. 569.
Conflict between Bombay and Maratha Governor of Chaul, II. 365-372.
Dattaji Pandit, II. 12, 102, 137, 191.
Daud Khan, I. 285-86. 332; II. 458-60.
Daulat Khan, II. 52, 130, 333, 359, 361-63, 372, 375, 385-86, 404-06, 411, 419, 433, 439, 442-44, 467-68, 488.
Desain of Balvadi, II. 263, 264 n.
Diet of the Marathas and the English, II. 31.
Diler (Dillell) Khan, I. 240, 243, 260, 283-84, 288, 290, 292, 337, 341, 343, 401; II. 20, 25, 102, 123, 125, 128-29, 131, 160, 173, 179-83, 186, 190, 192, 194-96, 200-10, 255, 262, 264, 300, 330, 358, 437, 450-51.
Dom Alvaro de Ataide, a Portuguese envoy to Shiva, II. 497.
Duff, Grant I. 12, 22, 50 n, 54 n, 84n, 104 n, 132 n, 240 n, 245, 251n, 282, 289n; II. 44, 200n, 205n, 208n. 219n, 258n, 374, 509n, 533, 535.
Dutch and Shiva, I. 233, 301, 518, 520, 522, 534-38, 541-44, 577; II. 157.
Englishmen at Rajapur, I. their factory plundered and Englishmen imprisoned 132, means of their release 133, Shiva justified 143, Englishmen released 148, negotiations 150, factors leave Rajapur 157, Englishmen helpless against Shiva 160, reprisals on Shiva 370, try to have Bhaty port 373, negotiations with Shiva 376-89, Ustick as ambassador 389-404, Shiva's envoy to Bombay 405, demand for Hubli losses 408, Niccolls to be sent as envoy 409-17, Diary of Niccolls 417-26, Shiva's envoy to the English 426, English envoy to Shiva 430, reflections of the English on relations with Shiva 433, second embassay of Bhimaji 442, narrative of several treaties with Shiva 448, N. Shenvi to Shiva 455, embassy of H. Oxenden 460-71.
Errata, II. 545.
Fazal Khan, I. 59, 70-74, 94, 289.
Foster, Sir W., I. 65, 133n, 196n, 263.
Gaga Bhat, I. 4, 11; II. 4, 5, 16n, 33n, 36.
Gerald Aungier, I. 189, 216; II. 66n.
Golconda Kingdom, I. secret help to Shiva 343.
Golconda King or Sultan, I. 69,

247, 264, 275n; II. 120, 126, 182-92, 229, 280-86.
Governors of Bombay, II. 567, Deputy Governors 567.
Gray Henry, I. 107, 159n, 170, 175n, 189, 238, 244, 273n, 274, 277, 278n, 295; II. 253, 424, 514.
Hambirrao, II. 205, 208n. 210.
Hanmantes, II. 569.
Hundis used, I. 72.
Idal Khan, II. 224, 226, 238, 498.
Ikhlas Khan, I. 289, 333.
Jaisingh, I. 81, 118, against Shiva 236, against Bijapur 237, march to Poona 238, Shiva's submission 239, 240, 242, victory 245, reasons for peace 246, 247-50, 253, 260, 271n, 329; II. 208n, 254, 300, 499, 501, 503.
Jaswant Singh, I. 3, 81, 84-5, 87, 123-24, 163, 236, 241, 243, 246-47, 256n, 258, 263-64, 271n, 282, 286; II. 215-17, 219n, 489.
Jazia, II. due to wars with Shiva 215, Shiva's protest against 219.
Jijabai, wife of Shahaji, I. 2, 8, 14-7; II. 35n-6n.
Karnatic campaign, II. political atmosphere of the South 226, aims of the expedition 228, arrangements during Shiva's absence 230, alliance with Golconda 231, Shiva near Madras 233, relations with the English 234, captures Gingee 238, battle of Tiruvadi 239, quarrel with Vyankoji 244, Shiva's letter to Langhorne 250, Shiva compared to Caesar, Alexander, Hannibal 253-271, seige of Vellore 255, Shiva's return home 262, Malbai of Belvadi 263, conquest of the Doab, 265 war with Vyankoji 266, Shiva and the Dutch 272, Shiva and the French 274, route of expedition 277, chronology 278, Shiva's letters 281-89.
Kartoji Gujar, I. 288n.
Khan Jahan, II. 307, 318.
Khavas Khan, I. 74, 105n, 238n, 240, 289, 481, 509, battle between Khan and Netaji 527; II. 48, 121, 136, 156, 165, 169-70, 172n, 176, 284, 499.
Kincaid, II. incorrect statements in his History of the Marathas 571-74.
Kondaji Farzand, II. the capture of Panhala 122.
Kondeva, I. 17, 21-4.
Kutub Shah, II. 172, 184, 194, 247, 281-84.
Lakham Savant, I. 87-93, 97, 112-15, 130-31, 481-84; II. 512-13.
Lounds to Shiva, II. 80.

Madanna, II. 228.
Mahabat Khan, I. 178-79, 186, 201, 285-88, 337-38.
Maloji Ghorpade, II. Shiva's letter to 229, 281.
Mogul fleet against Shiva, I. 548-49.
Mores of Javali, I. 31-39.
Moro Pant, I. 350, 356; II. 88, 529.
Muazzam, Prince, I. rebellion 114, 236, 250, 279-84, 303, 332, 373; II. 118, 180, 201, 203, 205-06, 208, 321, 507.
Muzaffar Khan (Jaffar Khan). I. 407; II. 118-19, 121-24. 148-49.
Narain Shenwi, I. 426, 430, 433, 442, 461-67; II. 13-16, 59, 85, 97.
Naval activities of Shiva, I. 529-33; II. 130, 144, 506, 518, 522-23.
Navy of Shiva, I. 519, 540-48.
Netaji Palkar, I. 78, 89, 90, 124, battle with Khawas Khan 528.
Nilo Pant Mujumdar, I. 298n; II. 34, 58.
Nimbalkars, II. 568.
Niraji (Naroji Pandit), I. 456-71, II. 9-27, 58, 60, 130, 179, 339.
Orme, Robert, II. 298, 299n.
Oxendens, I. 460.
Oxinden, II. Oxinden to & at Rairi 1-43, fulfilment of the treaty 44-117, at Karwar 70.
Pissurlencar Mr., I. 3n, 20n, 96n ; II. 293n, 316n, 495n, 497-99n, 508n, 511n, 513n-14n, 529n-31n.
Pitambar Shenwi, II. Shiva's envoy to Goa 523, 525-31, his grand-son sent as envoy 530.
Portuguese, II. they help Shiva against Shaista 496, Portuguese request Shiva to conquer Vingurla 497, Surat sack 498, defeat of Khawas Khan 499, help to Jaisingh 499, 503; Shiva invades Bardese 507, Shiva's plot to capture Goa 508, treaty with the Mogul against Shiva 509, treaty between the Portuguese and Shiva 510-14, expulsion of Portuguese intended 515, English help the Portuguese 516, amicable relations 517, war with the Portuguese 520, Maratha vessels captured by Portuguese 523, chauth claimed from Portuguese 525-31, Shiva described as Attila of India 530.
Portuguese and Shiva, I. 519, 525, 545, 552, 572, 583.
Prabhu Sundarji, I. 350-51.
Prahlad Pandit, I. 456; II. 58, 60, 67, 228.
Prataprao Gujar, I. 289, 333, 406, 411, 436; II. victory of Umarani 123, campaign in the

Karnatic 124, death of Pratap-rao at Nevati 128, 532.
Raghunath Hanamante, I. 35.
Raghunath Pandit, I. 11, 13; II. 214, 536n.
Raghunath Shenwi, II. 530.
Rai Bagin, wife of Udairam, I. 333.
Rajapur, loot of, I. Dutch account 487-88.
Rama Shenvy, II. 117. 451-52, 454, 461, 464, 497, 511.
Ramchandra Nilkanth, II. 568.
Raoji Somnath Pandit, I. 12, 80, 82-3, 113-14, 127, 136, 139, 147, 150 51, 154, 156, 462, 513.
Rustam-i-Zaman, I. 70, 74, 94, 102, 117, 121, 304, 479, 486, 509; II. 150.
Sambhaji, son of Shahji, I. 2, scholarship 10, ref. to death 16, kept in Karnatak 17, defends Banglore against Bijapur 27-8, death through Afzal 48; II. Sambhaji sees Oxinden 11, sits at the foot of the throne in coronation 34, present at Austin's embassy 67, English envoys to 117, family 564.
Sambhaji, son of Shivaji, I. born 48, Shivaji goes to Agra with Sambhaji 254, Sambhaji in court 258, in custody 260, escape 261, at Muttra 268, conferred Panch Hazari 271, Nichollas interviews Sambhaji 417-21, presents by the English to Sambhaji 462.
Sarkar, Sir J., I. 3, 4n-5n, 7, 10, 12, 13n, 15, 16n, 17n, 36n, 37n, 47n, 50n, 84n, 85n, 89n, 98n, 105n, 123n, 124n, 165n, 229n, 239n, 288n, 321n, 407n; II. 123n, 129n, 212n, 219n, 233n, 248n, 263n, 320n, 534, 535n.
Savants of Wadi, I. 586.
Sen, Dr. S. N. II. 495, 524.
Shah Jahan, I. 9, 28, 76, 88, 251, 252, 270, 273, 285; II. 16n, 220; 290.
Shahji, I. 3, 8, 13, 16-9, 24-6, 53, 95, 148, 474, 500, 509, 540, 580; II. 223, 243, 249, 281, 288, 291.
Shah Shuja, I. 190, 192, 205, 209.
Shaista Khan, I. march to Poona 73, 76-7, surprise 80, departure 86; 96, 113, 136-37, 146, 208, 223-24, 231, 236, 246, 263n, 276, Dutch account 496; II. 180, 200, 496.
Sher Khan, I. 119.
Shirkes, II. 568.
Shiva's coronation at Raigarh, II. 1, significance of 3, Shiva's position before coronation 6, Shiva to Chiplun 7, Oxinden's account 9-32, Dutch account 32-6, 2nd coronation 36, treaty with the English 36-43.
Shiva's family, II. wives 563,

sons 564, daughters 564, brother 564.
Shiva's fleet, I. in Bombay 361, for Surat 364-69.
Shiva and Siddis, II. origin of Siddis of Janjira 290, Shiva's expeditions against Janjira 292, 298, war with Siddi in 1669, 300-06; end of Fateh Khan's regime 306, siege of Janjira in 1670, 307; Portuguese help Siddis 311, Shiva's attempt to dissuade the Portuguese from helping Siddis 312-16, Maratha fleet against Janjira 316, Mogul fleet for Janjira 317, Danda Rajapuri lost by Shiva 320, loss of more forts 321, Siddis fleet in Bombay 321, Shiva's attempt to surprise Bombay 324, Siddi building a fort in Nagothna 325, fight between Sambal and Daulat Khan 333, Siddi refused admission in Bombay 334, seige of Janjira 340, Qasim appointed Governor of Janjira 346, Sambal's opposition 348, fight between Siddis in Bombay 352, Qasim in Bombay 357, Daulat Khan threatens Bombay 361, Siddis sent out 362, failure to storm Janjira 365, end of the struggle 373.
Shivaji, I. his khashtrya Aryan descent 1-5, birth date 5-10, literacy 10-15, discarded by Shahji 16, Mavals subjugated 18, Shiva's early conquest 24-30, conquest of Javli 31-9, war against Bijapur 40-43, war against the Moguls 43-8, murder of Afzal Khan 49-75, at Rajapur 59, retreat from Bijapur 69, besieged in Panhala 70, escaped from Panhala 72-5, surprise of Shaista Khan 76-88, conquest of Kudal 89-117, greater than Hercules 102, master of the coast 105, sacks Hubli 107, naval expedition to Barcelore 109, near Karvar 110, Shiva's losses in Konkan 123-26, loots Bednur 130, Rajapur loot 132-62, peace with Bijapur 148, Shiva and Jaisingh 233-50, Shiva to Agra 251-70, Shiva and the Moguls, peace 271, persecution of Hindus 276, Muazzam's rebellion 279, Shiva ravages Mogul territory 282, capture of Salhir 285, Maratha victories 289, conquest of Jawhar and Ramnagar 291, capture of Nasik Trimbak 296, capture of Mahuli 297, Dutch account 299-306, Shiva takes Satara in 1673 and visits it in 1674, 347; Shiva at Agra 560,

583, Shiva's coronation (see Index) II. Shiva poisoned 79, fails to capture Shivneri 133, captures Phonda 137-40, goes to Sunda and Bednur 149, 151-77, Shiva's illness 167, second illness 532, death-bed scene 533, date of death 533, cause of death 535, doubts on his death 536, sati 537, secret counsels regarding succession 539.

Shivappa Nayak, I. 95, 98-105; II. 36, 56.

Siddi Ambar, I. 22, 24, 25n; II. 290-92.

Siddi Jauhar, I. 70, 132-33, 137, 480, 484-87.

Streynsham Master, I. 310, 322, 333.

Surat, I. described 163, remarks 164, English account of loot 165-85, remission of customs 185, English factor's services appreciated 188, Dutch account 190-207, Guarda's version 208, Escaliot's description 209, Thevenot's account 221, Abbe Carre on the sack 229, Bernier's account 232, Surat threatened in 1670, 307; second sack of Surat in Oct. 316, English account 317, French version 328, Dutch account 330, Marathas near Surat in 1671, 338; effect of incursions 340, panic in 1673, 343; alarm in 1674-75, 344; Shiva's designs in 1677, 355; alarm in 1679, 358-61; Dutch account of first sack 489-95, Dutch account of second sack 584.

Tanaji Malusare, I. 15, 21, 278.

Tarabai, founder of Kolhapur State, II. 129n, 532.

Vithal Pandit, Shiva's envoy to the Portuguese, II. 312.

Vynkatji Surangi, I. 364.

Vyankoji helps Bijapur against Jaisingh, I. 238.

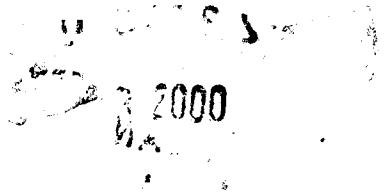
Vyankoji, II. Shahji's successor 223, conquers Tanjore 223-27, quarrel with Shiva 243-49, portions conquered by Shiva 262, war with Vyankoji 266-69, Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji 284, treaty with Vyankoi 286-89.

Waring, II. 307n.

Wheeler, I. 260n.

—o—

00030498



V
(RK)

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Ms.Ranjana Kulkarni
on 29 March, 2019